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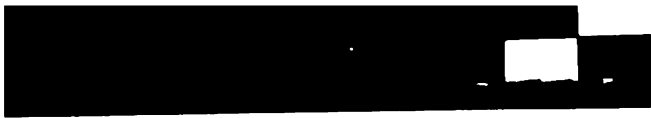
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REMAINS,

OF THE LATE

REV. ARTHUR WEST HADDAN, B.D.



NOTICE.

THE last sheets of this volume had been corrected for the Press, but the book had not been actually issued, when the intelligence reached the Publishers that the Bishop of Brechin was no more.

He died October the 8th, 1875.

REMAINS

OF THE LATE

REV. ARTHUR WEST HADDAN, B.D.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD; AND RECTOR
OF BARTON-ON-THE-HEATH, WARWICKSHIRE.

EDITED BY

A. P. FORBES, D.C.L.

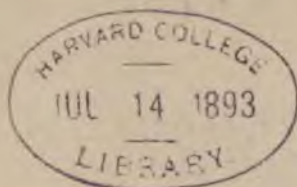
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INTRODUCTION.

IT has fallen to my lot, in default of those better qualified, to present to the public the accompanying volume of the literary remains of Arthur West Haddan. A more graceful pen than mine, that of the accomplished Dean of St. Paul's, has done justice to his general character in a little notice, now by his permission reprinted; and a touching memoir by his brother, within the last few months himself reft by fate from this world, has left little for me to say.

Perhaps I should have done well to have left these to speak for themselves, as the sole record of my departed friend; but I cannot commit this volume to the public, without some words of acknowledgment of my sense of the privilege which I enjoyed in the friendship of this great scholar, and without contributing my own slender share to the sum of his recollections. There are many others who belonged to the same college, and who were earlier associated with him in literary work, who could do this far better than I can. I can but plead that the congenial study of the ecclesiastical antiquities of our native land having brought us into a close literary correspondence for many years, I enjoyed the sincere friendship of his latter years,—a friendship to me in all senses most profitable,—for while his example could not fail to help me, I rejoice to have this opportunity of recording the grateful sense I must always entertain of the ever-ready help, the sagacious criticism, the generous imparting of information, with which he deigned to assist my humble efforts

in the departments of archæology, of which he was such a master.

His published works give the measure of the high qualities of intellect which he brought to bear on the not very popular department of letters to which he addressed himself. They indicate scholarship of no ordinary kind, an acute critical instinct, and an accuracy which amounted to precision. But they who worked with him can, better than any others, testify to the profound conscientiousness and thoroughness of all his work. The obscurest points in mediæval history secured the most careful and exhaustive consideration at his hands. The most exciting events received a dispassionate treatment. When doubt remained as to any motive or fact, the elements for arriving at a fair judgment were most candidly exhibited and arrayed. No passion, no predisposition, no foregone conclusion influenced the man. Nor did the interest of great events induce him to slur over what was less important. A disputed succession in an obscure see in Scotland or Wales would receive the same care and consideration as the change of a dynasty, or the establishment of a hierarchy. All events, whatever their importance, were regarded in their reference to that which formed the underlying principle of his exhaustive method, the pre-eminent sanctity of historic truth.

And with all this taste and aptitude for historical research, there was an indifference to literary fame, which was not the least remarkable feature in his character. So careless was he of the eventual fate of the work which he had done so well, that he has left no record of the various reviews and articles of which he was the writer. In the case of some of the works now printed, there was the greatest difficulty in identifying them as his, and it was only by reference to the account-books of the publishers that certainty was arrived at on the subject.

The contents of the present volume, which by no means exhaust the list of his literary labours, (for a part of my task has been to select what would best represent him, and be most useful to others), will shew the variety of subjects with which Mr. Haddan was conversant. Though his specialty was History in its ecclesiastical aspect, and Doctrine treated from the historical point of view, it is acknowledged that in Biblical Criticism, Dogmatic Theology, Philosophy, Geography, and Christian Antiquities, he was a ripe scholar. He was also emphatically what Lord Bacon would call "a full man." The great extent of ground covered in the reviews and notices now published, will exhibit how wide was the range of his acquirements.

It is with melancholy but thankful remembrance that one turns back to the Oxford of the ninth lustre of the present century, when I first made Mr. Haddan's acquaintance. Never, perhaps, was that ancient seat of learning inhabited by a more remarkable company of students. The great ecclesiastical movement, which has since made itself felt through the breadth and length of the land, was then at its height in the seat of its birth. Thwarted and persecuted by the purblind authorities, the very disabilities under which it rested, gave it an additional charm to the young and enthusiastic minds which threw themselves into it. The great leader shewed no external signs of the coming defection. On the afternoon sermons at St. Mary's men hung in rapt attention. Young men from the manor-houses and parsonages of the country, from the streets and squares of the city, (for Oxford then was still the privileged seat of education of the upper classes,) came term by term under the charm of Oxford, and, in many cases, to Oxford owed their immortal souls. Boys tainted by the precocious vices of the public schools were won by a real conversion to God; while those more fortu-

nate ones, who left an innocent home to enter on their University career, were kept pure and unspotted to the end. Real earnest self-denial shewed itself in the lives of the undergraduates. Not that they were without their foibles. The manners and dress of the great leaders of the movement were imitated to the pitch of absurdity, and a great movement among young men could not be without its side of unreality. Still, with every abatement, there was much to edify. If they assembled in each other's rooms to sing the Canonical Hours in Latin during the season of Lent, it was not a mere exhibition of religious dilettanteism. It was the outcome of a real devotion, which made itself felt in many other and tangible ways,—in abstinence from Hall on fasting-days, in conscientious attendance at Chapel, in personal assistance at the evening sittings of the Mendicity Society, in regular frequentation of the early Communion at St. Mary's (then the only accessible service of the kind), in conscientious study, in plenteous alms-deeds.

The colleges varied a good deal in tone. At Balliol, the reaction against Dr. Arnold's teaching, where it took the Catholic form, tended rather to theory and speculation than to the careful sifting of facts: hence it became the centre of the Romanizing school in the movement. It was the college of Canon Oakeley and Dr. Ward. At Trinity, owing very much to the influence of Isaac Williams and Mr. Copeland, the Churchmanship was of a much more Anglican type; and on it was founded that historical school which has since been adorned by such men as Basil Jones, Freeman, Stubbs, and, equal to any of these, the subject of this memoir.

In the early days of our acquaintance Mr. Haddan became tutor of his college. He was too intolerant of slovenly work or idleness to be popular with the inferior class of undergraduates, who feared his sharp criticisms

and somewhat caustic comments; but he secured the respect and deep affection of the better sort, as he esteemed no pains excessive in helping those who were helping themselves. He was a tutor of the earlier school. Deeply solicitous not only of the intellectual advancement, but of the spiritual welfare of those committed to his charge, he realized, in no ordinary degree, the responsibility which a college tutor incurs, and never sought popularity at the price of neglect of duty. It was the same in the office of Pro-Proctor, which he held more than once. In this, as in all things else, his first thought was duty.

One other aspect of his life at this early time must not be passed over, and that is, his position at St. Mary's. He became, as his brother's memoir states, Assistant Curate of that church in 1842, under the then Vicar, the Rev. J. H. Newman. I never was present at one of his sermons, but I well recollect the appearance of the thoughtful young student, with a countenance already "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," as in his surplice and hood he assisted at the simple rites which characterized the service at St. Mary's.

All this time Mr. Haddan was engaged in conscientious literary work, such as his editions of Bramhall and afterwards of Thorndike, and I believe I am not wrong in stating, that very soon after its establishment he became a frequent contributor to the "Guardian." The severe habits of study which he acquired at the University accompanied him to his parish of Barton-on-the-Heath, and no sketch of him would be complete without the exhibition of his life as "the country parson." Barton-on-the-Heath, one of the livings in the gift of Trinity College, Oxford, is situated in a sequestered spot, near a place where the counties of Oxford, Warwick, and Worcester touch each other, in a country rendered classical by some of the scenes of the Civil War. It is one of

those pretty villages, numbering 170 or 180 inhabitants, which have remained much in the same state for many years. Purely agricultural, it presents the usual features of such a village. It stands on a hill, with many fine poplars, which make it conspicuous from a distance. Undulating fields, reclaimed from moorland, or heath, whence its name, richly-hedged and well-timbered lanes, make up the scene. Most of the farm-houses, with a picturesque school-house, built by the late Rev. H. P. Guillemard, on a little green, stand in the village. The manor-house is a good specimen of Jacobean architecture, and the dear old tumble-down rectory lies well to the sun, among some fine trees which stand in the garden and paddock, chiefly beeches and limes, with one splendid service-tree, whose scarlet berries are glorious in autumn. The church, dedicated to St. Lawrence, whose gridiron may be seen on one of the old windows, is very interesting, presenting some curious architectural features. The chancel is probably earlier than the thirteenth century, and the chancel-arch, and that over the north window of the chancel, clearly Norman. The tower is a saddle-back, which, I believe, generally belongs to the First Pointed epoch in architecture. The manor belonged to the ancient family of the Overburys, who built and dwelt in the manor-house; and the church plate, which is very handsome, bears record of the piety of Magdalen, Walter, and Nicholas Overbury, in the seventeenth century. The churchyard is peaceful and quiet, and there my friend rests under a gravestone, consisting of a flat tomb raised on two steps, and bearing a floriated cross, with a chalice, with the inscription of a text often in his mouth during his last illness: "There remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God. Let us labour therefore to enter into that rest."

In this secluded spot, in the companionship of his two

excellent sisters, Arthur Haddan, erudite and fastidious, devoted himself with unwearied zeal to the simple duties of a village priest. Here his pastoral care was his first thought; the interest and well-being of his parishioners, high and low, his chief care. When I visited him there in 1872, although the disease of which he died had made such progress that he was unable to move about among his people, he threw himself actively into the question which was then beginning to interest the country clergy—the combination of the peasantry for political purposes; and he sought, by wise counsel and friendly intervention, to calm the excited feelings both of the employers and their labourers. As might be expected, he was much beloved, and got on well with all classes. With the squire and his amiable family he was on the most intimate terms, with the farmers he never had any difficulty, and his kindness to the poor need hardly be mentioned; for if there be one merit above others which the country clergy of England possess, it is their liberality and charity to their poorer brethren.

Having paid this tribute of affection to the memory of Mr. Haddan, I have now to subjoin the beautiful notice *In Memoriam* by the Dean of St. Paul's, and conclude this Introduction by adding the little sketch of his life which I received from his brother: it will be the more appreciated as the last work of one who was ordained so soon to follow him.

“*In Memoriam*.”

BY THE VERY REVEREND THE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

(Reprinted from the “*Guardian*” of Feb. 12, 1873.)

“OUR obituary of this week contains the name of Arthur West Haddan, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Rector of Barton. The significance of the announcement may not, perhaps, be fully taken in, even by all our readers. It means that the Church

of England has lost a clergyman who for his learning, and his services as a man of learning, has had few equals in his generation. It means that one more is gone from that band of young men whom the great Oxford movement woke up from the routine of mere University rivalries and honours to a new religious life, to new ideas about the calling of the Christian Church, and a new enthusiasm for its objects, and who are now, those of them who are still left, fast becoming old men. It means that the great Church party, which has given the impulse and the direction to all that is most vigorous and original in the religious action of the Church in our times, has lost one of its earliest and most loyal fellow-labourers, as sober, as cautious, as jealous for the claims of thought and knowledge as he was earnest, resolute, unchanging in his convictions. Those who were early stirred and attracted by the Oxford movement, and who afterwards transmitted and carried on its influences, received the impulse from different minds and from several centres. One of these centres was Trinity. Arthur Haddan's University career began in the days when Isaac Williams, one of the most delicate of scholars, one of the most sensitive of poets, and one of the meekest and unconsciously humblest of men with so fiery and so gifted a nature, was stamping more or less forcibly, but quite unawares to himself, a distinct character, of which the traces have lasted to this day, on a singularly choice band of Trinity scholars. They have gone many different ways; but their common mark is their hatred of show and pretence and of everything inexact and superficial, their keen appreciation of genuine scholarship and the hard work of learning, their sense of the application of accurate knowledge to the real questions and difficulties of the day, and their judicial and balanced thoughtfulness; and with this was joined a deep reverence for religion, which in many passed on into a seriousness and earnestness which shaped their lives. It was so with Arthur Haddan. Keen, indefatigable, thoroughly master of what he knew, he was ever ready to challenge a loose statement or an ill-constructed argument: he loathed what was slovenly and pretentious; the bold assertions and imposing theories which find favour in days of ferment and excitement were the subjects of his inquisitive and pertinacious testing, and he was not insensible to the pleasure of reducing them to their real value. But to that which could endure the test of real knowledge he was absolutely devoted and profoundly loyal. The great revival of the true idea, and

noblest traditions, and practical system of the Church won his belief and conviction, and with it his unswerving service. Through success and through defeat, through good report and ill report, through short-lived favour and deep and prolonged suspicion, strong, clear, unflinching in his loyalty to the English Church, he worked on contentedly and cheerfully in his college work, at his theological reading, at heavy editorial tasks, while the cause to which he had given his love and hope seemed to be a hopelessly lost one. For he trusted the English Church; trusted it when all seemed against it; trusted it because his solid reading and steady, sober reflection assured him that its ground was a good one, while it answered, with all its imperfections, to the demands of a thoroughly manly and honest spirit. And when the tide again seemed turning, and the battle of the Church and of the high interests of the University was fought at the polling-table of the Convocation-house, he threw himself into the more laborious detail of the struggle with the same simple, unflinching determination. All who remember the contests connected with Mr. Gladstone's elections will remember the indefatigable Secretary, never at fault, never out of temper, never absent from his post, never refusing trouble or exertion. Those times passed and are distant; more distant in feeling than in years. When his Oxford life was exchanged for that of a modest country living, it was still the same in earnestness, in labour, in thorough work. Some of the best edited of the volumes of the Anglo-Catholic Library owe their excellent editing to him. But he was much more than merely an editor, though an editor such as he was means a man of no common thought, insight, and grasp of principles. He undertook the Bampton Lectures; his subject was to have been one of high interest, the value and authority of the Creeds; but the first assaults of his long disease came upon him; he had to relinquish his purpose: his place was taken, taken at very short notice, by Dr. Liddon. But weakness, sickness, the prospect, at last the certainty, of a fatal end to his disease could not daunt his resolute energy—could not cloud or disturb that cheerful and willing soul. He had still some years of work. The fruit of these is seen in the edition of the "Councils of Great Britain and Ireland," which he undertook in conjunction with another Trinity man, Professor Stubbs; of which he finished and published the first and third volumes; and had got ready the whole, or nearly so, of the second; but this volume, on which he was working, we be-

lieve, to the last, and to the completion of which he was looking forward eagerly, watching it in the race against time with the death which was approaching, he was not to see published. This great work alone gives the measure of what he was, and of what we have lost. This is not a time, when, amid so much loud talking and shallow cleverness, the Church of England can afford to lose any real learning, any real power of honest, thorough, vigorous criticism, any faculty of throwing learning and its results into popular and vigorous forms; and this is what, as regards the public interests of the Church, we have lost in Arthur Haddan.

“He was so modest, so unselfish, so simple in his life, so wrapt up in the actual labour and effort of what he undertook, that few but his friends knew anything about him. It was a characteristic which he derived from the school, where his mind was formed,—the ways, the words, the example of Isaac Williams. Naturally, we suppose, eager, not fearing disagreement or argument, and taking a most active and forward share in much that was important and eventful at Oxford, when his public task was over, he went on straightforwardly about his proper business as a scholar; and to push himself forward never probably crossed his mind as a temptation. It never occurred to him that his services deserved recognition: it is somewhat strange that it never occurred to others, at least before it was too late. He has departed, having done his work with noble conscientiousness,—having done it to the last, little rewarded, little talked about. Those who knew him during the old troubled days at Oxford will remember a friend of their youth, whose course has been one consistent, untiring, undeviating service to the Church, rendered with the readiest zeal, but without a shadow of unreality or self-seeking; one who often read a valuable lesson by his boldness, honesty of judgment, and independence of character; one whose genuine affectionateness often broke upon them unexpectedly, and whose generous and rejoicing sympathy with others, when to him the prospect of life was closing darkly before him, disclosed not only the warmth of his heart, but that high magnanimity which was the fruit of his deep Christian convictions, and his steady and sober Christian view of the world and life.”

MEMOIR BY MR. THOMAS HADDAN.

To those who may feel interested in the Essays comprised in the present volume, it may perhaps be acceptable to have the foregoing brief MEMOIR of their Author supplemented by a few further particulars of his work as a scholar and a parish priest. His life was, indeed, a very retired and uneventful one, but the peaceful and happy combination which it presents of the work of the zealous and indefatigable student, with that of the kind and active pastor of the parish, may not be wholly without attraction, even to the general reader. As a student, Mr. Arthur Haddan commenced his work very early. He was, as a boy, always fond of reading. While at school,—not, it may be observed in passing, a public school,—though one much noted for successful drilling in Latin and Greek Grammar, in preparation for the then East India College of Haileybury, Mr. A. Haddan voluntarily, and out of school hours, learned the rudiments of the Italian language,—French being included in the school course; and when he left school he also began German, in which he afterwards attained a fair proficiency. In the spring of 1834, in his eighteenth year, he matriculated at Brazenose College, Oxford, and on the Trinity Monday of the following year he was elected from a numerous body of competitors to an open scholarship at Trinity College, one of the very few colleges at Oxford, Balliol being almost the only other, whose scholarships were then open to general competition.

The value of this achievement may be inferred from a reference to the names of some of the distinguished men who were among the Trinity scholars of those times. Among Mr. A. Haddan's predecessors in that honour, are to be found John Henry Newman; Isaac Williams; Dr. Claughton, now Bishop of Rochester; Mr. Rickards,

Counsel to the Speaker; Mr. Lewin, whose literary labours in reference to the travels of St. Paul, the exploration of Jerusalem, and other subjects are well known; and last, not least, Mr. Roundell Palmer, now Lord Selborne: while among those who were Mr. A. Haddan's cotemporaries or successors as Trinity scholars, were the Right Honourable Montague Bernard; Professor Stubbs; Dr. E. A. Freeman; Rev. S. Wayte, B.D., now President of Trinity; Sir George F. Bowen, now Governor of Victoria; Mr. Meyrick, the zealous originator and supporter of the Anglo-Continental Society; Mr. Lingen, of the Education Office; the late Mr. Wharton Marriott, and others. Mr. A. Haddan took his degree in Michaelmas Term, 1836, and was placed in the First Class in *Literis Humanioribus*; Dr. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, and Mr. Jas. Lonsdale, afterwards Professor of Classical Literature at King's College, being among those in the same class; but owing, perhaps, to an illness which visited him during the subsequent Mathematical examination, Mr. A. Haddan obtained only a Second Class in Mathematics. After taking his degree, he soon devoted himself to that which became the principal study of his life,—namely, Divinity,—for proficiency in which he in March, 1839, obtained the Johnson Theological Scholarship. In the meantime he succeeded as scholar to a Fellowship at Trinity, and in December, 1840, he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Bagot, then Bishop of Oxford, on the title conferred by his Fellowship; and in December, 1842, he was ordained Priest on the same title. During a portion of this time, that is to say, until he succeeded Mr. Isaac Williams as Classical Tutor of the College, Michaelmas Term, 1842, he acted as Curate to Mr. Newman, then Vicar of St. Mary's, from the pulpit of which church he was then in the course of delivering his well-known "Parochial Sermons." But notwithstanding the obvious attractions which office under

such a man as Mr. Newman must have presented, Mr. Haddan did not accept this Curacy without some deliberation, nor without taking the advice of his relatives and intimate friends.

He was, in fact, always and thoroughly what has been called Anglican in his theological opinions. He never seemed to have the least inclination, either morally or intellectually, to anything "Roman," or to have any doubt about the truth of the Anglican, and error of the Roman, system, in any of the points in which the two are at variance. Yet in all the great and Catholic doctrines common to both Churches, he was, as his writings shew, a firm and consistent believer. His curacy at St. Mary's, however, lasted only a little more than a year, being terminated, as already mentioned, in Michaelmas Term, 1842, by his acceptance of the College Classical Tutorship, he having already succeeded in January, 1842, to the office of Mathematical Tutor in the same college.

Some time before either tutorship had been undertaken by him, and at a time when he had enjoyed comparative leisure, he had undertaken to edit Archbishop Bramhall's Works for the Anglo-Catholic Library. On this work he bestowed the greatest labour,—verifying the references throughout with indefatigable industry and accuracy,—and in many instances, as e.g. especially in the refutation of what is called the "Nag's Head" fable, undertaking long and laborious investigations, as well in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, as in various public and collegiate libraries, e.g. the British Museum, the Lambeth Palace Library, and the Library of Corpus Christi College, at Cambridge. A Life of the Archbishop, prefixed to this edition of his Works, gave rise perhaps to the larger part of these researches. The first volume appeared in 1842, the last in 1845.

It was shortly after this, early in the year 1846, that

the "Guardian" newspaper was founded, to the literary department of which publication he was from the first a constant contributor: and until the time of his death, he never ceased to send lengthened reviews, or brief notices, as the cases might require, of such of the current publications of the day as came within the scope of his reading. Some of these reviews are comprised in the present volume. In the year 1847 also, and the few following years, he contributed to the "Christian Remembrancer" the articles which are reproduced in this volume.

In 1847, the first election of Mr. Gladstone as Member of Parliament for the University was fought and won. But before making reference to the circumstances of this contest, and the active part taken in it by the subject of this Memoir, a few words must be said on the important events which had previously taken place in Oxford, since the time when Mr. Haddan had first become Tutor of his college, and had ceased to be Curate at St. Mary's. In that interval had occurred the first rise into public prominence of the so-called Oxford "movement" party, and the commencement of that determined opposition to it on the part of the general body of the Oxford Heads of Houses, and of many of the Bishops, which ultimately proved, in at least one sense of the word, successful. The struggle had taken place, which had ended in Mr. Ward being censured by a vote of the Convocation of the University; Dr. Pusey had been suspended; Tract No. 90 had been published; the attempted vote of consequent condemnation against Mr. Newman had been stopped by the veto of the Proctors; the "British Critic" had been given up in deference to the request of the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Bagot; and finally, Mr. Newman had retired to Littlemore, and afterwards seceded to Rome. The warm sympathies of him whom we now commemorate, in common with those of certainly the far larger, though

principally the younger part of the Oxford residents, had throughout been given to those, the suppression of whose opinions, if not their expulsion from the University and the Church, had been the object of these various attacks. This sympathy arose no doubt, in a great degree, from a general agreement on the questions of doctrine and discipline which were at issue in the contest, though there was also involved in it much of that impulse to help and protect the persecuted, which is characteristic of all Englishmen. The Oxford Society of those days, however, was thoroughly permeated with the "Church" opinions then fast rising into notice among the public generally. It is scarcely too much to say that, as each successive Class List came out, those who appeared in the highest places, shared almost to a man the then prevalent feelings and doctrines of the place. Nor, considering the zeal, self-denial, and true unworldliness exhibited in the lives of those who were foremost in the "movement," is it at all wonderful that the younger part of the University were so much impressed as they were with the truth and importance of the principles held by them.

It was under these circumstances that Mr. Gladstone's first election as Member for the University took place. His general politics were then, it will be remembered, so far Conservative as was consistent with the leading position held by him among the followers of Sir Robert Peel and the advocates of free trade. But by the greater part of those who brought him forward for the University, and among them Mr. Haddan, the question of what were his general politics was considered almost entirely unimportant in comparison with the opinions held by him on Ecclesiastical questions, and with his position generally as a well-known promoter of the Church movement. And that this was the view also of the opposite party, was manifested by their bringing forward against him a member of the old Conservative

party, who differed from him chiefly in siding with the Oxford opposition to the authors of the "Tracts for the Times" and their friends, while Mr. Cardwell represented the Liberals in politics, pure and simple. The post of Secretaries to Mr. Gladstone's Committee in this hotly-contested struggle, was undertaken by Mr. Haddan, in conjunction with two others, Mr. Wayte, of Trinity, and Mr. Woollcombe, of Balliol; the "statistical" part of the business so to call it, that is to say, the entry and summing up of the promises for and against, and of the neutral and doubtful voters, and the checking off against these the actual votes given, being done by Mr. Haddan almost, we believe, exclusively. The papers made out by Mr. Haddan, containing these and other details of the contest, are still preserved, and shew with what thorough business-like accuracy his part of the secretaries' duties was managed on the occasion; and the result of the election proved the value of the work done by Mr. Haddan's co-secretaries and himself. Mr. Gladstone was on the first day in a small majority, which afterwards steadily but gradually increased, and he was ultimately, as is well-known, returned with Sir R. Inglis, as Member for the University by a decisive, though not perhaps very large majority. There were afterwards three other elections, in which Mr. Gladstone's seat for the University was contested, and in all but the last of which he was still successful, but was ultimately unseated. In all these elections ✓ Mr. Haddan continued to support Mr. Gladstone both by vote and canvass; but when the last election took place he had left Oxford, and neither on that, nor on that which immediately preceded it, did he take so active or prominent a part as on the first occasion. His support, indeed, ✓ throughout, was given on ecclesiastical and academical grounds, and with little reference to general politics; for though his politics were qualified with much that was

liberal, and, it may be added, with everything that was reasonable, their general tendency was certainly Conservative. His vote for the late Lord Derby as Chancellor of the University in 1852 was, in fact, an illustration of what has been said ; for this vote was given mainly, we believe, on academical, certainly not on political grounds. In politics he differed from the Protectionist and Conservative party of that day ; but he thought that Lord Derby, as a scholar, and one of the most distinguished living scholars which Oxford had produced, was the most eligible, and, indeed, considering the narrow range of choice, almost the only eligible man for the high office in question. His consistent support of Mr. Gladstone was given on the like grounds.

In 1857 Mr. Haddan accepted the college living of Barton-on-the-Heath, in Warwickshire, and from that time to his death, in 1873, this was his place of residence. The population was small, and the distance from Oxford by railway was only about an hour. These were both great recommendations ; but it must not be understood that his wish or intention was to minimize parish work or duty. On the contrary, the work of a parish cure, while still only in prospect, had always had the greatest attraction for him,—and after he had got, by accepting Barton, a parish of his own, his interest in his parishioners, and in everything connected with his work for them, or otherwise relating to the parish or any of its belongings, was quite like a passion with him. It may perhaps be fitly mentioned here, that in the year 1850,—at the time when the Gorham case was decided, and during the agitation and discussion which immediately followed on that decision, and which at one time seemed likely to end in a secession, or, at least, a retirement from parish duty, on the part of some of the clergy of the High-Church School, Mr. Haddan, who was himself much disquieted

by the judgment in question, contemplated, with most gloomy disappointment, the possibility of his having thus to abandon his long-cherished idea of parish work and a parish life. Fortunately, he was spared this sacrifice, and he afterwards lived to see, with satisfaction, that the judgment which had given such offence to him was really a dead letter, for the purpose of effecting any actual alteration in the doctrines of the Prayer-book and the Church.

But to return to his life at Barton. The change to this quiet little village from the continued occupation of his Oxford tutorship, enabled him to increase very much his regular literary work. Soon after his removal thither he undertook, in conjunction with Professor Stubbs, the task of re-editing, for the Clarendon Press, with additions, Wilkins' *Concilia*,—a work which was developed by his coadjutor and himself into the publication of "The Councils of Great Britain and Ireland," noticed in the memoir to which these lines are subjoined; becoming, in fact, an original work, and one by which his name will always be distinguished and remembered. Its publication was the principal occupation of the rest of his life. It was not, however, by any means the only literary employment which occupied him at Barton. From a very early period of his residence there he began to get together the materials for a complete treatise on the subject of "The Creeds," with the intention of offering himself as a candidate for the office of Bampton Lecturer at Oxford on that subject,—and which he accordingly did; and in the year 1865 he was, in fact, elected Bampton Lecturer for the ensuing year. At the same time, his labours in reviewing, already adverted to, were never intermitted, except during the few weeks of summer holidays, for which occasionally, but by no means in every year, he was able to absent himself from his duties. He was also a constant attendant at the clerical meetings in his neigh-

bourhood, and frequently read papers there, on which he bestowed much time and labour.

All this, joined to his two or three weekly sermons, generally extempore, and his attendance to his other parish duties, which he could never be prevailed on to leave so long as there was any one of his parishioners who, from dangerous illness or otherwise, required, or was likely to require, his presence, much impaired his health, and at length entirely ruined it. He was passionately fond of all that was beautiful in nature, especially fond, in his younger days, of mountain rambling in Wales, Cumberland and elsewhere; and afterwards, of excursions to Switzerland and the other places of foreign travel. But while on these occasions he generally did too much, so when at home he took too little, or hardly any exercise. Hence it happened that in the close of the year 1865, after a long and trying struggle, he found himself absolutely compelled to give up the Bampton Lectures, and to abandon, as it turned out for ever, all hope of realizing any results from the labours which had so long been devoted by him to the great subject on which he had therein intended to treat. His lectureship, then vacant, was given to Dr. Liddon.

He recovered a little, however, afterwards, and again added other literary tasks to his already too numerous engagements. In 1868, 9, he undertook, for Rivingtons, to publish what was at first intended to be merely a more complete history of what took place in the so-called "Nag's Head Consecration" in Queen Elizabeth's time, with a view to the vindication of the English "Orders" from the attack upon them, founded on the "Consecration" in question. And for this purpose he had a considerable collection of materials, which had been got together for the edition of Bramhall's Works and Life already noticed, but which had not been fully made use of. His

design, however, was afterwards enlarged, and ultimately took the shape of a treatise on the fact and doctrine of "The Apostolical Succession in the Church of England," and which was published by Rivingtons in 1869. This volume having thus been before the public for some years, any detailed criticism of it might be here out of place; but the single observation may perhaps be permitted, that so far from any party or polemical spirit being displayed in it, it is distinguished throughout by the greatest moderation of statement, and appreciation of the motives and principles of those who have disputed the positions taken up in it. After this publication, and in the year 1870, Mr. Haddan published, in a work entitled "The Church and the Age," edited by Mr. Archibald Weir, an Essay on "The English Divines of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," which attracted considerable notice, and was favourably referred to in the "Quarterly Review," and other influential contemporary publications.

This was—with the exception of those parts of the "Councils" which occupied him up to his last illness, in January, 1873, and the last of which, viz. the first half of the second volume, was published after his decease—the last of his literary labours. In his own diocese, that of Worcester, and especially among his more immediate clerical neighbours, his labours were not unappreciated; and the Bishop, a few years before his death, presented him to an Honorary Canonry in the Cathedral, with a kind and cordial acknowledgment of the services which he had rendered, and was rendering, not only to his own diocese, but to the Church at large. But his work was done. His interest in it never flagged, even to the last. He sank to his rest, while still almost with his pen in his hand. It was only for a week before his death that he was unable to leave his bed; but his mental faculties remained bright and clear to the end. And when unable

to sit up and read himself, he took pleasure in being read to by others. One of his oldest Trinity friends, a brother scholar, visited him and administered the Holy Communion to him within a short time of his death. After this he suffered much from weakness. His last audible words were what appeared to be prayers for patience, and a quotation from the Epistle,—“rest”—“a rest for the people of God.”

Thus far we have given Mr. Thomas Haddan's Memoir: it only remains to give a list of Mr. Haddan's works. Besides those now published, they consisted of:—

An edition of the Theological Works of Herbert Thorndike, with a Life of the Author, (in the Anglo-Catholic Library). 6 vols. 8vo., 1844—1856.

An edition of the Works of John Bramhall, D.D., sometime Lord Archbishop of Armagh, with a Life of the Author and a Collection of his Letters, (in the Anglo-Catholic Library). 5 vols. 8vo. 1842—1845.

“Apostolical Succession in the Church of England.” 1869.

“Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland,” in conjunction with Professor STUBBS. 1869.

In “The Church and the Age,” 1870: Essay No. 6, English Divines of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

In “Replies to Essays and Reviews,” 1862: Essay No. 6, Rationalism, in answer to MARK PATTISON, B.D., Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.

Two Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, “The Church Patient in her Mode of Dealing with Controversies,” 1850; “The Training of Samuel and the Training of King Jehoshaphat,” 1862.

In the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, for July, 1868: an Article on the Original MS. of the *Liber Landavensis*.

Reviews, &c., in the “Guardian” newspaper, from its commencement.

In “Christian Remembrancer,” the Reviews printed in this volume.

Translation of the *De Trinitate* of St. Augustine, for Clark's Edinburgh Series.

A posthumous volume of the "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents."

"A Short Paper on Registration and Baptism," for Parochial Distribution.

Though the selection of his works now reprinted give a fair representation of the mind of the subject of this memoir, I have thought it right that two extracts should be given exhibiting his views in that which really came nearest to his heart,—the religion of the Church of England and the University of Oxford. Two sermons, and two sermons only, of his were ever printed, and from these we give the following extracts as indicating his mind. The first of these exhibits the tolerant yet firm attitude which he maintained in the presence of the many trials and difficulties of the Church which he loved so well. In a sermon entitled "The Church Patient in her Mode of Dealing with Controversies," we read these wise words:—

"Surely it is a lesson full of instruction to us at this present time, that she did *not* supersede and silence controversy *at once*. She waited for fitting time and season, adapted her decrees to passing circumstances, made allowance for weak brethren, tolerated for a while even error, where such toleration did not imply approval, reasoned out her own positions, referred to the Scriptures, and to the faith revealed already, as the measure and rule of her decrees; and above all, in interposing her authority, shrank from deciding more than was absolutely necessary to protect the faith itself. Is there any possibility of doubting that such was her conduct? She did, indeed, decide with authority, so far as the very safety of the faith urgently required; and imposed her decisions upon the separate Churches as decrees which they were bound to keep. But she plainly did not think, that the bare existence of unsettled questions, and the toleration of diverse opinions within her pale, up to a certain point, and the absence of a full, minute, peremptory decision of secondary although most important points, the faith itself in its foundations pre-supposed and affirmed, was either an abdication of the powers that God had given her, or the least expedient and ex-

cellent way of promoting truth in the end. She had, indeed, and has, a commission from God to witness and guard the faith committed to her care; and neither may men refuse to listen to her teaching without sin, nor may she refuse to teach without forfeiting her trust. But, like all other moral truths, a great many qualifications are necessary to ensure a true practical application of these statements: and the best way of defending the truth is surely to keep within its plain limits, neither falling short nor over-leaping them. So shall we best avoid either furnishing a plausible excuse to the rebellious rationalism of the heartless world, or (still worse) burdening with an additional temptation, by the exaggerating through an untrue contrast of the already sufficiently fearful difference between the idea and the reality, the ardent aspirations of the tender-hearted and devout. And if, at the present time, even such a wise and temperate exercise of authority, however urgently called for, has become so hopeless as to look like an unpractical dream,—if, to speak of the Church at large, circumstances in which we, in the main and as a Church, had good cause to act as we did (for though we have had enough and too much of self-laudation, yet we must not shrink from affirming a necessary truth),—if circumstances, I say, thus unavoidable, have thrown us, without our fault, into the unnatural position (to last we know not how long) of what no other terms will describe than those of *protest* and *appeal*—*protest* against errors which other Churches not only adopt themselves, but strive to force upon us, and *appeal* to the Church universal from the unjust condemnation of ourselves by a part of it; or if, on the other hand, error has raised its head within our own pale, and the Church among us, isolated and divided, has hitherto lacked strength to cast it out,—what is there in all this that has not happened in kind, nay much of it in literal fact, in other and earlier times? What is it but an aggravated and prolonged infliction of evils, the same in nature, though alas! far greater in degree, with those that troubled even the Apostolic Churches themselves.”—(pp. 17—19.)

On the subject of his Alma Mater, he thus spoke from the pulpit of St. Mary's, in a sermon styled “The Training of Samuel and the Training of King Jehoshaphat:”—

“It is no unnecessary warning to bid men now beware, that with a deeper theology there come not also a spirit that rebels against all

theology; that in proportion as Catholic truths are made real and become prominent, the pride of reason do not strive to shake off altogether what claims submission as a Creed, instead of pleading its own reasonableness as an opinion; and that the full exhibition of the entire truth must of necessity come into sharper collision, and in more numerous and more searching ways, with those unalterable perplexities and those incurable corruptions of human nature itself, which lie dormant under a feeble faith. Let us see to it, that excessive and unwise attempts (it may be) to revive human theories of this or that past century, or to force on men the narrow theology of *really* modern growth, if any do so indeed, or to be wise beyond what is written in matters past human science, be made no excuse either for rejecting our own English and primitive stamp of doctrine, as though our Formularies were in their substance an expression simply of the peculiar views of a modern and unsettled age and no more,—or still less for a perverse condemnation of all theology, as though it were (what it is not) the mere self-evolved alchemy of the human mind working for more or less a space of time after its own will upon the transformation of the bare elements of Scripture,—or least of all, for carrying the presumptuous antithesis into Holy Scripture itself, and setting morality against doctrine, and the Gospels against St. Paul.”—(pp. 12, 13.)

“It is no duty of the preacher to presume to judge others by following up these questions. But in speaking from the pulpit on the first Lord’s Day of the academical year, the thought is one that cannot be turned aside. There are many here this day for the first time—many who have come but now within the influences of this hallowed place. They have come from the fostering care of home or of school. What will they find here to meet them? They have come probably with half-formed resolutions of good, and more or less of an impression of reverence towards this goodly and noble Temple of Education. Where will these resolutions and these feelings be, when one year or two of college life and experience have passed over their heads? Will they, too, then be as Jehoshaphat was, when he had passed from the religious home of the priest to the uncontrolled power of his throne? or will they have grown, as in knowledge, so also in the fear and love of God? They have come from guidance and control, to take that forward step into Christian manhood, which needs an interference on the part of others more sparing,

and a self-dependence on their own more matured. Who will tell them that they have come also to a place which, as it brings higher good within their reach, brings also deeper evil,—evil no longer claiming to be put away under the excuse of boyhood, but incapable, for the most part, of being effaced, even by sorrow and amendment, from the blighted life that is its common penalty? They have come to a place where, for the first time, their habits of life, their arrangement of hours, their choice of friends, their line of reading, their use or neglect of the outward means of grace in chapel and in Holy Communion, their perseverance or forgetfulness in private religious thought and prayer, will be left with the least possible outward check of either law or penalty to themselves; where the privacy of their own rooms will be rightly respected, so that it be not grossly abused; and where the bias of their opinions and sentiments will be freely abandoned to the issue of unchecked discussion, and to the natural influences of the place. See to it, that the kindly hand of rightful authority be frankly held out, to guide without undue compulsion, to help where weakness needs help, to warn the thoughtless and cheer the desponding, to confirm those who need only to be encouraged, and where it *must* be so, to curb by stern repression the obstinate and mischievous ill-doer. There is no doubt here, happily, no artificial system, no unwise repression of natural freedom, no attempt to exclude the world by arbitrary rules of a conventional or a strained morality, no effort to cramp all men into the minute mechanism of some narrow type of character. Even the special life of the ministry of Christ claims as yet no special preparation. The common duties of the common life of a Christian man are the one broad mark here for *all*. But as in the world, so here, there is need to hold up ever to all of us the mighty difference between the requirements of law and the attractions of Christ, between the least that a man *must* do to keep his character, and the utmost that the love of God prompts him to do for the sake of Him who died for us:—between the lower standard, to which the majority ever sink, and the loving zeal towards God, which draws, indeed, no line between itself and the world, yet towers always with an unconscious loftiness above that world towards the heaven where God is. And here, above all, where life is just opening upon so many, and hearts still fresh, and souls yet warm with the latent power of generous and single-hearted devo-

tion, wait as it were for the impulse that shall, under God, determine their future,—here, above all other places, see that no chill, selfish worldliness, no low or coarse aims, no careless neglect or coldness, no lack of faith in Christ or of zeal for His glory in His Church, no want of love for souls in those whose pledged work it is to save souls,—in a word, no backwardness in the cause of God on the part of those upon whom God has laid the burden, or on the part of any to whom God has given influence,—rob the Lord of willing service, that otherwise would have been His, and throw back the young upon that worst of scepticisms, the disbelief that has no zeal for goodness.”—(pp. 18—20.)

Arthur Haddan never held any dignity in the Church of England. Like a greater than he, John Keble, he died a simple parish priest, the shadowy state of an Honorary Canon of Worcester matching the stall in the Collegiate Church of Cumbraë, which received honour from being held by the author of the “Christian Year.” This is alluded to in a graceful tribute to his memory by one who knew him from his earliest College days, with which I cannot better conclude this little notice:—

“The loss of such a man as Mr. Haddan, a scholar of the true breed, one as far as might be unlike the courtly and popular pretenders of the day, one who loved learning for its own sake, and who gave himself up to seek after learning with equal industry and acuteness, is indeed one which it will be hard to make up. And when we see that such a man as this remained up to his death the hard-working pastor of a poorly-endowed parish, when the highest title that can be put in his title-page is the dreary sham of ‘Honorary Canon of Worcester,’ we are inclined to cry out against the disposers of English Church preferment.

“It is for men like Mr. Haddan that Deaneries and Canonries are meant, but it is not to men like Mr. Haddan that they are commonly given. Rectors of large parishes who find their work too light for them, College Heads who have not any work at all, Professors whose incapacity is detected, sometimes by their hearers, sometimes by themselves, find such things to be nice bits of plurality which are very convenient for filling the pocket. Such men

are not only promoted once, but are moved on and on from stall to stall, as may be most comfortable. But to apply things to their right end, to give a great ecclesiastical scholar the means of carrying on his studies—we believe we might say of saving his life—is, of course, not to be thought of. Only we should like to know what are the feelings of those who divide the comfortable revenues of Christ Church and Westminster and Rochester, when they think that Mr. Haddan died an ‘Honorary Canon,’ and that one of the preferments of which they receive the revenues as mere appendages to duties elsewhere, would probably have saved so valuable a life for English scholarship.”—*From the Saturday Review, July 12, 1873.*

P.S. It only remains for me to record my thanks to the Editors of the “Christian Remembrancer,” the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and the “Guardian,” for permission to republish the contents of this volume; and also to Mr. James Parker for the literary aid he has afforded me in classifying and arranging the different articles.

DUNDEE, August, 1875.





I.

ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.



ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

THE first series of articles by Mr. Haddan here reproduced (all of them originally printed in the *Guardian*) are those which treat of the written Word of God, and no one can fail to observe how happily their author combines a profound reverence for the Sacred Volume as such, with the fullest appreciation of the benefits which result from its critical study. The selection of reviews now made exhibits, first, those which treat of the Bible generally, such as the "Speaker's" Commentary, the Commentary by Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, and Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible;" and secondly, criticisms on particular books, both of the Old and New Testament, such as the Pentateuch and Isaiah, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul. The author, while he implicitly accepts the truth of the existence of the divine element in the Holy Scriptures, and yields to it that mental and moral submission which such acceptance implies, has too strong a sense of duty to truth to seek to slur over difficulties. He acquaints himself conscientiously with them, and seeks to supply their solution. On the other hand, the fullest knowledge of what modern critics have alleged in disparagement of the ordinarily received notions of inspiration, never shakes his trust in that engrafted word which is able to save men's souls. In all that he writes he respects that striking Canon of Criticism for the interpretation of the Holy Scripture laid down by Mr. Keble: "In interpreting every document, try to ascertain exactly what was the mind and intention of him who dictated it, and remember that He who has dictated the Sacred Scriptures is God the Holy Ghost."

THE SPEAKER'S COMMENTARY, 1871^a.

THE "Speaker's" Commentary is in effect, although without professing to be so, the answer of the Church of England to the Rationalists. The German school has come to us, as a fact, both for its good and for its evil. And, on the one hand, the minds of quiet Christian people are disturbed; while, on the other, old commentaries have grown obsolete through increased knowledge. Churchmen endeavour in this undertaking to respond to both needs. The best scholars and commentators that could be found within the Church's pale willing to combine in the work—(unfortunately, for various reasons, there are many and most regrettable exceptions)—have here, in effect, accepted the challenge of the anti-scriptural school, and set forth a Commentary which, without entering into doctrinal questions or propounding theories of inspiration or the like, is designed to bring the note-knowledge needful for understanding the Bible up to the present advance in historical, geographical, and philological knowledge, and which again, while it assumes rather than affirms the genuineness and the Divine authority of Scripture, aims at establishing in detail, and according to the most advanced results of present science, the futility of the "higher criticism," as exhibited in its present extreme phase of simply audacious destructiveness. It is certainly time that some such work should be done. It is time that men who can speak with the authority of knowledge as well as position, should make it manifest that intelligent believers are not ashamed of their belief—that there are intellectual inquirers who find not less but more ground, in the progress of knowledge and thought, for retaining their hold upon the Bible—and that the pretensions of the "destructive" school to a monopoly of intelligence and fairness of mind are as groundless as they are offensive. The "critical" school has done its proper, and, we do not deny, much-needed work. Theology and intelligent Scriptural exegesis owe it a heavy debt, in spite of drawbacks. It has elicited an amount of knowledge of the meaning of

^a "The Holy Bible according to the Authorised Version (A.D. 1611), with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation. By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church." Edited by F. C. Cook, M.A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. I., Parts 1 and 2. The Pentateuch. (Murray.) *Guardian*, Aug. 9 and 30, 1871.

Scripture invaluable in its kind. It has compelled divines and theologians to be guardedly scrupulous and fair in the employment of Scripture texts. It has placed before our eyes the writers and the actors of Scripture as living and breathing men, actuated by human thoughts and feelings, and real agents in real historical transactions. It has kindled an intelligent appreciation of the structure of the Bible, and of the special purpose and value of its several books. Such has been the contribution of the first half of the present century to Biblical science. And it is a most precious contribution. But when beyond all this men go on, as they do now, to cast all tradition and authority aside, and on the strength of the flimsiest of "intuitions" to resolve the Bible into a merely accidental congeries of human imaginations and inventions, that grew up at best out of men's subjective beliefs, and are in part downright imposture, the case is a very different one. It is time, then, to establish by plain proof, that in the great controversy of "Galileo v. the Inquisition," the real heirs of the former are the believers and not the Rationalists—the patient inquirers who give due weight to all evidence, and therefore in historical questions to historical evidence, and not the precipitate inventors of crude and fanciful theories, based upon guesses and prejudices, and scarcely devised before some other, equally baseless, springs up to push its predecessor aside. In the interests of truth, and for the sake of the ordinary Christian mass of people, who must needs take such things to a great extent on trust, it is the imperative duty of the Church, which is the Witness and Keeper of Holy Writ, to stand forward in such a crisis, and discharge her office; or, if that cannot be in any formal way, that at least some who can speak, not formally but practically, in her name, should re-state with all the appliances of modern knowledge the old and venerable truths. And the present Commentary is the response to the call on the part of Churchmen.

Of course, it will be met on the Rationalist side—indeed it has been met already—with a sneer, which may be dismissed without much notice. Assertions incapable of proof,—as that the word for "created" in Gen. i. 1 does not mean created out of nothing; or that allusions, and idioms, and conceptions of the nature of God, and the like, prove certain books—e.g., Deuteronomy, to be compositions of many centuries later, or, in other words, forgeries, may mostly be left to the detailed answers here made to them in the

notes on the several passages themselves. That answer, indeed, might have been better done than it is, in the case of the first-named point. The special and express phrase—ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων—doubtless does not occur until late—viz., in the books we believe of the Maccabees. The date of the formal heresy is the natural date of the formal denial. But besides the usage of the Hebrew word itself, which is much more to the purpose than its derivation, the whole context of the first chapter of Genesis is conclusive of its intended meaning. The other points are far more ably met. But if the Commentary is on the whole satisfactory on this side, it will, we fear, disappoint a little a class of readers who have far more claim to be attended to. It is neither a doctrinal nor a devotional commentary. It will neither guide the thoughts, nor supply the spiritual needs, of the ordinary Scripture reader; who seeks simply his own spiritual good, or his neighbour's, and only cares for note-knowledge, so far as to clear his mind from distrust in the historical genuineness of the book, and to help him more fully to realise its spiritual purport. What there is in these volumes, incidentally, of doctrine or of reflection, is too scanty and too colourless—so far at least as this first part of the work is concerned—to meet adequately the wants of readers such as these. There appears, indeed, to have been a distinct intention on the part of its projectors to exclude what may be called sermonising; if we are to judge by the grounds upon which, as appears elsewhere, one solicited contribution was rejected. And yet, with Bishop Wordsworth's Commentary before our eyes, it must be owned that, shutting out all wordy platitudes—if that is what is meant by sermonising, and for which indeed we would have no mercy,—a much larger amount of doctrinal teaching and of Christian application might have been admitted, quite consistently with necessary brevity, and without thrusting aside the historical and (so to say) external commentary. And surely to a Christian reader, the great principle which dominates over Old Testament exegesis, and which elicits from it its deeper meaning—the principle of referring all to Christ to come,—however cautiously such a principle needs to be handled, lest it should import meaning instead of eliciting it—is, after all, the one thing supremely to be desired. Such a reader wants to know, first and above all, what the Old Testament means to him; and only desires to know also what it meant to those who wrote it, and for whom it was immediately written, because the latter is the needful

foundation of the former. The present work appears to admit the former only when it comes right in its way. It throws its strength upon the latter.

Be this, however, as it may, no doubt the great and pressing need for educated and intellectual readers, at the present moment, is that twofold work which the present Commentary has in view—viz., to utilise modern knowledge in the explanation of historical, geographical, philological, and scientific points, arising from the Scripture text, and in the production of a more perfectly correct translation; and to meet the Rationalist “disintegrators” of Scripture on their own ground, and establish with adequate knowledge the genuineness and authenticity of the text itself. We must be sure we have the Bible before we can make use of it; and must understand its letter correctly in order to enter rightly into its spirit. And while we cannot say of any part of this Commentary that it is not fairly done, there are other parts which form a really original and able contribution to both these purposes.

Leaving the later portion, which is mainly Canon Espin's work, for a second notice, we must single out for special commendation, in the earlier portion, Mr. Cook's essay on Egyptian history and his excursus upon Egyptian words in the Pentateuch, at the end of the First Part; and the geographical note on the route of the Israelites from Rameses to Mount Sinai, in the same part of the volume; to which may be added Mr. Clark's account of Sacrifice at the beginning of the second; and his articles upon Leprosy at pp. 559, 570. These are complete and thorough discussions of their several subjects, based upon the latest and fullest knowledge, and, at the same time, terse and to the point. And they fill a void not hitherto filled, with information nowhere else thoroughly and briefly handled. The conspectus of Egyptian history, indeed, is of singular interest: remembering, as one must, the outburst of sceptical triumph which attended the first discoveries in that subject. Now that a surer knowledge and a soberer judgment have arrived at something like solid conclusions, the *papyri* seem to be almost as much a revelation from the past world, tallying with the Bible history, as were the Assyrian and Babylonish monuments; while the monumental inscriptions, although less directly, yet furnish a history dovetailing with singular exactness into the Scripture narrative from Abraham down to the end of the Judges. It is, indeed, most curious, and most instructive, to find thus risen from

its tomb of ages a whole literature, disclosing a state of society and of feeling not merely corroborative of the Book of Genesis, but most wonderfully tallying with it. The existence of a literature at all at that period, of such extent, cuts away sundry captious objections to the Pentateuch history. But far beyond this, the very histories of Abraham's connection with Egypt, and of Joseph, find analogies so singular, as to convert the Bible narratives, out of difficulties, into positive and strong internal evidence to the accuracy and to the date and locality of the Biblical narrator. The fitting in of Israelitish history to Egyptian, by the aid of the monuments, is no doubt, even still, a matter largely of conjecture. The monumental history of the latter kingdom is by its very nature full of gaps, and presents scanty and defective chronological *data*. And there are accordingly more hypotheses than one among scholars—even among those who accept the Mosaic narrative—as to the periods to which the events of Israelitish history suit best. Mr. Cook's theory, which we believe is original, establishes at any rate this result with absolute certainty—that there is a scheme naturally elicited from the evidence which remarkably agrees with the statements and with the intimations of both histories. Like the corresponding monuments of Sennacherib, Egyptian records do not, of course, mention Egyptian defeats, as e.g., at the Red Sea; but they markedly leave room for them, by a silence such as to imply that there was something to be silent about. And the one point—we can hardly call it difficulty—which calls for remark, is simply that, according to Mr. Cook's arrangement of the later period, the history of the Judges requires to be supplemented—and it is a supplement most readily admissible—by conceiving of the Israelites as at that time shut up to their hills and forts, while Egyptian supremacy still held the coast-road, and strong places to secure it, and dominated over Syria. Neither nation notices the other in its records of the time; but, on the other hand, no Egyptian monument asserts the Egyptian conquest of any "Palestinian city which the Book of Judges represents as occupied by Israelites" at that period.

It requires special knowledge of Egyptology to judge accurately of Mr. Cook's argument against the different and well-known theory, which chooses Rameses II. as the first persecutor of the Israelites, and places the Exodus under his son. As that argument is stated by Mr. Cook himself, with the most careful impartiality, it looks conclusive. The second *Excursus*, that on the Egyptian words in the

Pentateuch, while it is equally with the others based upon the most recent knowledge of the subject, affords an equally convincing proof of the genuineness of the Mosaic history. Upon the most approved principles of the "higher criticism," no one could have interwoven such an amount of Egyptian lore into his narrative save one who lived at the date and with the circumstances of Moses himself.

We cannot speak so highly of the notes upon Genesis, although here, too, the work is a great advance upon all previous commentaries, with the special and marked exception of Bishop Wordsworth's. The argument against the disintegrators is substantially stated, but neither forcibly nor fully. The questions are left open which touch on physical science—whether the days of Creation were literal days or not—whether the Deluge was universal or not (inclining however strongly to a negative)—whether the account of the Fall, being in either case historical, is allegorically or literally told. And so far, we would not complain. Where Scripture leaves a question open or uncertain, it ought to be so stated. But the note upon the sacrifice of Isaac has no such defence. It begins with the most perilously ambiguous proposition—that "the true basis of all morality is obedience to the Will of God,"—a proposition most true and sound in one sense of the words, but which, in any sense in which it would apply to the case in question, is monstrously false. It is the old Occham ethical heresy revived. And then the note proceeds to ignore the real point of the case, by insisting first on Abraham's perfect faith, and next on the fact that the command was not intended by God Himself to be carried into execution. Certainly Abraham thought it was. It was no trial of his faith, had he thought otherwise. And his position must be judged on that assumption. And the question therefore still remains untouched—whether such a command *could* have proceeded from a Divine revelation? Surely the real and only answer is to be found in pointing out, that the act commanded is precisely of that class of which a command of God at once changes the character. People who eulogise the act of Brutus in sending his sons to execution because the weal of his country required and its laws demanded it, must admit in very shame that the command of God is a higher sanction than the laws of man; and that to put another to death is an act which may become the height of virtue, on the most rigid principles.

There is an excellent sermon by Dr. Jellett, to which those who would see the case honestly and reverently argued out to the utmost may be safely referred, and to which we would refer our readers for real satisfaction.

The document hypothesis is another subject which does not strike us as thoroughly and strikingly treated. Of course, within certain limits, that hypothesis in itself is not only not inadmissible but extremely likely. No one need be, or is, troubled by the very probable supposition, that inspired writers employed and worked into their writings already existing songs and genealogies and more directly historical materials; or again, that occasional glosses and explanations of later date have been added to the older historical books, whether by Ezra, as tradition has always held, or by some other competent authority, such as alone would have ventured to make additions of the kind. The two sharply contrasted views are, on the one hand, that which—finding a book (say Genesis or Deuteronomy) internally a coherent whole, archaic (or otherwise harmonising with its date) in its language, minutely cohering with its professed period and locality in manners, sentiment, literary peculiarities, social customs, and the like (as, e.g., the books of the Pentateuch do, in the most remarkable manner, with Egypt and with the Wilderness), and assumed by and consistent with all subsequent history, but at the same time containing a small amount of easily separable additions, such as a later authority might naturally add (as, e.g., the account of Moses's death); or again, of discrepancies, each easily explicable, and certainly very natural, between the older and the more recent portions, (such as the changes in the older laws as repeated in Deuteronomy,)—accepts that Book as historically what it professes to be, as any scholar would at once, under like circumstances, accept a profane classical work;—and that, on the other hand, which on the strength of these few small additions, and of purely conjectural and repeatedly confuted linguistic assertions, and of a perfectly unlike parallel with the growth of literature in totally different peoples and civilisations (e.g., with that of early Greece or Rome), sets aside the overwhelming evidence for the other view, and invents out of its own intuitions an elaborate and cumbrous theory of either mythical growth out of piecemeal fragments and subjective fancies, or of downright pious imposture.

Now we gladly welcome in this Commentary a substantially good and adequate statement in the main of the case thus put. And

we certainly should not wish to see imported into it any elaborate dissection of the numberless fragment-theories, each slaying the other. Quarry, or Macdonald, or other books more especially dedicated to the Pentateuch or to parts of it, may well be referred to for a detailed reply to such ephemeral theories. Yet it does strike us, that an ordinary reader will not find the case sharply and vigorously presented to him in these volumes in all the fulness of its real strength. He will have to hunt for what there is. And if he does not know the facts from other sources, it does not seem to us that he will readily gather from the notes and introductions any adequate understanding of the particulars, of the extravagances, and of the real futility and arrogance of the rationalist theories.

What may be called the historico-scientific difficulty—viz., the alleged parallelism between the growth of the Bible, regarded as the collective literature of the early Jews, and the growth of the literature of other nations and countries, seems hardly noticed at all. No doubt compression was the order of the work, and a very necessary order. Yet it must be owned that there is far more matter compressed into the notes (say) of Bishop Wordsworth (in spite of the learned Bishop's occasional wanderings into strange topics), than is to be found in equal space in the notes to, at any rate, the Book of Genesis in this Commentary.

We note also an occasional timidity in the work, verging on something more in one case. One particular verse in one particular chapter of Leviticus is *not* the only or the chief Scriptural ground for condemning marriage with a deceased wife's sister. And it is not fair—to say the least—to explain that verse away, whether rightly or wrongly, and then to put us off with a deference to ecclesiastical authority and to social considerations, however weighty both of these are, as though there were no Scriptural authority on the subject at all. Yet such is the treatment of the subject we here meet with.

The editor and his advisers have, we see, deliberately chosen the plan, as regards the text, of adhering to the Authorised Version, and placing amendments in thick type in the notes. They seem to our judgment to have exercised a wise choice in so doing. The forthcoming revised text, when it does come, could easily be adopted in any future edition, should any be called for when that as yet remote period is reached; and the notes could then readily be adapted to it. Meanwhile, to have introduced alterations into the text itself would have been a forestalling of the other great and expected

work, which would only have confused the minds of readers. The needful changes—those absolutely needful to the substantial correctness of the rendering—are, at least in the historical books, very few,—so few as not to interfere with the reader's convenience, because he has to look down to the bottom of the page to find them. No doubt it will be otherwise in the Prophetical Books. It is there, we admit, but a choice of evils. Yet, on the principle of one thing at a time, if each is to be done well, it seems best on the whole to do as is here done, and keep the old text as text throughout.

The second part of the first volume of the Commentary contains the last three books of the Pentateuch. We have already mentioned some of Mr. Clark's excellent longer notes on the Book of Leviticus. Of his shorter annotations, there is a very good one on the meaning of Azazel, and on the purpose and interpretation of the scapegoat; another on the meaning of the several greater Jewish festivals; and again, on the Sabbatical Year and the Jubilee. We cannot, however, desire to see "Jubile" (with a mute *e*) replacing the more euphonious, if less correct, "Jubilee," albeit the Commentary is so rigorous, in reprinting the version of 1611, as to give us the archaic form in the text: any more than we can read with undisturbed ear, in the (here reprinted) heading of the last chapter of Genesis, that Joseph was "chested." It is a more important matter that Mr. Clark enters a little more fully upon Christian interpretations, although still that great department of a Commentary is scantily handled.

The notes on the other two books are due to Canon Espin. And in that of Numbers he has laboured under a double disadvantage. The work was assigned, in the first instance, to the late Mr. Thrupp. And his successor appears to have inherited from him copious unfinished notes, with the conclusions of which (mainly in geographical points) he did not always agree, and which also the Procrustean rules (it would seem) of the general editor compelled him to compress into smaller dimensions, while at the same time filling up *lacunæ*. The notes on the history of Balaam appear to remain as principally the work of Mr. Thrupp. They strike us as sensible. Mr. Thrupp brings out pointedly the significant facts, that neither was the Angel visible, nor were the utterances of the ass intelligible or even noticeable, to any one except Balaam himself, although his two servants certainly, and the princes of Balak almost certainly, were present;

and that the narrative implies an entire absence of astonishment on the part of Balaam. Consequently we are left to the explanations, either of a vision (so Hengstenberg and others) which Mr. Thrupp (not, as it seems to us, quite conclusively) rejects, or that "the cries of the ass, which Balaam as an augur would have conceived himself able to interpret," were so guided as to convey to him a real warning (which view Mr. Thrupp accepts). We have no idea of giving in to the sneers, any more than to the reasonings, of Neologians, and should decline any attempt at a compromise, such as might make the miracle, so to say, more conceivable. Critics may refer contemptuously if they choose to Homer's speaking horses. They miss the point altogether, even if we were to treat the Bible "as any other book," when they put side by side, as analogous cases, an avowedly poetical fancy, and a deliberate narrative in a serious history. But it is a totally different thing, so to interpret the miracle itself as to harmonise it with the entire narrative, which is what Mr. Thrupp seems to us to do.

The account of Balaam himself is also sensibly written, giving the several views that have prevailed, and fairly balancing them. Canon Espin's lengthiest note on the Book of Numbers is a geographical one: He rejects the identification of Kadesh Barnea, which has of late been the accepted one, and which also Mr. Thrupp had adopted, and prefers instead a locality close to Mount Hor. His arguments seem weighty, and the question is most carefully worked out. Scarcely anything indeed of great historical importance turns upon the decision of it; the precise locality does not affect the course of the history; but it is very desirable to be correct even in such details as this, and Mr. Espin has taken great pains to be so.

The introductions to the same book and to that of Deuteronomy are on much weightier matters. The latter of the two books shares, with Isaiah, the unpleasant privilege of being the great stalking-horse of Neologian critics. It meets indeed with the harder fate of the two. We are treated, in the case of the prophet, to a group of sometimes one, sometimes more, sometimes even five Babylonian prophets, elicited out of the (contradictory) intuitions of a few very recent critical oracles, and confounded, we are told, with the real prophet Isaiah, because forsooth the scribe wanted to make up his roll to the same sort of length as other rolls, e.g., as that which contained Jeremiah. Still, these creations of a crotchety fancy are

allowed to be genuine prophets, who did write what is assigned to them.

The Book of Deuteronomy is set down as a deliberate pious forgery, of the date of Jeremiah perhaps, but at any rate centuries later than it professes to have been written. One of the most captious and petty arguments for this—that derived from the differences in the versions of the Ten Commandments in the Books of Exodus and Deuteronomy respectively—is summarily and conclusively disposed of by Canon Espin. Mr. Cook in his (very good) note upon Exodus refers to Ewald's probable supposition—that “the Ten Words,” actually spoken and engraved on the stones, were simply the brief laws themselves, without the various additions of reasons or promises or threats that accompany them in the text. But whether this be so or not, Canon Espin's remark is the plainest of common-sense,—that Moses, in taking the Commandments as the basis of an exhortation, as he does in Deuteronomy, naturally, “where literal accuracy is not to the purpose, repeats them with a measure of freedom and adaptation;” just as our Lord Himself (St. Mark x. 19), and St. Paul (Eph. vi. 2), “and indeed preachers in all ages,” have done. Larger and less pitiful objections are ably dealt with in the Introductions; such as, e.g., the resemblances between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy, the variations between laws as originally given, and as repeated (and revised) in the last book of the Law, the alleged difference between the relative position of Priests and Levites as exhibited in that and in the earlier Books of the Pentateuch. Canon Espin has entered into detail, or has referred to works which do so where space precludes his doing so himself, and has given a sensible and able summary of the case in all these points. He meets also particular objections, and most adequately meets them, in notes upon the passages themselves, and especially in treating the last three chapters of Deuteronomy.

There appears to be, however, some (not very important) confusion in the matter of interpolations, between the introduction to Numbers, p. 653, col. 1, and the notes upon chaps. xiii. and xiv. of the Book itself. Of particular notes, those upon the Prophet like unto Moses,—upon Circumcision,—upon the prophet that prophesied truly, yet tempted to idolatry,—upon the words “He that is hanged is accursed of God,”—bear marks both of well-weighed judgment and of thoroughness. There is a hasty note upon justification at Deut. vi. 25, which seems—1. to imagine faith and works

to be contrasted simply as inward and outward, the *ἐνέργεια* and the *ἔργον*, goodness regarded as springing from the heart, and objective good acts; and 2. to ignore the contrast between the Law and the Gospel while affirming rightly their fundamental harmony. We should be glad to see this revised.

But, on the whole, the work on these two books seems thoroughly and ably done, according to the limited measure, and to the ideal, laid down it should seem by the general editor. We cannot but repeat our regret that this ideal is not a higher one, and that a Commentary, which might have been a standard work for the devotional use of English Churchmen, should bid fair to turn out at best a kind of arrangement and revision of Dr. Smith's Bible Dictionary, excellent for its purpose, and that purpose a thoroughly good one, but not the highest.

BISHOP WORDSWORTH'S COMMENTARY, 1865^b.

It would be a very shallow thing, of course, to say that the details of the subject of Inspiration of Scripture are easy to settle and present no hard, perhaps insoluble, questions. As with the Incarnation itself, so with this analogous doctrine. The sooner the better, that we admit practically the impotence of the human reason to trace the line between the finite and the infinite, the human and the Divine; or even so to state the one, as to avoid in the language of that statement an apparent infringement upon the other. And yet here, as in all like cases, is not the thought wherein alone lie peace and safety to be found in this—that the great poles of doctrine are plain enough? It is surely plain to any one who either believes the New Testament, or ever examined the Old for himself with Christian eyes, not only that the entire series of events recorded in the Old Testament was a preparation for the bringing in of the Gospel, but also that the record itself was a Divine preparation for the same end. It is plain, in other words, that the Holy Spirit wrote the Old Testament—i.e., caused both the choice or omission of the topics recorded therein, with a view to the Gospel (that choice or omission being indeed wholly unaccountable on any other supposition), and also the words in which they are recorded, so far as these words, and none other, fit the narrative to fulfil that one

^b "The Holy Bible, with Notes and Introductions. Genesis and Exodus." By Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster. (Rivingtons.)

great end. He who disbelieves this must needs be on the way to disbelieve the New Testament itself. And if the Old Testament is thus inspired, *à fortiori* the New Testament is so likewise.

On the other hand, it is equally plain that the stamp of the individual writer, of his time and knowledge and mode of speech, is upon each book; and that each did not cease to be himself, or to use his own faculties, because he was also in the use of them an instrument in the hand of God. Of course, the instant a definite combination of these two truths is attempted, hard questions arise. Those faculties were human, and therefore fallible. How far is their fallibility taken away by the Divine inspiration? The Divine aspect of the Bible does not indeed imply, it may be said at once, that the human writers were enabled to use language on wholly irrelevant topics beyond the knowledge, on such topics, of their own age. It plainly did not do so, as a fact. And if it had, it would have merely rendered the several books of the Bible unintelligible to their contemporaries, and would have involved a miracle without a purpose. Yet to what precise extent such inaccuracy extended, may well be a question about which equally reverent minds, up to obvious limits, may differ. On the other side, to resort to the expedient in which many now seem tempted to take refuge, and to talk about the writer being inspired, but not his words, is surely either irrelevant or an error. If it means only that the man who wrote was not a mere pen in another's hand, it is simply irrelevant. No sensible man disputes this. But the question to us is one about the words, not about the man.

That St. Paul was inspired, is a fact of no concern to us, if the words which he used, and which alone convey to us his meaning, were not inspired also. And if it means that his inspiration did not extend to his writings, and while it gave him the power of grasping the truth, did not enable him also to communicate it, it is simply a denial of the inspiration of the Scriptures altogether. They become a merely human report of Divine truth, and leave us to discover, for ourselves, if we can, how much of them is true and how much false. In either direction, then, there are statements plainly untenable; whilst yet the double truth, which lies at the foundation, is plain and certain; and within its limits lie also a number of open questions, which human reason can scarcely expect so to solve as to close them absolutely to one issue. The case is so with every analogous doctrinal topic—with Predestination and Free Will, with the Attributes of God and the existence of evil, with Grace and

Freedom, with the Incarnation itself. In each case the issues of controversy have been overruled, to establish two (as it were) co-equal truths as the essential basis of the faith, to stigmatise certain extreme statements either way as plainly contradictory of one or other of those truths, but to leave a wide field between, wherein different schools of thought may freely incline to either side, so that they recognise the inability of human thought or language to grasp the whole truth at once. Meanwhile, however these points may be settled, the discussion of the subject will no doubt do good, if it leads us to see that on the one hand we must not dogmatise upon details and inferences, beyond the evidence of Scripture itself; but yet, on the other, must firmly cleave to the great and fundamental truth, that the Spirit of God wrote the Bible although by the free instrumentality of human faculties.

Dr. Wordsworth's Commentary, it need hardly be said, is written on the distinct, prominent, and ever over-ruling assumption, that what the Scriptures say was said by the Holy Spirit, and with a view to the Gospel. His exposition is based upon the continual supposition that their entire narrative is typical, in the widest sense of the term, of Christ and of His Church. And the authorities resorted to, as guides to discover their sense, are primarily, of course, the Scriptures of the New Testament; next, the LXX. as quoted in the New Testament and so applied by New Testament writers to the explanation of the Old; further, and in a subordinate way, the Fathers; but besides all these, and in a way which forms indeed a marked peculiarity of this Commentary, the order in which the ancient Jewish Church combined Law and Prophets in an orderly double series of lessons, and so recorded their sense of the related meanings of the several portions of the two. This last source of information is a specialty of Dr. Wordsworth's.

And perhaps he is inclined to make too much of it. The authority of the Jewish Church between the Captivity and the Coming of Christ is a conclusive *argumentum ad homines*, when applied to convince the later Jews, who have striven to get rid of Christian evidence from the Old Testament by changing their own traditional expositions. Its positive weight is less, although no doubt worth something. Traditional Jewish interpretations were often the fruit of Rabbinical conjecture. And even the order of their synagogue lessons cannot go for more than would the authority of the Sanhedrim who arranged them. Still, with due allowance, we so far

quite agree with Dr. Wordsworth, as to think that the subject is worth investigating, by way of illustration and support to other and better grounds of exposition. The other point upon which Dr. Wordsworth lays great and more deserved stress is the investigation, not simply of formal quotations from the LXX. in the New Testament, but also of special words used by the LXX. and adopted without marked or express quotation by the New Testament writers. No doubt the particular department of phraseology in the Greek language which expresses ecclesiastical ideas is largely of LXX. coinage. And we cannot do better, in expounding the New Testament usage of such Greek terms, than look to their LXX. usage. Dr. Wordsworth would have us look the other way also; and when we find a phrase of the LXX. Old Testament used in the New, expound also the former by the exposition implied in the latter. It is hardly fair of him perhaps to quote Valckenaer's defence of the one practice on behalf of the other. The one is a matter of sensible Greek scholarship; the other depends on the (Christian) assumption, that the New Testament is an inspired exposition of the Old. But here again we agree, and more heartily than in the case of the Jewish lessons, with the view of Dr. Wordsworth.

Upon particular points, Dr. Wordsworth appears to us open to criticism. He insists upon the universality of the Deluge, resolving all difficulties by the one solution of miracle. It does not appear to our minds clear that the Scripture narrative means more than the universal destruction of the human race save those in the Ark. The references in after parts of Scripture certainly do not bear the stress that is here laid upon them. If it were plain that the Scriptures do mean an absolute covering of the whole earth, then be it so: the solution of difficulties by the hypothesis of miracle is sufficient. But first let it be plain that the Scriptures do mean this, and can mean nothing else. It does not seem to us that the case is so plain as Dr. Wordsworth makes it.

The general drift, however, of Dr. Wordsworth's Commentary is not to explain and analyse the Hebrew text, but to expound the obvious questions arising upon the contents of the Bible, and above all to set forth its Christian application for the benefit of English readers. And this purpose it will well answer. It is a reverent and fairly complete digest of the spiritual interpretation of Scripture, mainly from Patristic sources; accompanied by an adequate account from modern authorities, and by Dr. Wordsworth himself, of the

various historical, geographical, and exegetical matters necessary to the literal understanding of the text. Difficulties are not avoided. Nay, rather they are taken as it were by the horns, and answered upon principles, which indeed supply the true answer, but which themselves will of course not be admitted by the sceptic. And the spiritual interpretation is given, as it ought to be, with a simple indifference to the modern tone of contemptuous superiority with which such interpretations are even now sometimes received.

We honour Dr. Wordsworth's boldness, although, after all, we verily believe that the scepticism which makes such a noise in the world really covers a far larger amount of humble faith. Nor are we going to add for our own parts—what Dr. Wordsworth is as fully aware of as any one—the needful but obvious cautions against lack of sobriety in such interpretations. Suffice it here to have laid before our readers the quality and value of the work; and while conscious still of a slight tendency on Dr. Wordsworth's part to press words and arguments occasionally beyond what seems to us their legitimate bearing, to bear our testimony to the learning, the ingenuity, and completeness according to its purpose, of this valuable Commentary, supplying (as it promises to do) a long-lamented hiatus in English divinity.

SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE^c.

THERE is, in that portion of this book which trenches upon topics where modern opinion is unsettled or unsound, a tone of compromise—a fashion of stating in the third person, not what the writer believes, but what various commentators say; an anxiety to frame historical and exegetical statements in such a manner as to leave room for all the opinions of every one; in short, that kind of general attempt to displease nobody, which usually ends in the opposite result of displeasing everybody. Perhaps it could not be helped. A mixed and motley body of clergymen and laymen of various opinions, marshalled by a Dissenter (although one eminent in the literary world), and bound over not to be theological, could scarcely dare to dogmatise heartily on any delicate subject. And we must accept what is given us, and be thankful it is no worse.

^c "A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History." Edited by W. Smith, LL.D. Vol. I., "A," to "Juttah." (Murray; Walton and Maberly.)

Taking, indeed, the tone of the book as a thermometer by which to measure the temperature of English religious belief at this present time, there is, in sober seriousness, much comfort to be derived from its contents. In order to be popular, and to command an unimpeded circulation, clever men feel, that in England, a book treating of religion, even in a merely historical and antiquarian way, must keep out of its list of contributors all names marked for decidedly unorthodox views—must deal with German theories no doubt, but in order to disprove them—may omit Patristic learning but without assailing it—must assume the inspiration and canonicity of Scripture, although admitting a flavour of the critical spirit in details—must treat of miracles, and demoniacal possession, and the existence of Satan, and the supernaturalness and objective truth of prophecy, and of like subjects, in the language of faith—and while adventuring to the furthest English point of freedom of inquiry, must risk nothing worse than omissions and timid hesitations, here and there, with a sense of the necessity of actually answering itself upon its one most daring deflection from common belief, the question of the brethren of our Lord and the ever Virginity of His Blessed Mother. A happy ingenuity indeed sends us from *Deluge* to *Flood* and from *Flood* to *Noah*; and thus relegates one delicate topic to the future volume. While *Creation* as a separate article is prudently omitted, and the subject is hastily huddled up in a paragraph or two of the article (strangely timid, and full of concessions, considering its author) upon *Genesis*. But, upon the whole, *our* Encyclopædists communicate abundant and profound information, without undermining, if they do not do much to strengthen, the foundations of faith, contribute to an untold amount to an intelligent knowledge of the facts of Scripture, and, as far as they disclose any theology at all, support in the main that which is sound.

An examination of some one letter of the Dictionary will best bring out both merits and defects. Under B, for example, we have the significant omission of any article upon *Baptism*. And under *Bishops*, we are treated—not to an account of the Episcopal office in its modern sense, as proved by Scripture to have existed from the beginning, although under a different terminology—but to a learned development of the word “episcopal” as equivalent in Scripture to *Presbyter*;—a fact which indeed forms one of the key-stones in the argument for *Episcopacy*, but which is here so treated

as simply to avoid the question. Nor is this monstrous omission repaired under *Apostles* or under *Angels*, or anywhere else that we can see: Dean Alford carefully informing us, under the former head, that modern Bishops do *not* succeed the Apostles, except chronologically, and *Angels* and *Bishops* being omitted altogether. We have, in short, an article redolent of the same propensity to melt away Scripture testimony to Church organisation into a hazy cloud of undeveloped hints which disfigures Professor Stanley's "Essays on the Apostolic Age." Much the same is to be said of the article on *Deacons*. And that on *Priests*, if it is to be by the same hand, we could almost write by anticipation. Yet the writer of these articles, in his own proper person, is a man of far deeper views. Under *Bible*, on the other hand—while a large portion of difficult ground is rightly left for the head of *Canon*, and is well treated there, and the plan of the book rightly excludes any separate treatment of *Inspiration*—under *Bible*, we have a really learned and thorough historical account of the name Bible, and of the arrangements and divisions of the book as a whole. Of shorter articles, that on Balaam is reverent and right-minded, although very brief. The geographical articles are excellent—all, indeed, that could be desired—as they are throughout the volume. Bashan, Bethel, Bethlehem, may be specified under the letter we are considering. And the article *Jerusalem*, in the later part of the volume, almost rivals for excellence that upon Rome in the "Dictionary of Geography." For geography is an innocent subject. And it is not yet quite an article of faith to believe Robinson and not Williams upon the traditional and historical topography of the Holy Land and its sites.

While upon geography, more than almost any other subject, our knowledge is sifted and multiplied beyond measure by modern investigation. We cannot, however, assign the merit of completeness to the Dictionary. In the list of names of slighter importance there are several omissions. We look in vain for any account of the *Babylon* in Egypt, or of the meaning of the word in St. Peter's Epistle. There are two or three *Barachias*'s left unnoticed; and several of the names of places compounded of *Beth*, and of persons compounded of *Ben*—e.g., Beth-hanan, Beth-Millo, and Benabnadab, Bendekar,—do not occur under the letter B, but elsewhere. The account of the law of Moses regarding unclean *birds* is very scantily treated; and it is forgotten altogether that bees are

unclean by the same law (Levit. xi. 23). The names of Phœnician places are left out, we suppose, designedly. Yet surely *Byblos* ought to occur with a reference to *Gebal*, and *Berytus* should be mentioned a little more formally than by a merely incidental allusion under *Berothah*. There is, again, no article at all upon *Bath-Kol*. And *Blessing*, or *Benediction*, would have supplied materials for an article innocent enough, and strictly within the province of the Dictionary; but we look for it in vain. The great sin, however, of the book, that is referable to the letter B, is the attempt to prove our Lord's "brethren" to have been literally so, and children of the B. Virgin by Joseph. The reply to this—by Mr. Meyrick—occurs under *James*; but the editor has fairly called attention to the subject in his Preface. Perhaps we speak under a stronger bias in favour of an ancient and widely-spread and reverent belief, than appears to influence Mr. Farrar, or his authority, Dean Alford. But we cannot help feeling that their "presumptions" are blown to the winds by their corrector and antagonist; that the old interpretation of "brethren," as meaning "cousins," alone falls in with the actual words of Scripture; and that in a subject which depends upon no other evidence than hypotheses constructed with a view to fit in with isolated and indirect hints and phrases, traditional belief has a special right to be heard.

We believe that a similar examination of any other letter would lead to a like general result. It would not be fair, however, to affix an indiscriminate criticism to the whole of the book. The contrast between the several writers is great, and each is entitled to his own due. Dean Alford's contributions, we should think, must have somewhat disgusted the anxious mind of the editor, who doubtless looked for more effectual aid from such a quarter. Mr. Barry's have commended themselves most strongly to our minds as nervous and sound statements upon points involving opinion—e. g., *Dreams*, *Demons*. Of Mr. Ellicott's accounts of the several Epistles of St. Paul, Mr. Westcott's articles on subjects connected with the Canon of Scripture, Mr. Rawlinson's historical and geographical contributions, and those (perhaps still more numerous) which are drawn by others from Mr. Rawlinson's labours, it is necessary only to say that they are worthy of the writers; while Mr. Perowne's articles, on the contrary, have seriously disappointed our expectations. It would be unfair to refrain from specifying Professor Stanley's *Life of David* as in its kind a perfect specimen

of an exhaustive and yet condensed biography, instinct throughout with that picturesque and living mental photography which is Dr. Stanley's forte. Mr. Grove appears to have discharged the editor's duty of filling up lacunæ throughout the volume, and to have discharged it effectively. His initials recur repeatedly, and the articles to which they are attached are invariably to the point, learned, and concise.

As a whole, the work is assuredly a noble contribution to Biblical learning. It has, indeed, rather brought existing rays of light into a focus, than largely multiplied them. But the growth of *external* knowledge respecting Scripture has proceeded of late years at so rapid a pace, as to call imperatively for an entire remoulding of our manuals on such subjects. The present volume does the work on the whole with competent learning and marked ability. It wastes time too much over Ewald and De Wette, and the host of other German writers and commentators. It does not always adhere to the strict limits of its province, but wanders now and then into subjects belonging rather to the Lexicon or the Concordance (e.g., the article upon *Instantly*), and some of them referring solely to accidental turns of language characterising the English Authorised Version and that only. It is not always consistent in details—e.g., in what is said of the use of "hours" as a division of time in the articles upon *Day* and *Dial* respectively. And it is not (as we have said) absolutely complete, as an Index of Scripture Proper Names, or in dealing with all subjects fairly claiming a place in its pages. But with all drawbacks that can be made, and admitting at once that no book of the kind can be free from both blemishes and incompleteness, it is a work on the whole of gigantic and thorough learning, brought within easy use of all commonly educated persons; a store of gold, drawn out of distant and inaccessible mines, and stamped and rendered into current and genuine coin for the use of the world.

VOLS. II. AND III. (WITH APPENDICES TO VOL. I.)

A LARGE and carefully-chosen staff of the cream of English divines and scholars, each contributing to a joint work the essence in brief of the special studies of his life, could scarcely fail of accumulating a wonderful mass of exact and thorough knowledge. And too much, accordingly, can hardly be said of the greatness of the

work Dr. Smith has accomplished for Biblical students, by concentrating, as he does in this Dictionary, and bringing within easy and ready reach, the full results of modern research and thought, which otherwise lay scattered in numerous and often inaccessible books, or were hidden in foreign tongues, or were to be attained by the student for himself only by labours which would distract him from whatever was his own special pursuit. Long experience, also, in the craft of Dictionary-making has enabled Dr. Smith and his staff to bring nearly to perfection the difficult art of moulding such multifarious materials into a complete, well-digested, and orderly whole. We do not expect, indeed, that it will convert literates into learned men *per saltum*, or supply to the laity the threatened want of a learned clergy. A book, even such a book as this, is no royal road to learning. And the learning which Dr. Smith communicates is but the lowest stage of that learning which Christian men should have respecting the Bible. But it will undoubtedly contribute a giant's help towards diffusing a real, although only a material, knowledge of the Bible and its contents.

It is a harder task to breathe an uniformity of tone and spirit into a book so constructed. The abler the writers, and the more they deal with a subject as masters of it, the greater their idiosyncrasies, and certainly the more marked and independent the cast of their thoughts. And in Biblical subjects, at the present time,—even assuming the general principle of belief,—the oscillation between old and new, and the confessedly unsettled state of many, not unimportant though not fundamental, questions, and the difficulty of drawing the line in some cases between unjustifiable licence of speculation and honest maintenance of plainly-proved truths against mere prejudice, enhances the difficulty considerably in such a work as Dr. Smith's. The result of such an attempt is apt to tend towards a weak compromise here and there with this or that popular cry among scholars, towards an overlay of intellectualism in point of tone, towards an effort to be clever and orthodox both, in matters where cleverness happens to be shallowness and not orthodoxy. And some such tendencies cannot be altogether denied in regard to the present work. Perhaps its best defence will be found in the fact that the English organs of both Roman Catholics and Rationalists unite in inveighing against it.

Taking the work, however, as a whole, Dr. Smith appears to have tolerably, though far from wholly, mastered the difficulty.

The general tone of the book is distinctly on the side of orthodox belief. Written mainly by clergymen, and written moreover by men of real and solid learning, a believing, nay even a Church tone, as might be expected, pervades a large proportion of the articles; so far at least as it is reasonable for us to expect, or indeed for Dr. Smith to have permitted it to do so, in a work expressly and rightly not controversial. Articles like Bishop Fitzgerald's on Miracles, or Professor Harold Browne's on Baptism, or Mr. Thrupp's on the old Testament, or Mr. Meyrick's on the Church, carefully non-polemical as they are, may cover a multitude of sins. Nor is the tone of the mass of articles materially different. Dr. Wordsworth's articles on Son of God and Son of Man, Mr. Plumptre's life of Solomon, Mr. Ferguson's ingenious article on the Tabernacle, the whole of the geographical and of the natural history articles, most of the smaller biographies, and above all the exceedingly valuable articles on MSS. and Versions of the Bible, may be instanced; as treating no doubt of topics tolerably apart (save the first mentioned) from theological bias of any kind, but as thoroughly efficient and good. At the same time there are sins, and great sins, to cover. The tone of the article on St. Stephen, for instance, which has the miserable ill taste to put him forward (in so many words) as the first instance of "free handling" of theology, and to parade a dozen "additions and variations" between his speech and the Old Testament history, with a cool assumption of the alleged contradiction between the two, and then to draw an inference from such premises in favour of the unhistorical character of Bible inspiration, or in other words to say that the Bible is full of errors of fact. Or that again on St. Paul, which refers readers, as to an authority on the subject, and unwarned, not only to Professor Jowett's but to Dr. Colenso's Introductions to the Romans, and which seems to treat as a debatable question the genuineness of St. Paul's Pastoral Epistles: an article indeed which, with many merits, is yet rather like *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out; for it is a Life of St. Paul which says scarcely one word of justification by faith. Or that of the article on the Pentateuch, which has indeed already been eagerly laid hold of by Dr. Colenso, although upon rather hasty assumptions. Or that again upon Marriage, which pronounces marriage with a deceased wife's sister Scriptural, on grounds that would justify a man in marrying his grandmother—viz., the absence of a literal prohibition in a list assumed to be exhaustive. We cannot wonder that

Dr. Colenso, in meeting in such a book with such an article as the third we have named, cannot refrain from a slight chuckle of exultation. Yet he has only a plausible ground in the particular case for indulging in the feeling. Indisputably it is possible to hold a theory of Elohistic and Jehovistic documents together with a sincere acceptance of the Inspiration of Scripture. And to admit *some* such theory is therefore no imputation on a writer's faith. Inspiration is clearly not inconsistent with the use by the inspired writer of previously existing documents; and those documents may, consistently with their historic truth, have employed one or other of the two names of the Almighty exclusively. At the same time it cannot be denied that the arguments of the writer of the article to establish this, tremble on the edge of a position certainly not consistent with Inspiration. They turn mainly upon a supposed combination of two accounts of the Deluge, which are historically inconsistent with each other, but which yet have been (it is asserted) combined, though unreconciled, by the inspired penman. And the arguments alleged for this double and contradictory story are so ludicrously weak as to make one marvel how any man of the writer's known abilities could be persuaded by them. The very central dogma indeed of the documentary hypothesis does appear to be inconceivably arbitrary. Why, in the name of common sense, is it impossible, or unlikely, that one and the same writer should use *both* names for God, without in all cases an internal reason for so doing? In many cases there is a reason, which we must fairly affirm to be a sufficient one, for the use of one or other name in preference. In other cases the names are used in almost alternate verses, and where no particular internal reason demanded the one or the other. Yet what more natural than that both should be thus used indiscriminately? In the Psalms the reasons may be traced for the special usage of the two names. And that which explains the usage of the Psalms is in the great bulk of cases a sufficient explanation of the Book of Genesis. Where it is not, the assumption is surely most arbitrary, that two writings must come from different writers, because, two names of God existing, first one is used and then the other, without apparent ground in the context for either preference.

The article on Noah, by the same writer, has likewise been turned to account by Dr. Colenso. It is a strenuous defence of the doctrine of a *partial* Deluge which, destroying the whole existing race of men, was otherwise confined to a single and narrow locality. Now, here,

the one point on which the history insists is the total destruction of man. Anything further is an open question. Nor is it necessary to any fair view of Inspiration, that we should suppose the inspired writer to know collateral facts, irrelevant to his main purpose. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that the evidence of the Bible narrative reaches only to a flood extending over a part of the earth's surface. Provided only that all the existing race of men, save Noah and his company, were destroyed by it, all necessary conditions are satisfied. Anything beyond may be left to critics and men of science to settle between them. And here, therefore, we acquit Mr. Perowne, whose name there can be no objection to our mentioning, since it has already been brought prominently forward. Of the other articles, however, which we have mentioned (and there may be more), we can but express a sincere regret that so great a currency as this book will confer should be given to the views contained in them.

The book is open to criticism on one or two other sides, although to no great extent. A standard encyclopædia of Biblical learning ought to set forth established conclusions, or when they do not exist, then impartial statements of the balance of evidence, and in either case to keep clear of controversy—we mean controversy respecting facts—still more of crotchety or personal controversy. Dr. Smith has largely succeeded in so doing. But Dr. Tregelles has been too much for him. Yet really we might be content to find elsewhere the great cause of *Scrivener v. Tregelles*. And another writer has wasted an angry note in murdering Dr. Lindsay Alexander. Another difficulty in the editor's way is of a different kind. Dr. Smith has apparently found it hard to draw the line between a Dictionary and a collection of Essays. It would be ungracious to quarrel with him for so far holding the reins loosely, as to admit the elaborate book upon Miracles which Bishop Fitzgerald has contributed, or the valuable and learned summaries of whole volumes of lore, which Mr. Westcott and Dr. Tregelles and Mr. Deutsch and Mr. Thrupp have condensed upon the literary history of Texts, and MSS., and Versions, and Targums, and upon the interpretation of the Bible. They are not exactly articles in a Dictionary, which simply record isolated facts in a form available for ready reference. But however admitted, Dr. Smith's readers may be thankful that they are so.

After all, it must be remembered that the knowledge of the Bible

here communicated is but the porch to the inner sanctuary. It will be useful according as it is used. The more we know of the outer shell of the Bible, the more we may know intelligently the bearings and connection of that true knowledge of Scripture which is its kernel. And a learned clergy and a learned laity may be a safeguard against sceptical attacks, such as could not be found elsewhere. But in these days it is desirable to bear in mind that all this critical knowledge is, after all, subordinate to higher purposes; and that it is not, and must not be supposed to be, theology.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCES OF THE TRUTH OF THE SCRIPTURE RECORDS^d.

BAMPTON LECTURES are taking a fresh start. They had almost become proverbial as types of the dull and feeble—so much orthodoxy, and well if it was orthodoxy, done to order—and galvanised only into fitful spasms of life by occasional comet-like exhibitions of a different class. People bought them to fill up their sets, but scarcely on other grounds. But last year (in spite of the preposterous misunderstandings of Mr. Maurice and of Fraser), and this year upon a subject within easy range of even the plainest understandings, we have two works upon two different branches of Christian evidences, each of them in power and in learning commanding a far wider and deeper interest, and doing effectually (as Canon Bampton designed) the very work which the exigencies of religious thought at the present time require.

At the same time, there is a striking contrast between the two series. History now, takes the place of metaphysics then. For the internal evidence of last year, we have in the present such as is purely external. For the indirect and preliminary argument, which puts an opponent out of court by shewing that he has no *locus standi*, we have now direct and affirmative testimony to the actual veracity of the Scriptures. And a catalogue of particulars which a methodical mind strives hard to relieve from dryness, succeeds, in Mr. Rawlinson's volume, to a display of argumentative

^d "The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records stated anew, with Special Reference to the Doubts and Discoveries of Modern Times." By George Rawlinson, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1859. (Murray; and J. H. and J. Parker.)

subtlety, the very surpassing ingenuity of which constituted in itself an actual rhetorical excellence in Mr. Mansel's. But although of a perfectly different style of merit, the present series of Lectures fills its own proper niche adequately and effectively. It possesses, no doubt, an adventitious interest, in addition to its more solid merits. It contains, in an accessible and intelligible form, a *précis* of the historical evidence to Scripture, which has risen, as it were, from the grave to confound the sceptic, through Sir H. Rawlinson's labours and Mr. Layard's and those of other *savans* in the cuneiform writings, such as Dr. Hincks and Mr. Fox Talbot. And people will eagerly turn to it, in order to see for themselves what additional wealth of testimony has been actually gained in a way so surprising and so unimpeachable.

But the work takes a wider range than that of merely exhibiting the results of cuneiform deciphering, and possesses a more permanent value than that which arises from its being the only present popular source of a special class of curious information. It professes to state anew the whole scheme of historical evidence, internal and external, to the truth of the Scriptures, waiving the assumption of inspiration; and to meet the mythical theories of Strauss and De Wette and others with respect to the New, as well as the Old Testament. Omitting all question of the prophetic books, and of their fulfilment, it sifts the evidence for historical statements respecting past facts, and these alone. And while perforce lacking detail and minuteness, such as would be more properly demanded from a work after the model of Shuckford, Prideaux, or Stackhouse, it succeeds fairly in its avowed object of comprising within one volume an outline of its own particular class of testimony.

We say Mr. Rawlinson succeeds *fairly* in his self-imposed task. But a less ambitious aim, and a more detailed and elaborate execution, would have resulted, as it strikes us, in a work both more interesting and taking higher rank. And some of the notes give proof of Mr. Rawlinson's ability to produce such a work. But to exhibit, as he strives to do, without omission, or without laying a writer open to the charge of slurring over difficulties, the whole of two such vast subjects as 1, the internal evidence of the Scriptures, as a body of documents bearing witness to themselves and to each other; and 2, the entire range of external testimony borne to them by profane history, would require a dozen volumes instead of one. To do for all the books of the Bible what a Paley and a Blunt, or

again Biscoe, have partially done for some or for one, and to comprise besides that, and in one octavo volume, the digested and corrected results of all the historical lore of the folios of Prideaux and his more modern successors, together with the large amount of additional information derived from the deciphering of hieroglyphics and cuneiform inscriptions, to say nothing of other sources—is a task beyond even the learning, and great methodising and systematising powers, possessed by Mr. Rawlinson. Both in the present volume, and in the appendices to his *Herodotus*, the capacity shewn of clearly saying much in a little space, and of condensing particulars into a marked and well-drawn summary, is singularly great. But Mr. Rawlinson has here taxed his powers with a task beyond the ability of anybody to accomplish to entire satisfaction. And we cannot but think that had he elaborated in minute detail the peculiar subject which circumstances have doubly connected with his name—the results, as regards Scripture, of cuneiform discoveries—it would have been a better choice, both for the public and for his own reputation; and would have issued in a more striking and picturesque volume of lectures. He would then have built up for ever one great bulwark of the edifice of Christian evidences, which would have remained, like Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, stamped with his name as his special work; instead of accomplishing, with an unavoidable degree of superficiality, a larger task, to be ranked simply as one among the many able but necessarily indistinct outlines of one whole department of such evidences.

But however this may be, the Lectures, in what they do accomplish, have a special and a great value. They recall men's minds from what may be called the subjective mode of writing history—of late so much in vogue—to the old-fashioned wisdom of believing what we are told, so that the authority who tells it be worthy of credit. The *à priori* principle of criticising truth itself, as well as the evidences of truth, has been reduced within its proper bounds by Mr. Mansel in the department of theological doctrine. It meets with similar treatment at the hands of Mr. Rawlinson in the department of Scripture history.

It is really refreshing to find oneself again among one's school-boy acquaintances of the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs, yet not (as before) with an uneasy sense that blunders and truths were all put upon a level, and everything that anybody had written in any century, all reckoned for gospel alike, but with a well-sifted basis

of good critical history to rest upon, and actual "bricks" (but in this case inscribed bricks) to testify to that history. Here, in Mr. Rawlinson's pages, we have evidence starting up from a place and position removed unanswerably out of the very reach of even a suspicion of collusion, to nearly every point upon which profane history could be expected to speak. To confine ourselves to cuneiform discoveries, we have testimony, first, to Chedorlaomer, his nation, and his western expedition. We have testimony of a similar nature strongly corroborating both the geography and ethnology of the Scripture respecting the land of Chaldæa in the same early times; and, more still, respecting the broad divisions of races of mankind in the 10th chapter of Genesis. Passing to the next point of connection between Jewish and Assyrian history, we find Jehu (called "the son of Omri," with a degree and kind of inaccuracy strongly corroborative of the honesty and competency of the witness), and we have also Menahem, Hezekiah (Sennacherib's enemy), and Manasseh (as tributary to Esarhaddon), actually mentioned by name upon Assyrian monuments. We have the Benhadad, who was Ahab's foe, also mentioned by name, and as king of Damascus, and as warring with Assyria at the head of confederate kings, and with armies, including (at one time so many as 1,100) chariots; and we have also Hazael by name as his successor. Passing on a century later, we find Pul (probably) taking tribute from Beth-Khumri—the House of Omri—or Samaria. And thenceforward, being precisely the period where Assyrian history and Jewish become closely intermingled, and where a false record would be certain of detection, the points of identity increase in particularity, and multiply in number, while the discrepancies are few and unimportant. And we have from the monuments, Tiglath Pileser's invasions of Rezin, of Damascus, and of Israel, with the mistake (valuable rather as a proof of independence than material as a discrepancy) of Menahem instead of Pekah—Shalmaneser's siege of Samaria, which remained, however, for Sargon to take—Sargon's capture of Ashdod, and planting of colonists in his newly-acquired dominion of Media—the *first* expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah, with its details, exact in all points, even to numbers, except in the number of talents of silver exacted from Hezekiah—the captivity of Manasseh by Esarhaddon, carried by that monarch to Babylon, where he, and of the Assyrian monarchs he alone, had a palace, and occasionally held his court—the inde-

pendent, and to Assyria hostile, monarchy of Merodach Baladan at Babylon—the exact chronology, harmonising with Scripture, of the succession of Nebuchadnezzar by Evilmerodach—the nature of the Chaldean learning and learned order, exactly agreeing with the Book of Daniel—an almost certain allusion in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar's to that monarch's mysterious sickness—Neziglissar or Nergal-Shar-Ezer, called by Jeremiah and in his own inscriptions by the title of Rabmag—and last, but not least, the discovery that Belshazzar, or Bil-shar-uzur, was the son of Nabonadius, but associated with him in the kingdom, and that Berosus and Daniel are therefore, after all, at one in their account of the capture of Babylon. And to set against this minute and long-continued harmony there is, (besides the two small discrepancies already noticed, and some unimportant chronological difficulties referred to in a note,) merely the one negative fact, most obviously explicable, of the omission by Sennacherib to notice his own second and unfortunate expedition against Hezekiah; while the points of union are of the minute, incidental, and undesigned kind of which Paley has both signalled and exemplified the strong argumentative force in his invaluable book. We share Mr. Rawlinson's hopes that some further discovery may yet solve the only remaining Babylonian difficulty, rendered of no importance as a difficulty by the discovery above noticed respecting Belshazzar—viz. the at present insoluble puzzle about Darius the Mede.

Such are pretty nearly the additional facts which recent Assyrian discovery presents. We could have wished that Mr. Rawlinson had spared us a little of his summary view of other kinds of evidence, and had enlarged upon this. We desiderate some account of the method by which the discoveries have been made, such as to shew how completely unimpeachable their evidence is. We desiderate, also, some account of the principles upon which the inscriptions have been deciphered; so as to shew that the previous Scriptural or other knowledge of the decipherer, however much it may have suggested, and legitimately suggested, the line of inquiry to be pursued, has not been imported into the inscriptions, but leaves their witness absolutely independent. We should have been more thankful to him, also, had he worked out more fully but in the same spirit the same class of subjects as those of which he has given us specimens in note 87 to Lecture II., and note 86 to Lecture IV. And, in short, a full exposition of the one subject would have more

completely answered our hopes, than one which is obliged to pass over, *sicco pede*, not only other topics requiring elucidation, but even historical ones.

The bare mention of geology, without any explanation of geological difficulties respecting the Creation, or of the recent (although, no doubt, unsound) speculations, based upon the discoveries of Mr. Horner, and M. Boucher de Perthes; the equally bare mention of Lieut. Lynch's most interesting exploration of the Jordan Valley, unaccompanied by any elucidation of the features which distinguish that locality from other (at first sight most similar) salt lakes—as, *e.g.*, Lake Van—these and other incomplete and cursory statements of the same kind, point to an error, not in Mr. Rawlinson's treatment of his subject—for they are topics that do not properly belong to it—but in the plan itself of his work. While the brief allusion (in a note, and that imperfectly) to such a matter as the discrepancy between Scripture history and prophecy on the subject of Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Egypt in the time of Pharaoh-Hophra, and, on the other hand, the version of the events of that period given by Egyptian priests to Herodotus, strikes us as a distinct imperfection in the book itself. We mention it because we do not think it stands alone.

A hostile or sceptical critic might find other unnoticed difficulties. At the same time, the task which the Lecturer has chosen for himself, is one so useful, with a view to the present state of historical science in its reflex effect upon theology; he has so ably applied to Scripture history the well-balanced principles by which recent thinkers have preserved the good but rejected the evil of the Niebuhrian school—and he has infused into his work such an amount of solid good sense, that it is with considerable reluctance that we make any apparently ungracious criticisms. His volume will help powerfully, we trust, to restore at Oxford the wholesome tone of historical faith, which the recent tendency of speculation has assuredly shaken more than is right: while the critical and intelligent spirit which pervades it will place it above the sneer of the would-be rationalist, and enable it to neutralise the evil influences which have been distilled into second-rate English literature from the Bunsens, the Von Bohlens, and the De Wettes of our German kinsfolk.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE DIVINE AND HUMAN ELEMENTS IN HOLY SCRIPTURE*.

As of religion in general, so of the Holy Scriptures. It is a first requisite to any fair reasoning, that the stress of the argument be removed from isolated and negative objections and difficulties, and laid upon the broad and positive foundation of the whole case taken together. Grant that St. Stephen did appear to have put one name for another in the course of a speech,—or that St. Luke in one short parenthesis so expressed himself as to look at first sight guilty of an anachronism about a Roman Governor,—yet the impression made by such instances will differ by the whole difference between scepticism and faith, to the mind that dwells primarily upon captious details of the sort, and to that which listens to them from the secure eminence of a well-grounded apprehension of the positive claims of Scripture upon its belief. The mind of a believer, who knows Whom and what he has believed, may well be content to wait for the solution of petty and external difficulties, in the safe expectation that (as has been the fact with the two instances named) such solution really exists, and will some day be discovered, or if not, it does not matter. Moral arguments are unlike mathematical ones. The flaw that would vitiate the latter, leaves the former unshaken, and simply sets the mind upon further inquiry, without robbing it of that which still rests upon its own wide and proper foundations. The Bible is not the less divine, to the mind that has grasped the broad features of its divinity, merely because in this or that unimportant detail there remain apparent discrepancies that as yet have no solution.

On this ground the order of Dr. Hannah's work is a wise and sound one. He begins, after preliminary statements and definitions, by exhibiting the broad proofs of Divine origin patent in the Scriptures taken as a whole. And only upon the basis thus laid does he proceed to discuss the human side of the Bible, and to provide due answers and limitations for the human characteristics which are either alleged to exist or do in fact exist in it. Let us consider how

* "The Relation between the Divine and Human Elements in Holy Scripture." Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1863, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By John Hannah, D.C.L., Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, and Pantonian Professor of Theology; late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. (Murray.)

far he has adequately and soundly stated both portions of this great argument.

1. We note, first, the omission by Dr. Hannah of the whole topic of testimony—the testimony of the Church to the inspiration of Scripture as well as to its canon,—the testimony of the Scriptures to themselves, or, in other words, the account given of the nature and channel of their message by men whose divine commission is already and independently established,—the testimony, above all, both of the Apostles and of our Lord Himself, to the divine authority of the Old Testament, and so by analogy of the New also. We note the omission also of more than a passing reference to that inward testimony, which is among the highest arguments to the believer, but is of a nature to be unavailable in reasoning with the unbeliever. The latter is, of course, rightly omitted in an argumentative treatise. For the former, we should have been disposed to accept or suggest the plea that eight lectures cannot cover the whole of such a subject, were it not that such outward testimony is in point of fact the main bulwark of the true doctrine of inspiration, to which other arguments appealing to the reason of the case are rather supplementary. We are not left to guess or infer that the Scriptures are inspired, upon consideration of their presenting phenomena transcending human powers. We have not either to find out that they were from God, or to measure the quality and extent of their Divine element, in the first instance, by observing that they are—and in what ways they are—miraculous. Rather we are told upon competent authority that they do come from God, and for what purpose, and (to some extent) in what way; and are then put upon confirming, and adding precision to, the truth thus known and believed, by our own observation of the facts.

Dr. Hannah, however, has perhaps made a wise choice in the present temper of opinion. He scarcely sketches out the whole argument. He dwells, instead, upon those separate features of Holy Scripture, each of which implies its Divine origin. He addresses himself to a tone of mind which rebels against authority, and he calls upon men who insist upon reasons, to see in Scripture plain proofs of its being objectively from God. These proofs are found—1, in a comparison between the amount and kind of religious and moral truth existing outside Scripture during the historical period of the formation of the Bible, and of that which is found in Holy Scripture itself; 2, in the fearless statement, throughout Scripture,

of each of the double aspects of all truths relating to God or to human relations to God, while merely human speculation has invariably dwelt upon one side only of such truths, to the detriment or exclusion of the other—e.g., free will as against Divine omnipotence, or the reverse; and 3, in the double sense of Scripture, whereby it is manifest that the Bible was written with a clear apprehension from the beginning of the whole series of Divine dispensations, although such apprehension was clearly beyond the reach of its human writers. Now, the main point to be established by these facts respecting the Bible is the impossibility of their being the product of even the highest form of human thought, while at the same time human thought accepts and recognises them, when presented to it (which is in that case the only alternative) from without by an objective revelation from God. And so far, although the subject might have been cast into a more stirring and persuasive form, Dr. Hannah's argument is substantially unanswerable. The contrast, as it seems to us, might have been worked out more rhetorically without any sacrifice of logic. But the presumption is overwhelming, and amounts to moral certainty, when we compare on the one hand the religion and morality, the views of the Divine attributes and of human relations to God, and the systematic prophecies of some 1,500 years, presented to us by one isolated and narrow-minded race, distinguished by no other intellectual pre-eminence whatever, and on the other, the pitiful mixture of folly, error, and foulness, which formed the result of the loftiest efforts of the most intellectual races of mankind.

But there is a further result from at least the second and third of the topics in question; and one which does not sufficiently occupy Dr. Hannah's attention, while it is indeed a little inconsistent with the tendency of some of his views in the later portions of the volume. For, surely, the necessary inference from the (so to call it) metaphysical accuracy of Scripture language, and from its prophetic character, reaches not simply to inspiration, but to inspiration of words. Now Dr. Hannah strikes us as making too light of verbal inspiration. He condemns, and on good grounds, the dictation theory, as it is called. But the dictation theory is one thing, and verbal inspiration another. And orthodox or would-be orthodox theorists (we do not mean Dr. Hannah) are just at present confounding the two. Even Dr. Vaughan appears to do so. Yet surely, if it is possible to inspire ideas into a human mind

without interfering with its individual human character, it is equally possible to inspire words under a like condition. The dictation theory means, that the human writer is passive and colourless. Verbal inspiration means, that as the mind, so the words, of that writer, are overruled by the Holy Spirit to express the mind of the Spirit, yet without any infringement upon the human individuality of the writer, in the one case more than in the other. And Dr. Hannah's arguments, had he pressed them to their legitimate conclusion, carry verbal inspiration with them. But he does not so press them. Yet, assuredly, as words alone convey to us ideas, without verbal inspiration we cannot understand what inspiration is worth.

2. The second portion of the lectures discusses the human element in the Bible. Having established the primary and essential truth that the Scriptures are from God, it comes next to examine what limitations are placed upon the Divine message by the fact of its being delivered through men. And here again, while agreeing with Dr. Hannah's main position, objections strike us with respect to the way in which he works it out. He affirms absolutely both the Divine and the human element. He objects to any attempt at drawing a line between them. So far as this means that it is impossible to include their mutual limits within the bonds of a definition, the position is a wise and a sound one. But Dr. Hannah cannot but admit that some ascertainable limitations exist, which (as in the parallel and analogous case of the Incarnation itself) are both capable of statement and must be stated. And though he does not bring out such limitations with sufficient explicitness, yet he himself implies them. He speaks of a "Divine decorum," for instance, which must needs be preserved. He implies that mistakes of fact cannot rightly be imputed to Scripture writers. He argues, that their language on scientific topics, of which the true theory was not yet known to their several ages, is "optical," or "phenomenal." In other words, he affirms its freedom from real imperfection. In all these ways he does limit, and must rightly limit, the effect of the human element upon the Divine. And thus, while rather disclaiming the right to do so, he does appear to us, in effect, to accomplish the very task which in truth it was his business to accomplish.

There remain, however, two most important points where Dr. Hannah's conclusions are open to criticism. 1. He appears to regard the 1st chapter of Genesis as "a formula" under which the creation may be presented to human intellects, and nothing more.

Nay, he seems in one passage to extend this unhistorical character to all the first four chapters of the book. And his ground for doing so is, that the Bible was not intended to reveal physical science, but religion. He appears to think, indeed, that the history of the creation is parallel, on a larger scale, to such an expression as "the sun rises"—i.e., that it tells us a truth, but under language that is not true; and that the whole of what is intended to be taught by it is, that God made the world, and similar theological doctrines. His view is, in fact, parallel to Dr. Rorison's, who regards the history as a psalm and not a history. Now, beyond dispute, the 1st chapter of Genesis does not teach geology. Nay, further, it takes the universe as it appears to ordinary and unscientific eyes, and speaks accordingly. But if Dr. Hannah's "formula" means that the several six days' acts of creation are a mere way of expressing the general fact of God's creating the world, without any special historical fact corresponding to them, then we must say that he appears to us to allow an infringement upon that "Divine decorum" elsewhere affirmed. If he only means that those several facts are described as they would have appeared to a human spectator, and so in "phenomenal" language, then the phrase is an unfortunate one. But (2) we turn to a yet more important lecture, that on the moral difficulties of Scripture. And here Dr. Hannah's view is put in an original and forcible way. He dwells upon the fact that men were sunk in wickedness, and had to be drawn upwards gradually to a pure morality. He argues, therefore, that acts are praised, not absolutely, but relatively to the doer—that the principle, e.g., of faith or of zeal, really elicits the eulogistic language, while the faulty developments of that faith or zeal (as in Jael's case) are not included in it, and possibly were in all cases, as we know they were in some, condemned in express terms, although the condemnation is not recorded. Now, it is certainly true that the common, and more direct and complete, explanation, which covers a very large number of cases, does not cover all. The offering of Isaac, and the destruction of the Canaanites, for instance, and like cases, are simply transferred out of the category of wrong into that of right by the mere fact of God's commandment. But this does not cover such a case as Jael's, or rather such a description of Jael's act as we find in the song of Deborah. But then, why are we required to say that the entire feeling of Deborah's song is right? That song is recorded in inspired Scripture. So are many acts of a mixed character done

by men sometimes who were on the whole on God's side. We are not therefore required to believe that the song or the act so recorded rises in all points to the standard of Christian morality, nor yet that God inspired or guided the pen or act so described. Now Dr. Hannah appears to argue as though the whole song were itself inspired, and provides a defence for it on that assumption. We would prefer to transfer his defence from the song to the singer, and to say that feelings such as Deborah discloses existed indeed in one whom God on the whole approved, but that the mixture of earthly and imperfect feeling in her was not therefore approved by Him. Neither indeed could be. But we must cut short our remarks, and say in conclusion, that, taken altogether, Dr. Hannah has produced a volume of great power, learnedly and soundly maintaining the great outlines of the doctrine of the Inspiration of Scripture, and resting on positions that cannot reasonably be put aside by men who profess to judge by reason.

MORAL DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THE BIBLE[†].

DR. HESSEY's brief and candid volume of sermons deals with one of the most plausible, and at the same time most dangerous, classes of infidel objections to Revelation. And it does so in a spirit that has not always been common among defenders of the truth, as well as with undoubted freshness and vigour of thought. It addresses itself to the involuntary and reluctant sceptic only,—to the good sort of man who would be religious if (so to say) he could. And it starts by treating his difficulties as right (speaking generally) in principle, but wrong through misapprehension of the case, and therefore as demanding not harsh censure, but sympathising explanation. Its line of argument, accordingly, amounts in brief to this—that the critical test by which the sceptic of this class claims to judge of revelation is, or may be allowed to be, in itself a rightful and an adequate criterion of the truth, but that in this particular case he misapplies it. A few words, then, first, respecting the assumption implied in this mode of stating the case; and next, respecting the par-

[†] "Moral Difficulties connected with the Bible, being the Boyle Lectures for 1871." Preached in Her Majesty's Chapel at Whitehall. By J. A. Hessey, D.C.L., Preacher to the Hon. Society of Gray's Inn, &c. (S.P.C.K. Christian Evidence Committee.)

ticular explanations which make up the body of the volume. Now, certainly, we have every sympathy with the moral attitude—with the *ἡθως*—of Dr. Hessey's argument. It is not only more persuasive, but it is more fair and more charitable, to answer an error by frankly admitting that element of truth, the perversion of which is at the bottom of almost if not quite all error, and then by tracing the gradual steps through which the unbeliever, or misbeliever, has been led insensibly to diverge into falsehood. The clear analysis of the actual generation of a heresy, or an untruth, is usually the most convincing mode of dispelling it, as it certainly is the most likely to prevail. And so far, therefore, we heartily agree with Dr. Hessey's view respecting what he calls the "moral treatment of the unbeliever." That view, indeed, rests simply upon the Christian principle of judging one's neighbour with fairness and kindness, as well as upon the argumentative wisdom of putting oneself as far as possible at an opponent's point of view, in order best to unravel and lay bare the half-views and one-sided misapprehensions which have made error attractive and truth repulsive to him. But the tacit assumption of the unqualified right of man's moral sense to judge of a revelation *à priori*, and that as a sole judge, is a very different matter. And Dr. Hessey, as it seems to us, has not indeed accepted this principle in terms, nor even committed himself to it either absolutely or designedly—indeed we feel sure he would largely qualify it did the question come expressly before him for discussion,—but for all this, has allowed it to a perilous extent in his mode of stating particular difficulties.

It would be unreasonable no doubt to complain, that two long and complicated subjects—viz., the competence of the instrument, and the correctness of its use in particular cases—are not both handled at length in a single volume, which, moreover, circumstances compelled to be a short one. But, at least, the plea of inadequacy to the moral sense itself ought, we think, to have been more expressly reserved, as lying behind the special explanations offered for each difficulty. The Christian apologist, one would think, should have made it unmistakeably plain that he was simply accepting his opponent's claim for the present argument, and was arguing, in effect, that moral difficulties could be at any rate met, if not wholly explained, even were the assumption allowed that we were and now are in a position to judge fully about them. And in one case, at all events, to which we shall recur further on, Dr. Hessey

seems to us to labour at a disadvantage, in consequence of his reticence upon this head. No doubt, of the two, the task is the harder one of persuading men that they are really not competent moral judges of the acts of Almighty God in themselves; and that even in respect to the relations of those acts to human conduct, their capacity of judging them must needs be subject to many qualifications. One knows too well the outcry raised, for instance, against the well-known Bampton Lectures, by men whose feelings were stronger than their heads, and in whom rhetoric took the place of logic. But the subject is one of too profound an importance to be surrendered to mere declamation, however well intended. Of course, when we say that God is just, no one doubts that either we utter a mere verbal truism,—i.e., nothing at all, or that we mean to say He is just according to a conception derived from our own sense of what justice is. But it is surely equally self-evident that this derived conception must needs be modified by the nature of the case to which it is applied. The existence of evil, and the countless ramifications into which that enigma branches out, are a sufficient proof that in itself our moral sense is not a sufficient measure of the moral attributes of God; even if it were not self-evident that the thoughts of men cannot measure His infinite Being. And even if it were such a sufficient measure, wherever it is within our power to apply it adequately, it stands to plain reason that we are no judges of acts, of which we know hardly an infinitesimal part of either the motives or the circumstances or the effects. And then beyond all this, the actual moral judgments of most men fall far short of the rightful measure of even our human moral conceptions, through the faultiness of the individual, or the current moral prejudices of this or that country or time. It must be fairly said that the risk of offence ought not to be allowed to suppress or keep in the background such important considerations as these really are. We do not indeed for a moment suppose that a man of Dr. Hessey's large grasp of mind and singularly resolute fairness either ignores or doubts them in reality. And he has, in truth, in some sense actually handled them in treating of anthropomorphic language respecting God. But in spite of this, the general impression left by his treatment of special moral difficulties amounts to this—that the sceptic has a right to a sufficient moral explanation in each case, and that if he cannot obtain such an explanation, he is justified in his scepticism—a position to which, thus positively stated, we most seriously demur.

If we turn from this preliminary topic to the substance of the book, in its replies to particular cases, it must be owned that this primary assumption appears to have led in one instance to an explanation which it is hard to accept. Dr. Hessey defends the conduct of Abraham in the matter of the sacrifice of Isaac, by alleging that Abraham expected throughout that no such sacrifice was really imposed upon him, and that the command was—what no doubt it actually turned out to be—an apparent but not a real trial of his faith. One can only say that this is not what the narrative says. Abraham is commended, not because he believed that God could not have commanded in reality what He seemed to command, but because he *did* believe this, and because, so believing, he was thoroughly willing at the cost of his dearest earthly feelings to obey that command. With all that Dr. Hessey says in respect to the command itself, as on the side of Almighty God,—viz., that the transaction must be taken as a whole, and that as a whole it is a condemnation, not an approval, of human sacrifices,—we heartily agree. But on the side of Abraham the question is,—and this, too, is the more pressing modern question,—whether, with no more knowledge of the matter than of the first command, he was morally right in his entire willingness to obey that command? This willingness is, indeed, the very hinge of the whole lesson—its substance and kernel. And Dr. Hessey's view holds only upon condition of explaining it away. Surely the one and only answer is, that the lives of all men are God's gift, and may be taken away by Him when and how He will; and that Abraham, knowing from long experience the messages of God, and knowing, therefore, certainly that this message did come from God, was ready to give up, and to be himself the means of giving up, that which he loved most dearly upon earth, at God's plain bidding. The analogous case now would be if a parent, with the deepest love for his child, was yet wholly willing to resign him into God's hand, and to send him to certain death for God's service, and in order to do His will. We should have gone on, further, to add to this, that the objector ought to remember that an isolated case is not sufficient to justify a general rejection of the Bible, even were it inexplicable to us,—that many other and ulterior purposes may have been subserved by this isolated act, of which we know and can know nothing, while of some we have a knowledge, although an imperfect one—as, e.g., of the moral lessons of obedience and of faith involved in it, and of its bearing

in the way of type upon the great Christian doctrine of the Atonement,—that an isolated act again, especially when we consider it as a whole, constitutes no moral rule, involves no moral deterioration such as habitual acts would produce, stands out in short by itself, as a trial perhaps of our own faith as well as of Abraham's, but certainly not as a precedent, save in the tempers which in it are especially commended,—and, finally, that reasonable humility would at the worst dwell upon its own incapacity to judge of the acts of God, and would hold fast, in spite of the one inexplicable exception, to the manifest love and goodness of God as set forth throughout the whole Bible.

The other Lectures are of a far more satisfactory kind. They seem to us, indeed, conclusive in their several subjects. And they are, moreover, plain and popular in style, and appeal to principles readily comprehensible, and usually accepted, at least by all who are capable of thinking upon such subjects at all. Perhaps the second and third Lectures may be pointed out as most effective, although we should say much the same of all. The book we do not doubt will do good service, with those who are open to fair and humble reflection upon its subject. And if we have mainly dwelt in our present remarks upon points wherein we cannot quite go along with its able author, it has arisen at once from the paramount importance of the subject in itself, and from the marked power and excellent spirit of the book as a whole. It appears to be the first only of a probable series. Perhaps Dr. Hessey, in a future publication, may supplement his present volume with a discussion of the topics we have ventured to indicate, and may so perfect the great service he has done already, in this as in many other publications, to the cause of true religion.

SCRIPTURE AND SCIENCE NOT AT VARIANCE §.

TAKE the Old Welsh Chronicle from which Geoffrey of Monmouth borrowed his Annals of King Brutus and the Trojan Britons, the legend of King Arthur, the Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud (if any Welsh Donaldson can distinguish them from those of Howel Dha) ;

§ "Scripture and Science not at Variance : with Remarks on the Historical Character, Plenary Inspiration, and Surpassing Importance, of the Earlier Chapters of Genesis." By John H. Pratt, M.A., Archdeacon of Calcutta. Fourth Edition, with additional Illustrations. (London : Hatchards. Calcutta : Lepage and Co.)

and as a sequel, a selection of passages from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, Geoffroi Gaimar, Hall, Holinshed; throw in, without regard to date, the poems of Caedmon, Sir Thomas More's Utopia, the Beggar's Supplication, Sir Thomas Brown's *Religio Medici*, and a series of the strongest of the Wickliffite or Lollard denunciations of monastic or Papal corruption;—add, as a Second Part, three or four modern biographies of good men of later date, Burton's or Palmer's short Church History, and a dozen short didactic or expository or polemic treatises, like Archbishop King or Mr. Mozley on Predestination, or Bishop Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica*, and (to vary the school) Jonathan Edwards and Bishop Davenant;—and intersperse this medley with one or two of the best extant English hortatory letters, like that of Sir Philip Sydney's father, written to him when he was a boy. One would marvel to meet with such a strange collection bound together in one volume. Yet here we should have, roughly and not quite chronologically put together, a loose series of specimens of English literature, English in origin or subject, but in various languages, culled from successive periods, and combined in no other unity than that of being the natural results of the development of the mind of a single nation—the fruits in different years of the natural growth of a single tree.

Now, the ultimate point to which modern scepticism tends, is to reduce the Bible precisely to the level of such a collection as we have attempted to describe. An artificial combination, between the boards of a single volume, of the successive natural developments of Hebrew literature, roughly agreeing in features and in value with the several constituents of our supposed English volume, and derived like that from the product of merely human causes, exhausts the definition of what the Bible is, according to “unfettered” modern thought. And by a necessary inference, the canons of interpretation and of credibility and the like, which any one would of course apply to our supposed volume, are to be applied with equal rigour to the real Scripture, with no other variation than arises from the difference of circumstances, inspiration or direct Divine interference of any kind not being one.

Archdeacon Pratt's valuable book turns its attention to one only of the departments of criticism thus suggested, and contains indeed little more than a single, or at most two, isolated although timely and well-chosen arguments with respect to that. The wonderful

map which depicts Jerusalem as the *ὀμφαλός* (or centre) of a world shaped like a flat plate, may represent the geographical knowledge of the earlier writers in our supposed collection. And the marvellous woodcuts in the margin of some of the earliest specimens of Caxton's printing-press, the one-footed men for instance, whose single supporter was so large that they habitually turned it over their heads at night and made a tent of it, may perhaps serve as a correct measure of the knowledge of natural history possessed by some, dated far later in its successive periods. And their historical canons were parallel with those that ruled their belief in physical things. Yet we do not discard even Geoffrey of Monmouth absolutely from all credibility in subjects within his knowledge, on account of his manifest ignorance of all information capable of constituting him a competent judge of the truth of the fictions (the deposits of older generations) which he retails. The literature we have catalogued remains at least subjectively valuable, and in varying degrees objectively so too, after all deductions. But we feel under no tie whatever, on that account, to receive as certified truth the physical or ethnological or historical statements made by all the authors comprised in it. We believe some and reject others, according to the separate evidence of the credibility of each. Well, then: are we, in the matter of physical or ethnological or other historical science, to treat the earlier books of the Bible as we should unhesitatingly treat either our friend Geoffrey with his genuine Welsh capacity of legend-believing, or more sober-minded writers of his or even a later date in respect to matters not then discovered by man? It is sad to be forced to believe that many are literally prepared at this present day to answer such a question in the affirmative, to take our *argumentum ad absurdum* by the horns, and to deal with our caricature as though it were an actual and solid comparison.

Of the manifold subjects which this broad question embraces, Archdeacon Pratt takes the one department of the apparent collision between early Scripture statements and the discoveries of modern science, physical, ethnological, historical. And he mainly confines himself to the one argument of an appeal to the past relations in this point between Science and Scripture, as supplying a hopeful analogy with respect to the future. Science, he says in effect, has hitherto either resulted in the stripping off from the words of Scripture a gloss affixed to them upon extraneous grounds, which the

words themselves, interpreted with the utmost candour, in no way require; or if it ever clashed with the plain substance of the real meaning of Scripture, it has found itself compelled in course of time, upon its own grounds, to retrace its steps, and to adopt at length another view in harmony with that meaning. And if this had been the case invariably ever since modern science could be said to exist at all, we may well believe that it will be so still, in spite of appearances to the contrary if such exist, (which the Archdeacon denies). And to this argument—one of the greatest moral weight if well made out—one indeed of the countless progeny of Cherethites and Pelethites begotten of Butler's immortal argument, to be a body-guard to David—the Archdeacon adds one other of a different kind, not so telling upon those who are his opponents, though more valuable still in itself—viz., that which is derived directly from the recognition in the New Testament of the historical character of the impugned chapters of the Old. And he has made out both this and the former argument with a very large amount of careful and exact detail, considerably enlarged and improved in this, the fourth edition of his book.

We conceive that a fuller working-out of the analogical argument itself would render the book more valuable and more convincing. The view of the Archdeacon (and certainly it is the view which we take to be that of Christian men) is, that on the one hand, at successive times, the varying ignorance of men has attached certain theories upon physical or other non-religious subjects to the words of Scripture, which theories have dropped off as men learned better, Scripture itself all the while really lending them no countenance; or, on the other hand, that theories on such subjects, really contradictory to Scripture rightly interpreted, have invariably been found in lapse of time to be false on purely scientific grounds. And he argues that as this has been the case hitherto, so may it be fairly expected that it will be hereafter also. A word, then, first, as to the correctness of the analogy here assumed; and next, as to the facts alleged to make it out. We can imagine an opponent saying that, in fact, there is not an analogy between the past and the future in the point. Science, hitherto, has never been fairly and formally measured with Scripture. And we are now on the eve of a new era of human progress in the matter of science, the characteristics of which are rather those of contrast than of similarity with the past. The sixteenth century saw a revival of

literature. And, as a result of that revival, it saw also a mighty revolution, not simply in the details but in the principles of Scripture exegesis. The present century for the first time sees an unprecedented development of physical, philological, ethnological, historical science, and that only beginning to assume anything like its just proportions. Is not the truer inference, from the more real analogy, one that should expect a new re-adjustment of Scriptural interpretation in conformity with this new access of knowledge? We readily admit the objection. We fully expect that the effect upon Scripture of knowledge enlarged in one direction will be much what has been already the effect of knowledge enlarged in another. We accept the conclusions of critical philology and of modern historical principles, so far as they are sound, as we accept those of physical science, so far as the latter has attained a solid footing, and can prove its *dicta*. We have no more objection to admit the new handling of the first decade of Livy, and to allow of analogies between it and the Bible, *so far as the two cases are alike*, than we have to believe that the earth moves, and to readjust our understanding of Scripture-words accordingly. And we think that the Archdeacon would have strengthened the foundation of his book if he had discussed more largely and deeply the principles of the case on which he relies. He has treated it, if we may venture to say so, as a Cambridge mind and not an Oxford one would be led to treat it; mathematically, so to say, but without sufficient breadth of handling.

But then comes the other question we have above mooted, and which the Archdeacon does handle pretty largely. What effect, as a matter of fact, has the advance of knowledge in any direction hitherto had on Holy Scripture and its interpretation? Has it, indeed, forced men, who are resolved to retain their belief, into the dilemma of either a new view of inspiration, or a set of patchwork and uncandid glosses? Must we choose between thinking that Scripture, being meant for religious purposes, may be perfect for its own end although full of historical or physical errors; or, as the only plank to escape by, the attaching to the words of Scripture interpretations of which no one would have dreamed but for the hard necessities of a foregone conclusion? Of course, if a gloss has become attached to a text in the belief of men, and has become entwined with their ideas of Scripture, so as to be hardly separable, there will be plausible ground for the latter imputation, where it is not really just. Yet men may have misinterpreted Scripture as

they have misinterpreted Nature. And the Bible must not be unduly made responsible for error in either direction. A partial deluge, for instance, is a conceivable interpretation of the Bible account, if only it be one that included all mankind. We agree with Archdeacon Pratt's careful statement on this head, that such an interpretation (as Miller has shewn) is candidly and honestly possible, and that divines are not concerned to prove the truth if it be so of this or any other interpretation, but only the possibility of giving an account of the Scripture statement which *may* be true; just as the Gospels are harmonised by pointing out ways in which the whole of several statements of one event may be consistent, although enough is not recorded to tell us what was actually the case.

And what, then, has been the actual history in respect to our subject of Scripture interpretation? In this lies the pinch of the question. We cannot enter into details, but Archdeacon Pratt has, we think, satisfactorily answered it; though (as before) to our minds, without sufficient breadth and depth of discussion. Remember, first, that it has pleased the Almighty—we have no right to ask why, though many weighty reasons might be given—to bestow His revelation upon us in an historical form. He has conveyed it through the medium of the history and literature of mainly a single nation, and that from the earliest times. Remember, further, that in so doing there was no choice but to allude to, or, perhaps, describe, many historical or physical or other phenomena, which it was no purpose of the revelation to make known scientifically, and of which the human writers and earlier readers of the Bible had no accurate scientific knowledge. There could, then, be but one way of expressing such phenomena. To have used terms scientifically exact would have simply confounded the whole Bible in utter obscurity in all times prior to the discovery of the scientific truth in the matter in hand. To speak according to appearances was to adopt the natural language of the writers themselves, and was the one way by which to mislead no one, but to make the moral and religious revelations intelligible at all times. And now comes the point. Merely human writers would probably have *intended* to speak according to appearances. They would have intended to say, not what was not but only seemed to be, but what really did meet the eye. Whatever theories they had would have been out of place, and would have not been set forth formally. *But inevitably* they would have coloured their language by theory,

involuntarily. See how Josephus has done so in merely reporting the first chapter of Genesis. But what do we find in the Bible? We find language framed on such subjects according to what "the eye of a spectator" sees, but so framed as not to pass, by one line, beyond that boundary into the regions of speculation, groundless or true. Men have superadded theories, and fancied they were in the Bible. But as knowledge advanced and those theories were disproved, it became apparent that, after all, the words of the Bible did not contain or imply them. They were the inferences of men themselves. Make this statement out thoroughly by detailed facts—and Archdeacon Pratt has, we conceive, made it out—and what stronger argument could we have for inspiration in the fullest sense? The weapons of the foe have fallen harmless on the field of battle, to be taken up and hurled back again upon himself with deadly effect.

Of course, in saying this we are assuming that the facts of the case establish the general assertion on which it is grounded. And this, no doubt, has to be proved. Archdeacon Pratt, we take it, has proved it in large measure. He has not done so completely. It would require, indeed, a large volume to accomplish the task. Yet we find the most prominent facts well handled by him. And we welcome his book as one which combines, more than most books on the subject, fairness of statement, abstinence from undue theorising, and unimpaired belief.

There is a short answer to Mr. Goodwin's paper in the Appendix. And another paper in the same portion of the book is devoted to an American publication, which has pressed into the service of slavery a theory of the creation of different races of men, which comfortably provides a lower origin and organisation for the negro among others. Throughout, however, our complaint would be that the book is too short in its treatment of its very numerous and copious subjects—e.g., how much more might be made of Baron Bunsen's preposterous preference of Manetho and Eratosthenes, as we have them, to the Pentateuch!—of the discordant and corrupt fragments of prejudiced and untrustworthy chroniclers, divided by many centuries from the events they chronicle, and refuted occasionally, when they can be compared, by their own authorities, to the coherent, and in many points contemporary, statements of Moses! Of course, if the Baron had dealt with English history, we should by this time have had our advanced thinkers believing in Brut the Trojan, and holding the invasion of Cæsar to have been an allegory or a myth.

BIBLICAL PSYCHOLOGY^h.

VERY few Englishmen will read this book, so profound throughout and so subtly speculative (often in perfectly needless inquiries) and so utterly out of the path of ordinary practical English thought. And of those who do read it, almost all, we imagine, will seriously disapprove of one portion of it—viz., of that to some extent incidental portion which, in order to illustrate human psychology, treats of the Higher Nature after whose image man was created—namely, of the Nature of God. “On the subject of God’s birth we ought with reverence to be silent,” is a *dictum* of Gregory Nazianzen, already quoted by a German critic on Dr. Delitzsch’s work, and quoted, we must say, with good reason. Dr. Delitzsch’s speculations in this direction are based upon orthodox belief; they do not substitute a merely metaphysical—i. e., an illusory, Trinity for the essential threefold Personality; but they carry ingenious metaphysical theory into regions where not reverence only, but almost common sense, bid us remember that we know nothing and can conceive nothing. They attempt a quasi-explanation of the relations between the Three, who are in essence One,—a *rationale* of the Godhead in Its triplicity,—which, as it is painful to religious minds to read, so is it a pure imagination of a singularly ingenious theorist, spun out of a brain teeming with German metaphysics. At the same time, the entire disquisition is made in good faith, and without the remotest intention of irreverence, and does not trench upon the dogmas of the faith. But we cannot read it without an involuntary protest against the fitness, and warning against the danger, of speculations of the kind.

Apart from this, the treatise is a valuable and profound account, under one particular aspect, of doctrines which certainly are within the compass of actual revelation, and which it is especially advantageous to our present shallow English theology to find so ably and soundly treated. There is, indeed, a preliminary question to be settled—viz., whether there is such a thing as Biblical psychology, any more than Biblical geology or Biblical metaphysics. In one sense of the term there certainly is not. The Bible did not intend to teach us the subtle laws by which the human soul, in the widest

^h “A System of Biblical Psychology.” By Franz Delitzsch, D.D., Professor of Theology. Translated from the German by the Rev. R. E. Wallis. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.)

range of vital functions comprehended under the words, is regulated. Nor may we assume that Biblical language is inspired in such sense as that incidental and remote inferences from it can be drawn upon subjects not within the purpose of the Bible; inferences which we cannot suppose were fairly intended by (not the human merely, but by) the Divine Author of Scripture. Just as the sun did not "stand still," unless relatively to the impressions and belief of the particular spectators, so the Biblical words expressive of different functions or faculties of the soul of man are used surely as the current words expressive of the current beliefs of this or that time, unless so far as revealed religious truth corrected or supplied them with a view to religious truth itself. Just as the Greek philosopher borrowed his psychology for ethical purposes from *ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι*; or (what is the same thing) from current belief corrected only so far as ethical purposes required and ethical truth demanded. But then psychology undoubtedly involves questions of religious truth most intimately. A materialist, e. g., plainly holds an anti-Scriptural psychology,—to take an extreme case. And the history, so to say, of the soul, in its successive conditions of production, fall, restoration, life eternal, belongs directly to the domain of revelation. The very language employed upon these subjects must necessarily involve truths relating to the structure and laws of the human soul, which form a part at least of a true psychology. And a language therefore would necessarily be framed by those who held and taught revealed truths, based upon, and therefore involving, those truths. If, then, Dr. Delitzsch claimed to draw from the Bible a rigorous account of psychological laws in a purely scientific point of view, he would be laying on Biblical language a stress which on no reasonable doctrine of inspiration would it bear. But what he appears to mean by his title is, a psychology so far as the Bible touches upon psychology—i. e., an historical rather than a scientific psychology. And for this there is indeed a legitimate basis. Such an inquiry does not treat Biblical words as mathematical symbols which are capable of and include every possible inference, however remote or on one side, that mathematical ingenuity can base upon them; but assumes as its one postulate the exact accuracy of those words in all their bearings upon revealed religious truth, and, therefore, upon psychological, so far, but so far only, as it is religious truth. So far, then, Dr. Delitzsch has certainly a legitimate, and if so, a most seasonable and valuable subject, and has assuredly

discussed it with a depth and completeness that leave nothing to be desired.

The primary truth of the book is apparently conceived by its author to be his statement of the relation of soul to spirit. He affirms that the soul and spirit are one in essence, two in substance. The spirit is the immortal part which stands in relation to God and to supersensuous truth of all kinds. It is not the immanent spirit of God in the man, but is created; although once for all, and to produce a succession of personal spirits by a traducian process from person to person throughout all generations. The soul is conditioned by the spirit, and embraces the various faculties which stand in relation through the body to the sensuous and natural world. Dr. Delitzsch will hold it probably to be English dulness of metaphysical apprehension, but we must own to a wicked suspicion that his distinction of essential unity but substantial difference is a matter of words. Surely it is enough for Scriptural truth, to regard the soul as simply that side of the personal human spirit which belongs to it as united in one person with a human body. Essentially, therefore, the same. But why "substantially" different? or what is meant by "substantially" different? We confess to a preference for Aquinas's language, quoted by Delitzsch himself, and hold simply that "*omnes potentias animæ ex ipsius animæ essentia emanare,*" or as Delitzsch himself explains these words,—that the soul (in the special psychical sense of the word) is a "sum-total of acts effected and determined by the body, that the spirit begets out of itself, and can take back into itself." If the words "substantial difference" mean more than this, the result appears to our minds to be a false trichotomy, opposed to the constant language of Scripture, which adheres in its fundamental meaning to a *σύνθετον* of two elements, body and (in the wider sense) soul.

On other points Dr. Delitzsch reasons with equal depth and more discrimination. The doctrines of Divine archetypal pre-existence, and of traducianism, in the early part of the volume, are treated with singular depth and truth. And those who wish for suggestive and profound thought will find abundant reward in studying both these and its later portions, although mixed with questions often to our minds superfluous. We cannot indeed help being reminded, here and there in Dr. Delitzsch's pages, of the wonderful questions occasionally propounded by the schoolmen of

old; and which have served in later times, as we fear the like feature will serve in the present case, to repel readers even from the solid and sensible disquisitions which form the bulk of the book.

THE PENTATEUCH¹.

THE object of the work is very opportune at the present time. It contains a full review of the evidences, external and internal, for the genuineness, authenticity, and Divine character of the Pentateuch. While it gives full space and weight to the purely critical and historical portions of the inquiry, its special attention is devoted to the certainly more profound and more conclusive considerations derived from the connection between the Pentateuch and the great scheme of revelation of which it forms the basis. And this portion of the work is that upon which the author lays most stress. We entirely agree with him in his view of its importance. Obviously the entire question of the credibility of the book assumes a totally different aspect according as it is regarded, either as what it professes to be—the introduction of a gradually-developed whole—or as violently dissevered from its professed purpose and relations. Its order, its contents, its omissions, the bearing and purpose of the institutions recorded, the very meaning of large portions of it, fall into their place naturally on the one supposition, are insoluble difficulties on the other. The work is singularly complete also in its view of the literature of the subject, as well as in the outline of its plan. And we believe its author's own assertion to be pretty fairly borne out by the fact—if we except, perhaps, the questions relating to the earlier chapters of Genesis, which strike us in parts as superficially handled, and without a due knowledge of past theological discussions on the subject—that almost if not quite all the questions that have arisen, find their fitting place and treatment in his work.

The main stress of the argument, however, is laid upon what its author calls the "Genesis of Revelation." The evidence deducible from the unity of Scripture as the gradual development of a single

¹ "Introduction to the Pentateuch: an Inquiry, Critical and Doctrinal, into the Genuineness, Authority, and Design of the Mosaic Writings." By the Rev. Donald Macdonald, M.A., Author of "Creation and the Fall." Two Vols., 8vo. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.)

organic whole—a development such that the whole outline of the entire scheme is, to our eyes who look back upon it, perceptibly foreshadowed from the commencement—strikes our author, and justly so, as among the strongest proofs of a Divine origin, when considered in connection with the length of time and the diversity of authors concerned in the Bible. Correcting Hengstenberg, although making large use of him, Mr. Macdonald finds earlier intimations of many features of doctrine, of which Hengstenberg would relegate at least the formal and conscious knowledge to later periods—e.g., of the priestly office of our Lord, and the belief in a future life. His special chapter on the latter subject is well worth reading. And the third Book, which works out the general argument under this head, is, on the whole, a valuable contribution to English theology. We say—on the whole—because the tone of Mr. Macdonald's speculations is undoubtedly tinged by that of the school to which he belongs. But he is at the same time far too independent and too able a thinker to allow his position to interfere with the value of his book. We only notice this fact, that he *is* of what must be called the Puritan school, for the purpose of adding our tribute of admiration to the largeness of mind with which he treats the doctrinal portion of his subject. The refutation of the Document hypothesis in the first Book is also well done, although the task there is considerably simplified, since all that is needed is to allow the various neologian views on the subject to swallow up one another.

We note, as among points where we cannot agree with Mr. Macdonald, his hypothesis as to the meaning of the name Jehovah. He treats it as equivalent to *Ὁ ἐρχόμενος*—He That shall be—i.e., our Saviour. Surely the very words, “I am That I am,” establish the commonly-received interpretation, which explains the name as expressive of eternal and self-caused existence. The account of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart seems also insufficient. Mr. Macdonald quotes with approbation a remark of Hengstenberg, that to admit of no other than a *permissive* hardening is to deny the omnipotence of God,—nay, to deny God Himself. Now, of course, no words of man can exactly express the relation of the Almighty to human evil; because no ideas of man can fathom or conceive that relation. But we know no word that better approaches to so doing than “permission;” with the necessary qualification always understood, that it is a permission not interfering with Omnipotence, howsoever that

may be. Moreover, there is a distinct progression and change in the Scripture intimations respecting Pharaoh. That hardening is attributed to Pharaoh himself in the earlier cases, to the Lord at the end of the process. And so the "permission" of the initial stages becomes a judicial punishment at the close. Mr. Macdonald takes notice of this, but recognises no change of agent, only a development of the operations of the same agent. The interpretation, again, of Eve's words at the birth of Cain appears more than questionable. Surely it is beyond all conception improbable that Eve could for even one moment have fancied her new-born child to be Jehovah, the future Messiah. The idea, indeed, falls to the ground with Mr. Macdonald's interpretation of the word Jehovah itself, upon which alone it is in any sense possible. Again, the punishing of children for the sins of their parents is treated in a like insufficient manner with the case of Pharaoh. Surely, such punishment is only one marked case of that general principle of God's present government of mankind, whereby manifestly one man *does* suffer for the sin of another, and those who are most closely connected, in proportion to such connection—an inequality for the remedy of which we are taught to look forward to the day of restitution of all things. Mr. Macdonald appears to maintain the extreme position, that innocent children will be punished eternally for their fathers' sins—not even because they have themselves thereby been led into sin, but as a direct punitive judgment, they being as it were included representatively in their parents.

These, however, and the like points, are defects that may be separated off from the general merits of the book, and which Mr. Macdonald may be perhaps enabled by a second edition to correct. As a whole, the work is a solid addition to Biblical theology, a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ, not the less admirable (although, perhaps, the circumstances of its origin may explain its faults) because it is honestly a matter of surprise that it should have proceeded from such a quarter.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS^{*}.

ONE feels it almost a sort of irreverence to criticise a volume the merits of which are of a kind so far above criticism as they are in this case. To read Mr. Williams's pages is to find oneself communing with a spirit of such humble, childlike faith, so simply and yet profoundly real, and so reverently wise, that it is hard to throw oneself into the external position of a judge, and to weigh impartially the soundness of a system of interpretation which in his hands is so rich in devout and holy thoughts. And yet at this present moment it seems to be right,—in the face of a spirit so absolutely the antithesis of Mr. Williams's as is that now rising among us respecting the Bible,—to be on our guard against going beyond what can be justified, in taking our stand in defence of the truth. Mr. Williams's principle of interpretation is, in his hands, undoubtedly safe. Let it be remembered, that the same principle in the hands of others—e.g., of Swedenborgians—might easily lead to mischief. It is a principle full of material for beautiful devotional thought; but it is one which requires very careful handling, and it is one from which many minds, neither irreverent nor unbelieving, recoil. It is one also, with respect to which a reverent temper would indeed shrink from drawing sharp lines of definition, yet upon which it would not be right to insist as upon a necessary corollary of a belief in Scripture. For the point in this case is not, whether the Mind of the Spirit speaking by the human writer, and the mind of that writer himself, be not both to be taken into account; inasmuch that the Church, or devout men, looking back upon the course of revelation, may trace in the necessary and literal meaning of Scripture early intimations of doctrine to be subsequently revealed in full, and of doctrine almost certainly not known to its human recorder except implicitly, if indeed at all. Nor is it, again, whether these earlier revelations were not often or commonly couched in enigmatical language, or expressed by hints and allusions, or intimated even by omissions, or by partial revelations, requiring some later addition in order to render what had preceded intelligible. It is not even whether they were not often intimated by an assumed typical sense attached to either the histories of persons or the pecu-

^{*} "The Beginning of the Book of Genesis, with Notes and Reflections." By the Rev. Isaac Williams, B.D. (Rivingtons.)

liarities of things, which are marked out by the very narrative as intended to fill a part in the great scheme of revelation. So far, all devout and believing expositors must distinctly maintain a principle of interpretation peculiar to the Bible, and not common to other books—namely, that over and above the merely human meaning of Scripture words, there is to be traced also in them, as their deepest and truest meaning, the mind also of the Spirit of God by whom they were inspired. The precise point beyond all this to which Mr. Williams appears to carry us is, that Scripture language is with him so framed as to allow of any amount of applications that an ingenious fancy can suggest, however remote, however intricate, however feebly tied to the literal sense, however poetical; subject to the one important limitation that they be all reverently kept within the bounds of Christian doctrine. Whatever part or aspect of that doctrine may be brought to the mind of a good man, in whatever age, and by whatever link of connection, by the words of Scripture, is to be taken, it should seem, as part of the interpretation of that Scripture. On the other hand, let it be said, there have been many systems of interpretation which have gone infinitely further still in this direction, and with which we are far from confounding the view here considered. It is to be distinctly severed from Rabbinical or other like theories. It does not assume that Scripture words, being Divine, must needs rise above the very nature of words, and become capable of intimating truths only incidental to their own main purpose—e.g., hitherto unknown physical truths. Taking the analogy of works of nature as distinct from works of art, it would not do as the extreme theory in the same direction would—viz., assert an analogy with the former and not the latter, and assume that an analysis of such words must harmonise with, and so reveal, all the laws of nature whatsoever, to which, however indirectly, they bear any relation. Mr. Williams, on the other hand, distinctly insists upon the literal sense; on the other, he does not deal with the text as with a mine of curious inferences founded upon mere external arrangements of the letter. He simply assumes,—or, more correctly, deals with Scripture as if he assumed,—that because the Holy Spirit speaks throughout Scripture with (by necessary inference) a full knowledge of all doctrine to be thereafter taught, therefore whatever words can in any way whatsoever be connected with any part of that doctrine are designed to be so connected. Now certainly it is hard, if not impossible, to draw a clear line, in this

particular relation, between interpretations that are, and interpretations that are not, admissible. Yet we seem to feel that this extreme claim cannot be sustained. A mere literalist, no doubt, can scarcely be said to believe in inspiration at all. He has limited himself to the one human writer, to the exclusion of the Inspiring Spirit. And he stands at the one extreme of untenable views of exegesis. But we may not for that fly at once to the opposite point, and lay claim to any and every typical or mystical application that shall be true in itself, in order to maintain our title to such applications at all. We must still maintain,—what the present commentary seems a little to overlook,—viz., the necessity of finding some stronger ground than the mere possible applicability of a passage, before we assume as a part of the intended meaning of Scripture its actual application to any particular doctrine of truth.

If we vindicate, however, the right of every one who pleases to dispute this principle without any imputation upon his faith for so doing, we fall short of no one in admiration for the poetical beauty of much of this volume, for its wonderful ingenuity, its Patristic knowledge, and what is worth more than all, the thoroughly Christian temper of deep humility and devotion which breathes through it. Whether or no the applications made of Scripture words be in any fair sense contained or not in Scripture, assuredly they are very profitable applications for the most part; and, controlled as they are by Mr. Williams's chastened and reverent mind, they are entirely free from any tinge of the fantastic or the extravagant, and are sound and sensible in the midst of the superabundant fancy which elicits or illustrates them. We should be apt indeed to claim our right to such a method of dealing with Scripture, the more distinctly, but the more discriminatingly, from the very reaction against the Patristic spirit of interpretation which underlies many modern assaults upon the Bible. It would do harm to attempt to compel the acceptance of such interpretations as a necessary inference from the inspiration of Scripture. It would rob thoughtful minds of much holy and profitable thought if they were debarred from the reverent use of them on the plea of their possible abuse.

It need hardly be said that Mr. Williams does not profess to touch upon questions of physical science. He alludes to such topics only so far as to refer to possible explanations of apparent discrepancies. The value of his volume will be realised by devout and thoughtful minds, who study Scripture as their source of religious

truth and their rule of religious practice. Considered, not so much as exegetical of Scripture, but rather as a series of devout meditations upon it, the volume adds another to the lengthening series of devotional works, thoroughly English in their quiet good sense and simplicity of tone, yet reviving the Patristic richness and depth of devout reflection, which make Mr. Williams's writings almost unique in our practical theology. The reader who reads for his soul's profit will find here a worthy companion to the Commentary on the Gospels. He will find the like exact and reverent study of every syllable of Holy Scripture, the like width of range in bringing together from every corner of the Bible all that can illustrate each several topic, the like connection of practical applications with the deepest doctrinal theology, the like thorough loyalty to our own branch of Christ's Church, the like fertile but chastened fancy, drawing apt analogies and striking images from all quarters, the like devout humility, careful not to be "wise beyond what is written," yet gathering up the very crumbs from the rich banquet of Scripture, that nothing may be lost. To borrow a quotation not unfamiliar to the writer himself, Mr. Williams's words, more than almost any other writer's, are *φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν*—a mine of spiritual teaching to those whose life and temperament give them the key to unlock their depths.

THE BOOK OF JOB¹.

THE mystery of pain is a problem that has tried the souls and the intellects of men to their depths from the beginning. The mystery of undeserved pain has ever wrung them still more terribly since men began to think at all. The defiant spirit that maintained its perplexed but unyielding protest on behalf of human freedom as a sphere for a real human morality, against a crushing and omnipotent but not moral fate, found its perfect expression doubtless in that which, though early, was not the earliest Greek literature. But the Greek tragedy was founded upon legends that sprung up out of the feeling of a far earlier age than that which gave birth to the tragedy itself. And so in the cycle of Biblical literature, with the religious feeling far more deep and true, and the conceptions of God far

¹ "Biblical Commentary on the Book of Job." By F. Delitzsch, D.D., Professor of Theology. Translated from the German, &c. Two Vols. (T. and T. Clark.)

nobler, why should it be thought impossible that a treatment of the same problem, in a spirit wholly apart from special doctrinal revelation and regarded entirely upon grounds of absolute religion, should occur in the days of Moses, and be handed down to us as we find it in the Book of Job? Confessedly the whole tenor of that book is un-Israelitish. Its colouring and allusions are all patriarchal, and absolutely ignore the peculiarities of the Mosaic Law. Its language, although akin to that of the Proverbs, is yet quite consistent with the earlier date. And the one external argument of Dr. Delitzsch for assigning it to the time of Solomon—viz., that allusions to it in other books of the Bible begin with the Psalms and are thenceforward continuous, falls to the ground at once when we remember that the only books (apart from the Pentateuch) which existed prior to the Psalms are simply historical books, such as could not be expected to quote Job at all. The question indeed is in itself of no vital importance. For the inspiration of the book is in no way involved in its date; and even the question whether it is founded on a history or is a mere poem is not seriously affected by the postponement of that date. But we cannot but protest against the fashion in which such questions are arbitrarily settled, even by believing critics like Dr. Delitzsch. We are told with a great affectation of technology about the “Chokma” spirit of the book, and are expected to believe at once that it is part of the same group with the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, the last however being put down long after Solomon. Likely enough that books, which in the spirit of the Jewish “Wisdom” treated more or less of like subjects, should have something (it is not much) in common—likely enough that the later books should refer to, or found themselves upon, the earlier. But the argument based upon such resemblances is really worn threadbare, and driven into a perfect absurdity, by German critics. It seems much more like common sense, in the present instance, to recognise in the special poetical character of the Book of Job a proof of a far earlier date, than that of the more prosaic reasonings and utterances of Ecclesiastes or of Proverbs. However, as Job does not claim to have written the Book of Job, the solution of the question is not like that of the parallel question about Ecclesiastes. Even there the difference between a genuine writing of Solomon and a personification of him by a later writer does not, it must fairly be said, affect seriously the inspiration of the book: far less does the parallel doubt affect *that of Job.*

Besides this question of date, there is yet another class of questions upon which a little English common sense is worth a bushel of finespun criticism—viz., that of authorship. Here again it does not vitally touch the inspiration of the book, if Elihu's speeches should be (as Dr. Delitzsch dubiously inclines rather to think than not) the work of a different hand, and interpolated into the original book. Yet really it is provoking to find such a question settled upon such grounds, as that the commentator cannot determine to his own mind the true place of those speeches in the argument, and that the chapters containing them are not conceived in the lofty poetical spirit of the rest of the book. Might not the writer design to make Elihu's tone differ from that of the others? Is it not more likely that he would do so? And is it not in truth striking out a very important part of the teaching of the book, if we omit that portion of it which affirms the connection of suffering with sin as a general truth, so as to distinguish in effect the sufferings of Job or of any other mere man, from those, e. g., of our Lord? The reason Dr. Delitzsch gives for omission strikes our mind as the very reason for retention. And the general solution of the problem—so to call it—put into the mouth of the Almighty, is so far from being inconsistent with Elihu's view, that it simply includes, and, as it were, supersedes it, in common with all other explanations of the difficulty, by advancing the general topic of the absolute power and infinity of God. The final solution of the book is surely nothing else than that human finite reason cannot comprehend God, or master the purposes of His government, and therefore has no (rational) right to be perplexed by them into unbelief in God's love and goodness.

Apart from the cold shadow of this spirit of rationalism, of which we suppose even a believing German could not, in the nature of things, wholly get quit, the Commentary is a very learned and a very valuable one. It does not force the words of the text into preconceived notions, yet it avoids the bitterest of prejudices, the prejudice of the sceptic, which will not recognise truth when it is there. It points out the true relation of Old Testament to New, and is not afraid of finding too much truth in the former, while it fully recognises the complete development, e. g., in such points as the future life, or the sense and conviction of sin, of the latter. And it carefully expounds the text word for word, with a large stock of Hebrew scholarship, and a thorough acquaintance with previous

commentators. At the end of the work is a learned geographical excursus upon the Haûran, the traditional scene of Job's habitation, by one of the few Europeans who have a personal knowledge of the locality itself, Dr. Wetzstein, who was many years Prussian Consul at Damascus. It may be added to the remarks made above, that the locality of the Haûran, assuming it to be really the true locality of the book, is quite consistent with the Mosaic date for it. The author was plainly well acquainted with Egypt. He was also in connection (if the Haûran be the place) with the eastern side of Jordan, and of the Lake of Galilee—*i. e.*, with Trachonitis. The two conditions might suit the circumstances of the time of Solomon. They assuredly suit exactly those of Moses.

THE PSALMS^m.

MR. WILLIAMS'S devotional books are of a character peculiar to themselves. They are full of Scripture. They come from a heart that has learned almost to think spontaneously in Scriptural words and according to the unworldly principles of Scripture. They are full, indeed, also of references to Patristic interpretation of Scripture, and follow that interpretation in details more implicitly than can always be to our minds justified. But in the general principles also of Scripture interpretation his tone is so thoroughly Patristic and so absolutely apart from the common spirit of even orthodox modern commentaries, that the Bible seems an absolutely different book in his pages and in theirs. In the latter we find an explanation of the letter of the text, taken as a human book although inspired, and illustrated by material knowledge, such as history and the like. In the former, the text is treated as written by the Spirit of God, the whole purpose of every word of it is assumed to relate to Him Whose incarnation and all it contains were present to the knowledge of that Holy Spirit, and a sense, consequently, is elicited from all Scripture words, apart from and above the literal sense, and such as to express some truth or other about our Lord. Two conditions only appear to be assumed as essential to be observed in this

^m "The Psalms Interpreted of Christ." By the Rev. Isaac Williams, B.D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Vol. I. (Rivingtons.)

kind of interpretation—viz., (1) that the literal sense, ascertained in the ordinary way, be the foundation of the further interpretation; and (2) that this further interpretation be in accordance with the dogmatic creeds of the Church Catholic. Subject to these restrictions, the principle underlying these commentaries appears to be—not that such spiritual interpretations are the only ones, or the only profitable ones,—nor yet, of course, that whatever a pious ingenuity may devise in the way of application of words and phrases, is necessarily among the senses actually intended by the Spirit of God,—but that, speaking generally, this class of interpretation is that which as a whole the Holy Spirit did mainly intend, and to which, indeed, all other senses are subordinate,—that the interpretation of particular passages in such a spirit is not to be limited to those comparatively few cases where the New Testament asserts it, but extended beyond those limits—and, in a word, that there *is* such a hidden but predominating interpretation of all Scripture, to find out which is a wholesome exercise of devout thought.

The possible evils of this view are no doubt obvious, although in the particular case there is little danger of them. It is impossible to draw a line between devout applications and real senses of Scripture, or, in the long run, to prevent such applications from degenerating into riddles and far-fetched distortions of Scripture. It is difficult to prevent them from being made foundations of doctrinal views, instead of being strictly limited by doctrines otherwise established. It is still more difficult to avoid putting a meaning into Scripture which cannot be there at all, and so making Scripture a mere repertory of words, diverted from their own real meaning to express that of the expositor. But against these and kindred evils, Mr. Williams's devout and self-controlled thoughtfulness is a sufficient safeguard in his case. Meanwhile, the appearance and the popularity of commentaries such as his are a cheering protest against the prominent spirit of unbelief, which would cut away the very ground for commentaries of the kind; and a protest the more powerful from the unconscious simplicity with which it is made. Mr. Williams's thoughts indeed are far from polemics. The turmoil around him does not reach him. He seeks to find comfort and strength in the closing years of a life debarred by unbroken ill-health from active exertion, yet singularly exercising that better influence which the meditations of a devout and unworldly soul possess. He writes for himself. But he writes also for a large circle of readers. And his works evidence accordingly the strength

of a belief, which thus holds its ground in the midst of a defiant and exactly contradictory unbelief.

Perhaps for this very reason it is desirable that the position assumed by these works should be so stated as to be free from objections. And—to speak the truth—it does not appear to be so stated. It appears to us that there is a still further objection to the extent to which even in Mr. Williams's pages this principle of interpretation is carried, apart from those which have here no ground—viz., from such plain abuses of it, as are above alluded to. For even in the Psalms, what ground is there for assuming that every line of every verse speaks some truth directly relating to our Lord? David was a type of our Lord. Yet many of David's acts, and much of his life, and a large proportion of that which is written of him, find no parallel in the great Antitype. And so of the Psalms, which express the thoughts of a human writer, inspired to utter them, but not necessarily so inspired as that every word he uttered should be directly prophetic of One so different as well as so like. It seems to us that another limit is needed besides those above mentioned. The limiting indeed of such interpretations to those which the New Testament writers directly authorise is plainly narrow. It is importing an irrelevant and external test into the matter. Nay, it is the drawing an inference from New Testament usage, exactly the opposite of the inference which a reasonable and sober judgment would draw. But the extending them to every syllable of every book, or even of the Psalms, appears equally indefensible. Surely there ought to be something in the passage itself to bring it within the scope of direct application to Christ. Penitential Psalms, for instance, such as the 51st—how can they apply to our Lord? And even where there is no such positive ground of discrepancy, ought there not to be some positive link of connection, to justify the application of the principle? Mr. Williams comments as though any words which could bear a meaning applicable to Christ were intended to be applied to Him. Would it not rather be the safer rule that those words only be so applied where there is either in the passage itself or in the broad features of Scripture ground for supposing the application intended? The general position that the whole Old Testament was a preparation for Christ is obviously insufficient as a proof that every word was intended to be directly applied to Him. There must needs be much of indirect preparation, incapable of such

direct application. These are indeed passages that are plainly, in their necessary meaning, prophecies of Christ and nothing else. But besides these, it is only the principles of type and antitype, and of the double sense and the like, which supply real ground for that application, where they themselves apply.

Having thus discharged our conscience, let it be added, that as a devout meditation, expressed in Scripture words, such a commentary as Mr. Williams's will help many a Christian man upon his course by its holy and unworldly thoughts. What he writes is edifying, even though we may doubt whether the particular Psalms intended to express it. And further than this, it need hardly be said that there are many Psalms where the spiritual interpretation, as in the 16th for instance, is plainly that which alone exhausts the full meaning of the words themselves, and many also which on other grounds are certainly prophetic. And in a very large proportion of the book, accordingly, we should be at one with the interpretation here propounded, as not simply profitable, but as being the intended and principal and proper meaning of the Holy Word itself.

Now and then we note a sentence or two, which their revered author would, we are sure, revise upon further consideration. The statement, for instance, on p. 90, that to attribute laughter and wrath to God "implies the Incarnation." Surely if it did—i.e., if to speak anthropologically of God were wrong apart from the Incarnation, and if man were only made in the image of God by anticipation of the Incarnation—then would human conceptions of God be stripped of that sole foundation of a belief in a Personal God which rests upon the analogy between the infinite perfections of God and the finite qualities of man. Then we could not conceive of God as loving man, only of Christ doing so. But the phrase, it is plain, is an inadvertency. Again, it is argued, that to interpret certain Psalms of Christ does away with the imputation cast by some upon these Psalms, of encouraging doctrines respecting merit. Surely not so. To interpret this of Him *alone* might do so. But this cannot be. And the language of the Psalms must have a right meaning as referring to the type, as well as when expounded with reference to the antitype. Surely the right answer to such imputations is to affirm the truth about human works, and to shew in what sense merit is truly and rightly predicable of them. But we abstain from further argument. The

works of the writer are too valuable to be passed without full notice; but their value is of a kind above criticism, and to be appreciated only by those who interweave his devotional thoughts with their own.

ON THE STUDY AND USE OF THE PSALMSⁿ.

MANY works on the Psalter have been lately published, both in England and abroad. And the names, among others, of Neale, and of Jebb, of French and Skinner, together with the anonymous Plain Commentary,—and we must not forget, although not quite on a like level, Mr. De Burgh,—remind us of valuable labours bestowed, although in very different ways, upon a portion of the Bible previously to the days of Horne and Horsley, rather neglected among English theologians. Mr. Thrupp's learned, sound, and sensible work fills a gap hitherto unfilled by any of his predecessors. He does not offer us either a literal commentary on the text, or a translation; nor does he gather into one focus the Patristic interpretations; nor does he supply us with a devotional application of the Psalms for practical use. His aim is, to furnish English students with an historical and critical account of the date, purpose, origin, and general purport of each Psalm, and of the general divisions and history of the entire book in its larger subdivisions, together with a discussion of the main questions of interpretation arising out of the book. And without affirming either the accuracy of all his (sometimes novel) historical conjectures, or the conclusiveness of his sometimes a little over-ingenious exegesis, the book deserves to be strongly recommended to all students—not the learned only but all educated persons—who desire to understand soundly the literal, and so to be able to realise intelligently the typical or prophetic, meanings of the Psalter. It is the work of a painstaking and careful Hebrew scholar, of a sound English divine, and of an interpreter singularly fair and straightforward. And in addition to Mr. Thrupp's own very thorough labours, the ample commentaries of such Germans as Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, and Tholuck, not to mention also Köster and Ewald, have piled together valuable stores of

ⁿ "An Introduction to the Study and Use of the Psalms." By Joseph Francis Thrupp, M.A., Vicar of Barrington, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Macmillan.) *Guardian*, Feb. 6, 1861.

matter upon the subject, ready to be drawn out into a solid and well-compacted edifice, as is here done, by the sound common sense of an Englishman.

With respect to broader questions of interpretation, two points may be mentioned, in which Mr. Thrupp's remarks claim marked approval. The subject of the imprecatory Psalms is handled in the latter part of the first volume, with a plain boldness and a common sense which it does not need any contrast with the flippant audacity of the "Essays and Reviews" to render admirable. Since the days when Dr. Arnold led the way by a similarly shallow and rash treatment of St. Paul's words about Alexander the coppersmith, there has been too much by far of timid apology, and explaining away, in the spirit in which these portions of the Psalms have been discussed. The true temper with which a Christian, as such, must and ought to regard impenitent sin, has been forgotten. And that which hereafter must needs form part of the glory of the kingdom, and therefore part of that in which all saints will rejoice, has been held incapable of forming part of their prayers while in this life. As though it were not included, by the very force of the words, as Mr. Thrupp acutely says, in the prayer that "Thy kingdom come." The perfect combination indeed of love of the sinner himself, so long as there remains anything within him capable of being an object of love, with utter loathing of his sin, is not only not inconsistent with, but is the very mark of, a perfect Christian temper. And when sinful men become as the fiends are, no one, we suppose, would say that it does not belong to the ideally perfect Christian to feel simple abhorrence of them. The well-guarded but plain and clear observations of Mr. Thrupp deserve careful perusal. The other topic is the Messianic purport of the Psalms generally. Going, and on good grounds, beyond the view which represents the extreme point to which Horne attained—viz., that the words of David, written with an exclusive reference to David's own circumstances, were nevertheless overruled by the Holy Spirit, so as to be capable of application to Christ—the doctrine here maintained is in brief this—that in David's own Psalms he idealises his own historical position into an ideal representation of the Messiah in His own Person, while in the Psalms of the Temple-singers the Messiah, in His Church, is the subject idealised; but that in both cases the primary subject of all the Psalms is not the individual and historical writer or writers of *them*, but *Christ*; and that thus only have they been

fitted for religious use either among the Jews or in the Christian Church. Certainly this view appears to us the only one consistent at once with any fair inference from New Testament citations of the Psalms, and with any thoroughly satisfactory exposition of the text of the Psalms themselves. Upon another topic of the same class Mr. Thrupp's decision strikes us as too trenchant. He rules unhesitatingly that David was ignorant of the doctrine of the Resurrection, admitting at the same time that doubtless he had an *implicit* faith that God will never abandon those whom He loves. But such implicit faith appears to us to satisfy neither the requirement of our Lord from the Sadducees, resting upon grounds equally open to David, nor the language of the Psalms themselves. The Sadducees were expressly rebuked because they had *not* drawn the conclusion which David is here likewise asserted not to have drawn, from the same premises which he possessed; and we see no difference between the two cases thus stated, except that David is represented as holding in a temper of faith what the Sadducees held in a temper of unbelief. And if the words of the 16th Psalm ought to be translated, "abandon *to* Hades," and not "leave *in* Hades," which we do not deny, we are at a loss to see how the corrected translation implies less in this particular point than that for which it is substituted. That either David or any of the fathers of the old dispensation believed in the Resurrection with the like evidence, the like clearness, and the like prominence, that is ours as Christians, is a very different thing. But while denying this, we cannot but think that Mr. Thrupp's way of stating the point trenches a little too closely on Warburtonianism.

There are several other topics also, touched upon by Hengstenberg in his "Dissertation on the Doctrinal Matter of the Psalms," which we should have been glad to see treated by Mr. Thrupp, but which—for brevity's sake we suppose—he has passed over in silence.

Of the historical and critical matter which is the main object of the book, the account of the putting together of the Psalter, given in the Appendix with relation to the use of the names Elohim and Jehovah, is simpler and more coherent than Hengstenberg's, and much more so than that of Delitzsch. A certain amount of conjecture must remain in all determinations of the problem. Mr. Thrupp's leaves less opening for objection than any other we have seen. The reference of Psalm 77 and of eight of the

following ten Psalms to the Ten Tribes, the account of the Songs of Degrees, the reference of the 119th Psalm to Daniel as its author (following Jebb in this), the date of the 74th Psalm (also following Jebb), appear to be among the most notable points of detail; but into these we have no space to enter. And noticing, by the way, that Job and Ecclesiastes are unhesitatingly referred by our author, in a note, to a late date, but still within the limits of the canon—we presume on philological grounds—we end by heartily commending the book to all intelligent students of a portion of the Bible more often read but very commonly less understood than others, and which, in private reading, is much more frequently than it should be the subject of an unintelligent devotion.

THE MESSIANIC PROPHECIES*.

THE late Mr. T. Kerchever Arnold, who first introduced this valuable book to English readers, preferred abridging to translating, on the ground that English readers could not be found in sufficient numbers for a book so full of Hebrew as the original. We are glad to see that the lapse of a few years has so altered the case as either to prove the fear groundless or to remove what ground it rested upon. The present translation has also another advantage over Mr. Arnold's abridgment besides that of completeness. It is made from a second edition, and the second edition is in its earlier portions almost a new book, the first portion of the original having been one of Hengstenberg's earliest works. The reference, for instance, of Balaam's prophecy to the Messiah—to single out a prominent case—which was denied in the first edition, is in this elaborately supported—a change decidedly for the better. And a similar improvement may be noticed in other cases. It is to be regretted, however, that the section allotted to the Psalms should have been omitted in the second edition of the book. No doubt the whole of it is to be found scattered up and down the author's *Commentary on the Psalms*. But the "Christology" is a work of itself, and should contain all that relates to its subject. The proofs

* "Christology of the Old Testament, and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions." By E. W. Hengstenberg, Dr. and Prof. of Theology in Berlin. Second Edition, greatly improved. Translated from the German. Vols. III., IV. (T. and T. Clark.) *Guardian*, March 16, 1859.

might very well have been omitted or abridged. But the results, at least, should have been given. As it is, one very important step in the gradual development of Messianic prophecy is simply left with no other notice than a page or two of superficial allusion to its existence.

With a full sense of Hengstenberg's great merits as a commentator, we have still some criticisms to make upon the general principles of his work.

A commentary on Messianic prophecy, that omits to notice the class of New Testament quotations of which Hosea xi. 1 ("I called My Son out of Egypt"), and Jeremiah xxxi. 15 ("Rachel weeping for her children") may be taken as specimens—cannot, we submit, be called a complete work upon its subject. In his very legitimate anxiety to avoid laying himself open to rationalist accusations of over-fancifulness—of importing meaning into the text instead of eliciting it from the text itself—Dr. Hengstenberg does seem to us to have unnecessarily narrowed his subject. He has apparently desired to limit himself to those prophecies where the very words themselves, historically and philologically interpreted, *compel* the honest commentator to see a Christian prediction. Shrinking from the Grotian extreme, which tries hard not to see the Gospel at all in the Old Testament, he has, it seems to us, been over-sensitive to the possibility of falling into the opposite extreme of (say) Cocceius, and of extorting an allusion to Gospel truth wherever a fanciful imagination, by whatever process, could extract one. Yet surely, when the principle is once established, that the whole Old Testament is a Divine preparation for the New, a belief in the inspiration of the Old Testament becomes inconsistent with a rigorous limitation of prophetic meaning to those texts which *must* bear it. Arguing with unbelievers, such a limitation is obviously necessary; but how can it hold good with those who believe that the Spirit which caused the Old Testament to be written, foreknew, and in that Testament as a whole formally intended to express, the Gospel to come? It is true, of course, on the other hand, that whether or no such possible allusions were *really* intended, we at any rate cannot *know* them to be intended, unless the words require them, with the exception of such passages of the kind as are quoted in the New Testament. But we conceive that it is hardly consistent with a full recognition of the Divine character and purpose of the prophetic works, to draw the line sharply down (as

Hengstenberg appears to draw it) to such texts only as *must* be prophetic even to the point of view of an unbeliever. The line between accommodation and distinct prophecy may be one which man cannot definitely lay down. But while we fully admit that there *are* accommodations—meaning by the term, both applications of words by modern theologians to meanings which those words originally have not, and applications also of a similar kind by New Testament writers themselves—we maintain, nevertheless, both that we, as believers, ought to expect, and that New Testament quotations, expounded with due deference to the inspiration—nay, to the mere veracity—of the New Testament writers, compel us to admit, the existence, and even the wide extent, of allusions to Gospel truth in the Old Testament which are not *demanded* by the exact and necessary meaning of the Old Testament words. And the texts to which we alluded at the outset come under this description.

We have also to make some less general remarks respecting one or two of Dr. Hengstenberg's particular interpretations. He refuses, for instance, to find a prediction of Cyrus *by name* in the latter part of Isaiah; and insists, in the most forced way, upon the very improbable supposition, that Cyrus borrowed his title designedly from Isaiah! And yet, with the prophecy respecting Josiah to supply a parallel case, what possible antecedent ground can there be for even doubting, much less for declaring impossible, the similar kind of prediction in the more important case of Cyrus?

It is to be regretted, also, that the exceedingly valuable discussion upon Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks should be still disfigured by the surely untenable chronological assumption with respect to the beginning of the period; by which, we quite agree with Auberlen, Hengstenberg "has done quite as much harm as good to the cause" of his own "essentially true exposition."

Subject to these remarks, however, we cannot but commend most heartily to English students of prophecy these most sensible, learned, and right-minded volumes. As a correction of the sillinesses and crude fancies of many would-be interpreters of prophecy among ourselves, they are invaluable. And if we are tormented while reading them by the continual references to forms of German heterodoxy from which here we are free, or by the verbose and disorderly profusion of sometimes hazy thought and erudition which

Dr. Hengstenberg pours forth, a thoughtful study will, we think, always elicit a valuable and a complete account of the several texts commented upon, honestly grappling with difficulties, rarely diverging into crotchets, and never wanting in pious and right-minded treatment of sacred truth.

The translation bears marks of being well done, although we have not examined it with the original, and speak, therefore, only upon internal evidence. But the printing of it is occasionally careless, and here and there is an evident misprint.

THE INSPIRATION OF THE PROPHECIES OF DANIEL ^P.

MR. BOSANQUET writes,—in a fair and temperate spirit, but with more of originality than of logic,—to establish, first, that the “saints of the Most High,” in Dan. vii. 25, mean the literal Jews, and that this prophecy and that of the Image in chap. ii. culminate accordingly in a prediction of the literal restoration of Israel; and next, that the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks is to be taken, not as Daniel wrote it, with the one week following the seven and the sixty-two, but as Mr. Bosanquet imagines it, preceding them; and yet, that while the seven and the sixty-two both end together at the birth of Christ, the one week refers figuratively to A.D. 27—34, and literally to A.D. 65—72. Neither view appears to us admissible. The former is inconsistent with the very principle of the Christian interpretation of prophecy, as substituting the literal for the spiritual Israel. The latter seems inconsistent with the actual words of the prophecy itself. Mr. Bosanquet also, in p. 15, appears to be actually under the belief that the Pope and his “hierarchy” are identical with “the Gentile Church of Christ;” certainly a strange admission on the part of a strong Protestant, who in other passages of his book goes so far as almost to prefer a Jew to a Roman Catholic. And we notice also a strange passage elsewhere, which seems to contemplate the culminating of the Church into a Jewish and a Gentile branch, the latter consisting of the “reformed” Churches; and,

^P “Messiah the Prince; or, the Inspiration of the Prophecies of Daniel: containing Remarks on the views of Dr. Pusey, Mr. Desprez, and Dr. Williams, concerning the Book of Daniel, together with a Treatise on the Sabbatical Years and Jubilees.” By J. W. Bosanquet, F.R.A.S. (Longmans.) *Guardian*, Sept. 19, 1866.

specially, of the "Protestant Bishop" at Jerusalem into a sort of Christian Jewish High Priest, who is to have a very Papal sort of supremacy, only at Jerusalem and not at Rome, and over Jews and not Gentiles. Moreover, as regards the present "Protestant" shadow of this future High Priest, Mr. Bosanquet is really imputing motives most groundlessly in supposing Dr. Newman's objections to the Jerusalem Bishopric to have had anything whatever to do with dislike or contempt of Jews. One would have thought it was needless to tell any one professing to be an educated man and a theologian, that the objections both of Dr. Newman and of Church-people to the Jerusalem Bishopric have reference to its relations to Lutherans on the one hand and the Eastern Churches on the other. Lastly, while we duly appreciate Mr. Bosanquet's honesty and frankness, it is hard to reconcile his denunciations of sceptical critics of the Book of Daniel with his own surrender of part of that book as an incorrect gloss, devised by enthusiastic Jews of the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, and interpolated into the genuine book. He does, in effect, by this admission, not only give up the principle of external authority—authority wholly apart from any claim of the Church as such, being simply the continuous testimony of those best able to testify,—but give it up to the presumption, founded upon human judgment of what prophecy must be and must not be, that a prophecy of a particular kind—viz., a minute prophecy ending at a precise date, *could* not be given. We demur, as rationalists in a sober and genuine sense, to any such reasoning.

The treatise on the Sabbatical years at the end of the volume is of more value, although even here Mr. Bosanquet seems beset with a weakness for *à priori* chronology. His arrangement of Jewish history, like his interpretation of prophecy, is made to fit very suspiciously with a system of Sabbatical years and jubilees. A critic of the Niebuhr school would accept his conclusions, and base upon them a denial of the historical truth of the Bible history. At the same time Mr. Bosanquet has collected with great diligence a large amount of information on the subject of Sabbatical and jubilee periods. He adopts the theory that the jubilee was a distinct year from the seventh Sabbatical year, and followed that year, but was reckoned into the next septennial period, so as to make the series one of periods of forty-nine, not fifty, years; holding also, that the command to let the land lie fallow during the jubilee year applied only to those who entered again upon the possession of their inhe-

ritance in that year. The former of these suppositions agrees with the plain statement of Leviticus, and seems the best of the interpretations which do so agree. The latter appears to us a gratuitous supposition, not agreeing with that plain statement.

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH^a.

THIS is a well-timed book. It is, indeed, curiously so. It exactly meets the crude and audacious attack recently made upon the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah, while the discourses of which it consists were written and preached for the most part prior to that attack. A review of Jewish interpretations of these prophecies led to a review also of the modern German interpretations, which, upon sceptical principles, have revived the older Jewish endeavours to evade their Christian sense. And by a singular happiness, the special crotchets of Bunsen, which certain English sceptics servilely worship, are exposed as the rejected and condemned offcasts of even German neology, yet without the possibility of a suspicion of personal allusion nearer home. A note or two, however, added by way of appendix, are directed expressly against Dr. R. Williams; and send their shafts home precisely to his vulnerable points. The self-satisfied oracle, who in all the pride of superior scholarship pronounced his infallible condemnation of the ignorantly superstitious belief of English clergy as a body, and proclaimed, in effect, for his brethren an alternative of fools or knaves—of stupid belief or hypocritically concealed knowledge—is simply exposed by plain facts as a blunderer in the very scholarship on which he rested. We commend the first of Mr. Payne Smith's notes to the attention of those who desire to gauge the accuracy of Dr. Williams's pretentious Oriental learning.

The volume, however, is of more lasting value than as a mere answer to the sceptics of the day. It contains a general account of the principal Messianic prophecies in Isaiah, especially of the great and continuous prophecy of the last twenty-seven chapters, drawn

^a "The Authenticity and Messianic Interpretation of the Prophecies of Isaiah, vindicated in a Course of Sermons preached before the University of Oxford." By the Rev. R. Payne Smith, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library, and Select Preacher; afterwards Dean of Canterbury. (J. H. and J. Parker.) *Guardian*, April 6, 1862.

up carefully and thoughtfully by one who has gone to original sources, and who is familiar with the Hebrew and cognate languages. In its concluding discourses, it deals with that broad and sound principle of prophetic interpretation, the neglect of which has made shipwreck of such crowds of prophetic interpreters, and of so large a part of would-be converters of the Jews. That the Jewish dispensation is wholly a thing of the past,—that it is not to revive in any literal sense,—that all prophecies of restoration of the Jewish polity are to be taken spiritually, whether in their main purport or in detail,—that Jews, consequently, are to cease to be Jews in the letter, in becoming Christians,—and as a kindred point, that a literal millenium, a period of worldly prosperity upon earth for the Christian Church, is a delusion founded upon a mistake,—all this, as it arises naturally upon the interpretation of the third and final portion of the great concluding prophecy of Isaiah, so is ably and conclusively vindicated by Mr. Smith. In the earlier discourses he is led to consider the great prophecies of the 7th, 9th, and 11th chapters. The next part of the volume is devoted to proving the unity of the Book of Isaiah, and the identity of the later part with the earlier in respect of authorship. And a masterly exposition of the connected argument of that later part follows. The argument is conducted with learning and good sense, although somewhat heavily in point of style. The account of the prophecy in the 7th chapter, for instance, appears to contain the substance of the true answer to the difficulties that have been raised respecting it. The “sign of the prophet Jonah” is rightly adduced, as an exact case in point, to explain in what sense the future miraculous birth of Immanuel was a sign to Ahaz. And the prophetic habit of employing one form of words to indicate both a nearer and a more distant fulfilment is correctly referred to, as shewing how that future sign could be used as a measure of time for a present event. At the same time, we desiderate a more forcible and vivid mode of stating the case. In substance, however, the book is a valuable addition to our theological literature, comprising in short space matter that is elsewhere to be found only in many and commonly inaccessible quarters.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH[†].

THIS volume was compiled for the Speaker's Commentary but after some delay rejected, as too "homiletic." We cannot feel exceedingly surprised at its rejection, although it is regrettable that any *contretemps* of the kind should have occurred at all. The reason assigned, indeed, points to what, in our own view of the case, is a defect in the commentary scheme itself. But it is one thing to deal in obvious reflections or paraphrastic sermonisings, such as any intelligent reader could, and indeed ought to, suggest to himself; another, to point out (and with the more Bengelian lucidity and terseness the better) such applications, deeper meanings, or more recondite connections of doctrine or teaching, as would not occur to ordinary Bible students. And Mr. Birks, we are afraid, is rather given to the former of these two kinds of "homiletics." He has also, we regret to see, to learn two other things, very essential to joint labours, and to labours of the dimensions of the Speaker's Commentary; first, compression; and next, the policy, not to say the duty, of avoiding hard words. We agree heartily, for instance, with his firm maintenance of the unity of the Book of Isaiah, and of its single authorship. The imaginary prophets, of whom no one ever heard,—who have, indeed, been conjured up out of the pure guesswork of sundry recent wise men in Germany, who we suppose know better than the Jewish contemporaries and successors of Isaiah,—are as repugnant to our common sense as they appear to be to his. And it is certainly difficult to keep one's countenance when gravely told that scribes dovetailed these prophecies into those of Isaiah, because they wanted to fill up so many inches of parchment. No doubt, too, the motive for these crotchets has been, avowedly, in some cases, the denial of the reality of prophecy at all; and the consequent inference that prophecies which, if rightly dated, *must* be real (as, e.g., that of Cyrus by name, two centuries before Cyrus lived), were necessarily written after the time of Cyrus. But granting all this, we had rather leave the facts to suggest the epithets, by the mere force of plain truth, than weaken the impression of our

[†] "Commentary on the Book of Isaiah, Critical, Historical, and Prophetical: including a Revised English Translation, with Introduction and Appendices on the Nature of Scripture Prophecy, the Life and Times of Isaiah, the Genuineness of the Later Prophecies, the Structure and History of the whole Book, the Assyrian History in Isaiah's Days, and various difficult Passages." By the Rev. T. R. Birks, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. (Rivingtons.) *Guardian*, Oct. 25, 1871.

own case by hurling those epithets at people's heads ourselves. Unhappily, too, Mr. Birks has chosen for his choicest denunciations a topic which will not, in our judgment, bear the stress that he has laid upon it. If nothing turns upon the precise point so as to make it plain that the authorship of all Isaiah by Isaiah was distinctly intended to be asserted, it is not easy to see why a reference by our Lord to words as of Isaiah should mean any more than a reference to words which were then currently so described. The case is not parallel with that of references to books which modern critics affirm to be pious frauds. It is rather analogous to references to the Psalms of David, where the particular Psalm is only one of the collection commonly so called, but happens not to be David's own composition. And therefore it is really a mistake, as well as something worse, to heap upon this particular subject such epithets as "loathing" and "blasphemy" and "imputations of hateful frauds and blundering falsehoods," and the like. No wonder Canon Cook shrank from committing his "Company" to all this, although he does not appear to have alleged it as among his reasons for declining the work.

However, there is a great deal of something better than this in Mr. Birks's Commentary; at any rate, in its critical and in its historical portions; for it must be honestly owned that we cannot tell what a "prophetical" commentary means. There is, for instance, a carefully elaborated statement of facts, reviving the hypothesis, once commonly held (before the buried monuments came to light), but of later years laid aside, of the identity of Sargon with Shalmaneser. The point of importance is, that, according to recent views, the text of the Book of Kings, and the obvious drift of the Scripture history, will not harmonise with the dates elicited from the monumental history of the Assyrian Kings, and from Ptolemy's Canons, without tampering with that text in a way which no classical scholar in these days would venture on in the case of a profane historian. On the other hand, the monuments, although no doubt "boastful bulletins," like more modern imperial documents of the kind, in the matters of claiming victories and ignoring defeats, are scarcely likely to falsify mere dates. But then, it appears, that the monuments know nothing of this Shalmaneser, and that no document at all speaks of both him and Sargon as distinct and several persons; while everything that is mentioned of the one is found attributed also to the other. And the assumption of their

identity (Sargon, moreover, being confessedly not a proper name but a title) removes—we do not say quite, but—almost all difficulty. Beyond all doubt, if the case comes to be a mere collision between Scripture and Ptolemy's Canons—setting all questions of inspiration on one side—the almost contemporary Hebrew Chronicle or prophecy written on the spot is, upon the most rigorously historical principles, better evidence than a bare list of names and years drawn up in another country, centuries after, upon authority that is not known and cannot be tested. Mr. Birks has worked out his case with exceeding pains, and with evident effort to bring forward everything against as well as for it. Professor Rawlinson, we hope, will weigh the matter well before he finally parts with his forthcoming notes on the Books of Kings.

An earlier Appendix—on the Genuineness of the later Prophecies—is marked by the same characteristics with the remainder of the work. It is carefully exhaustive, in the sense of omitting nothing in the shape of argument on either side. But it is diffuse, and lacks point and precision. Of its tone we have said enough already. It would be very much more effective if it were pruned of half its length, and if the really salient arguments were grouped in a more business-like way. These arguments, on the negative side, resolve themselves mainly into three—first the language, and next the tone, of the later prophecies, are alleged to differ from those of the earlier; and lastly, the Prophet (or Prophets) in the later prophecies speaks as “from the standpoint of the Captivity.” Now, of these arguments, the first and second are in themselves, unless the case is very strong indeed, utterly untrustworthy. No doubt—take an extreme case—take a passage of Sir W. Hamilton, or again of Macaulay, and on the other side, of Bacon or of Philip de Comines, and no one could doubt for an instant that centuries of thought and of linguistic changes had intervened between them. But when one finds that certain chapters of a book are denied to be the work of the author of certain other chapters, because some two score words occur in the one set that do not occur in the other, or because forsooth a critic now thinks the tone of one set “tenderer” than that of the other, one is really apt to conclude that the critic has taken leave of his common sense. Writers use different words at different times, and write under differing circumstances and upon differing subjects in different tones. The third argument is of another character. Yet here too it is needful to distinguish. A writer

may imply in his allusions and in his language, in a way that cannot be mistaken, that a certain state of things is actually existing; and may thus conclusively date his writings within a certain period. But Isaiah does not do this in reference to the time of the Captivity. Mr. Birks has put forcibly the absence of all such matter-of-fact references to persons or things of the alleged date. What the Prophet does, is to put himself, mentally, in the period of the Captivity, which he had already repeatedly foretold, and to prophecy the great future deliverance both from that, and indeed from the worse spiritual captivity also, in order to accomplish which greater deliverance the Saviour was to come. Now, to argue to his date from this, is simply to assume the impossibility of prophecy at all. And with those who assume this, the argument becomes no longer a literary argument, but one relating to the supernatural and to religion itself. And when one sets against these (as we must call them) feeble reasonings, the constant tradition of the Isaian authorship—the unity of the book taken together (and this Mr. Birks has thoroughly and carefully worked out),—the extreme improbability that these imaginary Prophets should never have been heard of, and this, when the matter of their prophecies is of the special character which marks those later prophecies,—and lastly, the fact, that most of those who affirm the negative position do so avowedly as not believing prophecy to be possible, and, moreover, contradict one another right and left in the various hypotheses which they propound,—one can but wonder at the marvellous blindness, to call it by no other name, which literally makes a belief in the Isaian authorship to be *ipso facto* a proof of uncritical stupidity or wilful ignorance. Really we can only say, for our own parts, that if this be folly we prefer to be fools. Mr. Birks has substantially stated the case, and his details are diligently and carefully got together. The defect which strikes us in his work, seems really to arise in great part from the very care that he has taken to answer point by point every argument whatever of objectors.

We beg, in conclusion, to remind the most recent English propagator of the negative view, that as regards the Sardican Canons the facts are distinctly against, and not for, his case: inasmuch as the Church did find out forthwith that the canons in question were *not* those of Nice. And as to Gregory of Tours, to whom he refers as making an analogous blunder, we presume that he does not mean to compare the sixth century of the Christian era and the condition

of literary knowledge at that time in France or Northern Europe with the careful preservation of the inspired writings by the Jewish people. We could supply him by the score with instances of canons and penitentials, and even longer documents, that got attributed to wrong authors in the sixth and later centuries. But they would be utterly irrelevant.

THE JEWISH CHURCH*.

To accumulate knowledge and to use it are two very different things. And it is no heavy imputation on a man's literary fame to say that he has distinguished himself in the latter, without achieving anything particular in the former, department of labour; that he has, in short, displayed a wonderful power of exhibiting other men's learning in a popular and attractive shape. We cast no blame then, so far, on the Dean of Westminster, by pretty well limiting our admiration of his great abilities to the "many beautiful expressions," to use the happy phrase of the last and not the least witty of Oxford *jeux d'esprit*, which "the Penrhyn method" no doubt has produced in a singular degree, whether in "the senary or in the denary scale of notation." We simply characterise his literary position as that of an eloquent teacher, who is not specially distinguished by original research, but has been content mostly to borrow his learning, and throws his own strength upon the task of setting it forth in English that is singularly chaste, and with ornaments of style and sentiment that are beyond question marvellously attractive. Such a position, however, is a perilous one. And Mr. Malan, in the book we are about to notice, alleges that the Dean has fallen into some of its many pitfalls. He frames an indictment against Dr. Stanley of a far heavier kind than that of being more of a popular lecturer than an original scholar; and we are bound to add that he adduces weighty evidence in support of that indictment. Obviously, second-hand learning may be borrowed from untrustworthy sources, and the borrower may be unable to correct the defect. Or doubtful points may be slurred over by

* "Philosophy, or Truth? Remarks on the First Five Lectures by the Dean of Westminster on the Jewish Church; with other Plain Words on Questions of the Day, regarding Faith, the Bible, and the Church." By the Rev. S. C. Malan, M.A. (Masters.) *Guardian*, July 19, 1865.

a curt statement of alternatives, put as though there were no difference in the degrees of their probability. Or doubt and disquiet may be stirred in the minds of readers or hearers by allusions which are not followed up, or by suggestive illustrations or epithets, which are not assertions, yet which operate as such upon those who know no better. Or, worst of all, a lack of profound knowledge may produce a misunderstanding of what the original authority does really say. And in all these points, except the last, Mr. Malan has something to allege against the Dean of Westminster, and marshals in support of his allegations an amount of erudition that really takes away a reader's breath. On the other hand, Mr. Malan himself strikes us as making mountains of molehills occasionally. He lays immense stress upon small points, and deals out his wrath without due proportion to the offence. Yet in the main, undoubtedly, he is the real scholar of the two in his own department—viz., in points of Oriental lore; and he is accordingly a formidable critic to a writer who, whatever his knowledge may be in other things, is confessedly no Orientalist.

One of Mr. Malan's first specimens, however, belongs to more general theological scholarship; and deserves, it must be confessed, all he can say of it. Really it is hard to say whether the shallowness or the flippancy of the remark is the more conspicuous, when Dr. Stanley coolly informs his auditors that the LXX. are "a bulwark against a too rigid or too literal construction of" the Old Testament, and so "may be ranked amongst the greatest benefactors of Biblical literature and free inquiry." Does Dr. Stanley mean to affirm that the existence of translations of a book renders the text of that book uncertain? and that if his own lectures, e.g., attained the honour of being turned into German, and the translator happened to make mistakes, we should become entitled to impute vagueness and a mere general truthfulness,—in other words, any number of blunders,—to himself; to believe him in the lump, but to protest loudly against any particular statement of his being trustworthy? It may be true that the many difficulties—we need not enumerate them—in the way of transmitting an exactly correct text of books written thousands of years since, in other lands and extinct tongues, may render it uncertain, not whether there was an original text, but what that text in all its details exactly was. But the existence of the LXX. is just so much more evidence to help us to approximate to that text in the case of the Bible, not by idly

guessing that it does not matter which we take of the various renderings, but by the more homely and sensible process of estimating the probabilities of the particular Alexandrian interpretation representing the really correct reading of the Hebrew. And the question then becomes one simply of comparison between the respective values of the tradition of Jews proper and the tradition of the Alexandrian Jews, the existence of a "literal and exact" text of the Old Testament itself being (not disproved but) taken for granted, and the one point being to ascertain what it was. It must be remarked, indeed, upon Mr. Malan's sound and learned account of the matter, that the comparison, in the great majority of cases, does not lie quite between a Hebrew original and a Greek version, but between the Masoretic rendering of the Hebrew through the vowel points, and an apparently different pointing as represented by the Greek of the LXX. But admitting this, the curt assumption in Dr. Stanley's words remains equally groundless, and equally unjustifiable. He literally writes as if we had two equally authoritative Bibles, widely differing, and neither of them exactly right; and so we were at liberty exactly to believe neither.

But the strength of Mr. Malan lies chiefly in a different direction—viz., in the matter of Eastern traditions respecting the Jewish people. And here his marvellous knowledge of Eastern languages gives him an immeasurable advantage over Dr. Stanley. He takes to task accordingly, and demolishes with ponderous learning, a heap of pretty phrases—pretty but, alas! inaccurate—with which "Penrhyn's method" has adorned the Lectures on the Jewish Church. Abraham, e.g., did *not* descend from "the Caucasian range" upon any hypothesis of the locality of Ur of the Chaldees (though Mr. Malan, we are bound to add, pays apparently undue deference to Armenian and other such local tradition, no earlier it should seem than St. Ephrem at best, and locates Ur at Edessa, and not in the south of Mesopotamia). And the "guarantee of Abraham's earliest conquest" (by which Dr. Stanley means Damascus)—viz., the fact of Eliezer's having come from thence, turns out to be a mere groundless guess, there being no real reason for believing that Abraham ever went to Damascus at all, and the supposed allusion being much like such an assumption as that Potiphar reigned in Dothan, because Joseph *his* steward came from thence. And Abba is *not* the first part of Abraham's name, any more than an abbreviation of "rab-amon" is the last. And the "ingenious conjecture"

that Abraham's "introduction of monotheism" is testified by his using Elohim with a singular verb, ignores unfortunately the fact, that Abraham himself, using the word twice, uses it once with (not a singular but) a plural verb. And the history of Joseph and Asenath is *not* one of the canonical books of the Armenian Bible, as Mr. Malan has taken huge pains to find out by a correspondence with the Armenian Patriarch himself. And (worse still) the shocking insinuation that the evil spirit put it into Abraham's thoughts to slay Isaac, defended by a reference to the two passages respecting the numbering of the people of Israel by David, rests, says Mr. Malan, upon simple ignorance of the Hebrew: which does *not* say that "*the Lord* moved David" in 1 Sam. xxiv. 1; but leaves it indefinite, the writer in 1 Chron. supplying the ellipse by the word "*Satan*." In his interpretation of this verse of 1 Samuel, however, Dr. Stanley has, no doubt, many commentators, and orthodox commentators, on his side. The *gravamen* of the charge against him here, setting aside all curious questionings respecting the relation of Almighty God to the evil acts of men, is far more, and with unanswerable force, to be rested upon the profanity of attributing to the evil spirit the promptings of an act, to which is assigned in express terms the direct and marked approbation of God, and upon which, as so approved, the unspeakable blessing of the Incarnation itself is made in the order of providence to depend. We cannot but charitably hope that Dr. Stanley's insinuation, which is made in a brief note, and looks like a hasty afterthought, was written in inadvertence, and may, perhaps, upon maturer consideration, be retracted.

To return, however, to Mr. Malan, it cannot but be regretted that a book of such value as his is, and one the matter of which is so appropriate to the present time—which in fact does well, in substantiating the very thing now needed, viz., the exposure of the shallowness and unfairness of a school which, *par excellence*, claims to itself almost a monopoly of both honesty and intellect—should so mar its own effectiveness by its extraordinary awkwardness of both arrangement and expression. It is the most singular medley of out-of-the-way and enormous erudition, inspired, no doubt, by an uncompromising honesty of principle, but tumbled together into a volume with little more method or order than pagination and the book-binder confer, and couched in language now marked by a naïve and ingenuous simplicity, now by the grotesquest pedantry of would-be philosophising. An Introduction bars the way first of all, telling us,

under the disguise of numerous phrases from Aristotle's logical and metaphysical works,—not to add Plato and others,—that students ought to pursue their work with a rigorous adherence to a thorough and pervading truthfulness. Anything more *gauche* can hardly be imagined in point of manner, nor anything more excellent in point of matter, if any one will take the trouble to translate it into intelligible and manly English. Next comes a review, nearly page by page, of Dr. Stanley's first five Lectures above mentioned, containing disquisitions far more valuable than for the mere thrust and parry of passing controversy, but discursive beyond even the unallowable discursiveness of a running commentary on another man's book. And, lastly, we find a discourse upon topics most seasonable, and conceived in a spirit most reverent and sound, but landing us out of first principles into matter far fitter for a separate pamphlet, about the Final Court of Appeal. In a word, Mr. Malan has heaped together into a volume the contents of his travelling journals and of his note-books, and takes us from the Deluge down to Lord Westbury, with excursions by the way into nearly every topic that has been of late made matter of controversy. The result will be, that his book will not be read except by a very few; and that the real and chief practical good it will do, will be to supply more practical men with stores of learned material to work up into really effective controversy.

THE NEW TESTAMENT¹.

THIS is to be, in short, the cream of Dean Alford's New Testament, adapted to readers of education, but not scholars. Whatever may be thought of plans for revising the Authorised Version, or however technical may seem the conscientious scruples of some who demur to the honesty of using our present text in the present state of scholarship, there can be no doubt of the desirableness of familiarising the minds of the ordinary English public, as speedily though as reverently as possible, with the facts which scholarship has established. There may be, and are, doubts how far critical

¹ "The New Testament for English Readers: containing the Authorised Version, with Marginal Corrections of Readings and Renderings; Marginal References; and a Critical and Explanatory Commentary." By H. Alford, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. Two Vols. Vol. I., Part I.—The Three First Gospels. (Rivingtons, &c.) *Guardian*, Sept. 23, 1863.

scholarship has made good its ground, and to what extent it can claim for its results the position of certain and acknowledged truths. Tischendorf himself, for example, has made it impossible to accept as unalterable, conclusions which he himself has altered. But some amount of tangible results, no doubt, has been reached. And the sooner the English public learns the real extent and value of those results, and can measure how little they affect vital truth, assuredly the better it will be.

Now, the first and obvious inference which any plain man will inevitably draw from the results arrived at in this volume, will be the exceeding insignificance of ninety-nine out of a hundred of the changes, which the mature Greek Testament scholarship of a man like Dean Alford deems to be established, as following either from altered text or improved rendering. A small handful affect the sense. The remainder are, doubtless, such (assuming—what is in most cases not to be doubted—their correctness and certainty) as that for exact truth's sake it is desirable to make them known. But to say that they signify one iota in the practical use of the Bible, is pure narrow pedantry. Respecting those which do affect the sense, there arises, of course, a different question. That clergymen should be acquainted with such fruits of Biblical criticism, and so, among other results, should be able to avoid drawing long inferences from doubtful or mistranslated texts, is of course to be desired. It would be a gain also, if a few popular misconceptions—nay, a few downright heresies—should lose the apparent ground which like errors in text or translation now afford to them with the ignorant. And it is, of course, simply right that all Christian men should have the real Word of God, and not some sixteenth-century misapprehension of it, throughout its whole extent. But it is a very serious question how far Biblical scholarship is ripe for the work. What agreement, for instance, could be expected as yet about the last verses of St. Mark's Gospel? Dean Alford holds them to be not St. Mark's, but yet to be of Apostolic date. But even he surely would not yet claim so clear a certainty and consent to his own view, as alone could make it right to mark them in our Bibles as doubtful, still less as certainly not Scripture at all? There are other cases possibly that are plainer; others again, not so plain. And certainly, whether or no it be a state of things to rest in, that we should trust to the Bible which a printer of three centuries ago chose to give us, it is not and cannot be a change to desire,

that we should substitute for this the Bible, or the half-dozen Bibles, that as many scholars could give us in its stead—nay, some of them, Tischendorf to wit, more Bibles than one to their own share. Let scholars be agreed at least. And then the Church may be justified in listening to them. Meanwhile, let their inquiries be pursued with the most honest freedom, so it be reverent as well as honest. Let the state of the case be made known as widely and candidly as possible. But do not give into change until we have reached some certainty that we should not have to change again, and yet again. Dean Alford is too sensible to alter the Authorised Version gratuitously, as some far inferior fellow-workers in the same line have recently done. And the question, as with him, is consequently narrowed to the desirableness of introducing certain minor changes into that version, preserved intact in nineteen verses out of twenty. It must be fairly said, even of this moderate and sober extent of change, that critical scholarship is not yet ripe for it, except in those minor cases (ninety-nine hundredths of the whole) where it is not worth while to change.

The volume before us contains, of course, a great deal more than the critical results of changed text or improved rendering. The adaptation of these to English readers is its specialty as distinguished from the larger and Greek Testament of Dean Alford's editing. But it supplies also an abridgment or selection of the Commentary, and corrected marginal references. And upon these portions of it our remarks must be necessarily a repetition of the opinions we may hold respecting the original work. It cannot be honestly said that we agree with all of the Dean's opinions or explanations. But we recognise gladly the vigorous and manly protest made by him upon many important topics—e. g., on that of demoniacal possession. The chief hobby which the Dean rides, and rides almost to death, and which certainly limps in his treatment of it with a singular lameness of logic, is his horror of harmonising, and his own counter-theory respecting discrepancies in the Gospels—mainly, of course, in what he (with a slipshod English that may be commended to Mr. Moon's attention) calls conspicuously "the three first," instead of the "first three," Gospels. The Dean is not consistent, indeed, with himself. He maintains, as though it covered the whole of his own case, the most true and pertinent doctrine, that between three independent narratives, written upon different aspects of the same event, there may easily arise

apparent discrepancies which without further knowledge a reader cannot solve; but that in each case of the kind, if the missing circumstances could be supplied, the whole would fall into place, the seeming discrepancies would disappear, and the consistent narrative would result, embracing and reconciling the three imperfect accounts. A harmoniser, therefore, simply does his work if he devises a set of supplementary circumstances that will answer the purpose. He need not commit himself to that set of circumstances as having actually happened. It is enough if they or another set like them might have happened: as with the story mentioned, if we remember right, by Stier, or Tholuck, of the three or four actual accounts given of the approach of the Lucernese to Zurich in the Swiss civil war of a few years since, which seemed hopelessly irreconcilable, although of the facts there could not be the slightest doubt; yet a fifth account, supplied almost accidentally, filled up and accounted for the whole story. Now, so do we heartily agree with Dean Alford. But then mark, that on this theory discrepancies are only apparent, and the result of imperfect knowledge, and would disappear were that knowledge completed. The Dean on the contrary, while triumphantly enouncing this very view as though it were all he needed, maintains all the while that there did exist also *real* discrepancies which no supplementary facts could reconcile, although they are of a kind to be unimportant. Two demoniacs or one, for instance; or that a miracle was wrought when entering or when leaving Jericho; or the particular order of the occurrence of certain miracles or sayings;—these he believes to be real discrepancies in the narrative, and denounces attempts to reconcile them as puerile and uncandid. Now, at any rate he ought to face his own conclusions. It will not do to tell us in effect that if we knew all particulars there would be no discrepancies between the narratives, and then to tell us that there are discrepancies nevertheless. But we could not rest content with an *argumentum ad hominem*. Many of the Dean's instances have actually been reconciled, and by no far-fetched hypothesis—e. g., the case of the inscriptions on the Cross, upon which he appears to lay great stress, surely without the least ground for doing so. And so we heartily believe might be the case with all. In a word, we adopt the Dean's abstract theory, and think it covers the whole case. The Dean speaks of it as though it did so, and makes out a plausible statement for so doing, but then knocks it all down again by asserting in detail that it does nothing of the kind.

THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT^u.

THE distinguishing characteristic of Dr. Tregelles' unique and persevering labours has been the high and holy purpose which underlay them. An unwearied, tenacious, and exact minuteness of perfectly omnivorous research,—a really enormous physical labour of collation and deciphering,—a steady cleaving, through a not short life, to one worthy and gigantic work,—and last but not least, a critical power of intelligently employing the overpowering mass of details in which his labours lay,—have all been subordinated to something higher still. He has wrought at the task, not as a critic, but as a Christian: not from the love of accomplishing a *κτῆμα ἐς αἶν* in the world, but from the single-hearted and earnest resolve to serve God with the special talent intrusted to himself. And now he has been spared to bring his great work so near accomplishment, as that it is, for practical purposes, capable of being readily finished: and to accomplish it thus far with so much of marvellous increase of materials since its commencement, and of equally marvellous change in the favour and acceptance with which its special subject is popularly regarded, as to make its success, not only (as it happens) most critically well-timed, but immediate and acknowledged. Dr. Tregelles will not be put in the Index, or assailed by leading Nonconformists, as was Bryan Walton. Nor will he be accused of undermining Holy Scripture, as was Dr. Mill. His work will be welcomed, save by a very few indeed, as coming at the very crisis when it is needed, to steady the honest attempt to give a true Scripture text to all English-speaking people, by its combination of thorough knowledge with sobriety of judgment, and by exact adaptation to the very wants of the moment. We trust that the heavy affliction which every one will have heard with sorrow has been laid upon Dr. Tregelles,—as though it were the destiny of the old legend about English Bible translators to repeat itself,—may in time at least be so far alleviated, as to enable the hand that has really built and finished the building, to place upon it the crowning pinnacle also, which is all that is now lacking. The thought may be a comfort, at any rate, that, be this

^u "The Greek New Testament, edited from Ancient Authorities, with the Latin Version of Jerome from the Codex Amiatinus." By S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. Matthew to Acts—Catholic Epistles—Romans to Philemon. (Bagster.) *Guardian*, Feb. 1, 1871.

as it may, the building is really and substantially finished; and the work of a life will be left (if it is to be so), not a mere scheme or a fragment, but in effect an accomplished fact.

We have, then, in the present volume the text of the whole New Testament except the Apocalypse; and the apparatus of critical and MS. grounds for that text, with the same one exception. The text of the Apocalypse, with the like notes, is, we are told, ready for publication—which will complete the work; save only the Prolegomena, with such addenda as have accumulated during the progress of the work. These last, no doubt, both scholars and divines will be very sorry to lose, if they are to lose them. But at the worst we shall have the complete results of Dr. Tregelles' labours and of his judgment as regards the actual text. And other publications of his intimate pretty completely the principles which have guided his work. The short Prefaces to the several parts of the present work, which were prefixed to them as they were separately published, and which are here reprinted, supply a sufficient explanation, although, no doubt, in a confused way and with much repetition, of its plan and notation. And on the whole, therefore, we have or shall have a work complete in substance, although wanting at present, what we still trust it will not finally want, the complete arrangement and final revision which the master-hand is for the time hindered from giving to it.

In making a few remarks upon the work itself, we cannot but feel that on such a subject no one could desire more than Dr. Tregelles himself that all personal considerations should be merged in the paramount importance of the book and of the work. And we speak therefore freely in circumstances which, if it were merely a literary work, would make it but right to abstain from freedom of criticism. We have to say then, first, that the very plan of the work precludes the statement of some very important branches of textual evidence. The notes give us—in the symbolic style that is *φωνάρτα συνετοῖσιν*,—the MS. evidence, that of versions, and that of Patristic quotations; and the last of the three (as far as is possible) with enough of context and the like to intimate their real force. But they do *not* give,—we do not indeed see how they could, but the omissions are important,—either the evidence derivable from the connection and sense of the passage, or the application to the particular case of the general principles which help to constitute and vary the value of MS. evidence to this or that read-

ing. The evidence here given is limited to (so to say) purely historical and external evidence. We do not note this, of course, as a defect in the book itself. It would be impossible to make the case otherwise in a volume that is to be kept within reasonable limits of size. But it is an important point to bear in mind, as it seems to us, in using the book and in estimating the solidity of the conclusions at which Dr. Tregelles arrives in his text. And then, next, we cannot help questioning a little some of the very principles themselves which are laid down in the first Preface, as helping to determine the value of a reading. For instance, that a reading "accords with a parallel passage," surely seems rather a reason against, than one for, that reading. "Assimilation"—e.g., as between the first three Gospels, or between Epistles of St. Paul of about the same date—would so readily tempt a scribe to unconscious alteration of his text, as to throw a doubt upon that text as he wrote it. So, again, that one reading "avoids a difficulty" which another does not, is a presumption *for* the difficult reading, if the difficulty be one which the scribe would probably have felt, and which, therefore, he would probably have avoided if his text would have allowed him. Indisputably, as Dr. Tregelles rightly reminds us, the question is not one of mere counting of MSS., even if these MSS. have been previously marshalled into classes according to their evidential value. But the presumptions for and against, which must necessarily be taken into account, seem to us, if we may venture to say so, at least incompletely stated in these two instances. As regards the *exclusive* value of the half-dozen leading ancient MSS., on the other hand, Dr. Tregelles has indeed a very different case. Their verdict is weighty of course, but it ought not to be, as he justly holds, peremptorily and absolutely final. It would be perilous, and happily it is unreasonable, to rest our Bible text on a principle which would make it possible for the discovery of another Sinaitic MS. to upset all previous conclusions.

With respect to particular texts, the main changes of reading in this precious volume are such as are familiar to most of us. The verse about the Three Witnesses, and the beginning of the 8th chapter of St. John, omitted from the text—the word *ὁς* for *θεός* in 1 Tim. iii. 16—the end of St. Mark's Gospel given as text, yet so marked, and with evidence so stated, as to leave as the result the assigning it to a (very early) attempt to finish an unfinished Gospel—so much we should all expect to find. In some other cases—

e.g., St. John i. 18, the evidence for *υἱὸς* seems to our judgment to preponderate. Dr. Tregelles reads *θεὸς*, with (we own) a great weight of Patristic testimony, but against the balance of MSS. And in 2 Tim. iv. 1, although the reading *καὶ* is no doubt right, yet the rendering of the passage so read, which Dr. Tregelles' quotation from St. Chrysostom shews that he adopts, is, to our minds, equally, without doubt, wrong. We have not space to go into other instances. Yet we may say in conclusion that while it could not be expected that this one edition should settle all disputes for ever, yet it will go a long way towards doing so.

OUTLINES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM APPLIED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT *.

MR. HAMMOND'S little volume is very carefully drawn up, and will give beginners a sufficient and accurate idea of our present state of knowledge respecting the authorities for the true text of the New Testament. It is written on the assumption that the Tischendorf and Tregelles view is distinctly to be preferred to that of Mr. Scrivener—that is to say, that the later cursive MSS. of Byzantine type, which are numerous, but the earliest of the tenth century, are to give way absolutely to the few uncial MSS. of the Alexandrine type, and of the date of the third or fourth century; so that, in point of fact, we are to put aside (or nearly so) the enormous majority of existing MSS., and confine our MS. witnesses to a very small, select minority, of special antiquity and class. The question, as is obvious, depends upon the history and nature of the Byzantine series. If these are proveably copies, the peculiarities of which have arisen from traceable circumstances, but which really came at first from Alexandrine MSS., of course *cadit questio*. The altered copies, however numerous, are of no value as against the actual originals, whence themselves at first sprung, and from which *ex hypothesi* they only differ by natural causes of corruption and change, and not through independent correction derived from authentic sources. If, on the other hand, it can be made good that the Byzantine peculiarities indicate the past existence of a class

* "Outlines of Textual Criticism applied to the New Testament." By C. E. Hammond, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. (Clarendon Press Series. Oxford, 1872.) *Guardian*, Aug. 21, 1872.

of MSS. having these peculiarities, but as old as the Alexandrine, then these have as good a claim to attention as the others. It is simply a question between independent genealogy or faulty copying. And the discovery—say in Mount Athos—of an ancient uncial MS. of Byzantine type would reverse the balance of evidence altogether. As that evidence stands, Mr. Hammond is no doubt correct in holding it to be strong for the Tregelles view. Happily, the only practical results of a decision either way—as is indeed the case with the whole subject of Textual Criticism, affect no doctrine at all, and scarcely the sense, and would issue chiefly in giving us sundry roughnesses of Greek spelling and idiom, obliterated in the Byzantine MSS., and simply undiscoverable and not reproducible in a translation. Mr. Hammond states the case well and impartially. And his compendium of the facts and rules of the entire subject is thoroughly well done.

THE TEXT OF THE THREE HEAVENLY WITNESSES[†].

MR. FORSTER writes an elaborate volume, in which he tells us that he has “eclectically resurveyed” the celebrated argument of Porson against Travis, respecting the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses: “eclectically,” we are driven to conjecture, in despair of every other possible interpretation, meaning that the writer selects what portions of Porson’s argument he thinks he can answer, and passes over the rest. Mr. Forster’s argument reads to our eyes much as follows:—Admitting that only one Greek MS., the “Codex Montfortianus,” now at Dublin, of the wonderful antiquity (as is here vehemently argued) of the thirteenth century, contains the disputed verses (we fancy this statement is now literally, but not substantially, an understatement), yet (1) the “Codex Britannicus,” to which Erasmus submitted, *must* be somewhere, and no one has any right to say it is not identical (as most people suppose) with the above-named Irish one; and (2) two Evangeliaria at Oxford agree with the said Irish MS. in the Gospels, and therefore, *if* their writers had written the Epistles also, which they did not, they

[†] “A New Plea for the Authenticity of the Text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses; or, Porson’s Letters to Travis eclectically examined, and the External and Internal Evidences for 1 John v. 7 eclectically resurveyed.” By the Rev. C. Forster, B.D. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.) *Guardian*, August, 1867.

would have inserted the verse in question; and (3) the "Codex Alexandrinus" agrees in one singular reading in a totally different place with the same Irish MS., and therefore confirms it in this place also, in which it does *not* agree with it; and so we have four MSS. instead of one! But then next, the Vulgate (but, it ought to be added, no other ancient version) confessedly containing the verse, some newly found and very ancient MSS. of the Vulgate, of course, do contain it, as might be expected. And then, lastly and chiefly, all technical theological language being taken from Scripture language (a proposition, we imagine, of which the exact contradictory is much nearer to the truth), and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as expressed by the phrase "Three in One," occurring in writers as early as Hippolytus, St. Basil, St. Athanasius, and others, and there being no other place in Scripture where this phrase occurs (unfortunately it does *not* occur, even here, exactly), all allusions to it are really allusions to the text, and prove its existence in Greek MSS. of the Scriptures as early as Hippolytus, nay, as early as Valentinus the heretic, whose words are reported by St. Irenæus. Moreover, Mr. Forster actually lays stress on the insertion of the verse by Melancthon in the Vienna MS.; a proceeding on the part of all concerned which shews certainly very lax notions of literary morality, but of course is just as much evidence in the case as is Mr. Forster's own book.

The one point of weight which in the midst of much inconclusive or irrelevant matter (two or more pages actually repeated *verbatim*, first in small type and then in large) Mr. Forster seems to have pretty well made out, as others,—indeed, had made it out before him,—refers wholly to Africa—viz., that the text is quoted, possibly (?) by Tertullian, certainly by St. Cyprian, and so on by authorities exclusively (so long as their date gives them any value) African. Plainly, then, the verse was in the African—i.e., the original—form of the Old Latin. And the question resolves itself into a balance of probabilities. On the one hand, the presumption that the translators of that Old Latin did not inadvertently copy a gloss into their text, but found the words in their Greek MSS.,—on the other hand, the negative evidence of the actual absence of those words from all Greek or Eastern authorities, Fathers or MSS., or again versions: the one Codex above mentioned being, of course, from its date (granting it to be, as Mr. Forster impetuously urges, of the thirteenth century), *just* no authority at all. Doctrinally—

unless, indeed, to those who hold the shallow and historically false, although popular view, that the New Testament originally revealed the Gospel to men ignorant of it before—the presence or absence of the verse is happily of no importance whatever. If genuine, it is but one more allusion to that which is amply alluded to elsewhere.

SYNONYMS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT².

A LARGE but far from exhaustive fraction of the list of synonyms, suggested but not worked out in Part One of his valuable work, is now presented to us by Dean Trench, with additions, and in full detail, in a Second Part. The Appendix to the former volume, and the note to its Preface, have been expanded into another of what Germans call *Bünde*; while a similar Appendix to the present instalment suggests a nucleus for yet a third. It is needless now to enlarge upon the merits either of the idea of the book, or of its execution. If ever Dean (now, happily, soon to be Archbishop) Trench can bring it to a substantial degree of completeness, it will be needful to introduce some principle of order into the arrangement of what at present has no arrangement at all. But so completed, English Divinity scholarship will have in it one work more to boast of, as a real *κτῆμα εἰς αἰεὶ* in the department of Scripture exégesis.

A few remarks occur upon perusing its pages. The Dean appears to have omitted to note the significance of the use of the middle voice of *λυτρόω* in his excellent account of *λύτρωσις* and its kindred group of words. And under the same heading, the senses of *καταλλαγή*, however truly, are somewhat summarily distinguished, and without sufficient proof. On so important a point some detail would not be thrown away. The remark about the form *ἡττημα* in p. 72 is surely an oversight. The word assuredly did not grow out of *ἡττα* by any "tendency of language" whatever, but was formed directly after a very common rule from the verb. Under *ιδιότης*, there is a seemingly accidental omission of any explanation of the word as used in 1 Cor. xi. 6 (the passage being merely noted), although that passage strongly bears out the general account of the

² "Synonyms of the New Testament." Part the Second. By R. Chenevix Trench, D.D., Dean of Westminster, and of the Order of the Bath. (Macmillan.) *Guardian*, Nov. 18, 1863.

word here given. At the same time, a question may well be raised, whether the technical sense of *ιδιώτης* as = layman be not intimated in 1 Cor. xiv. 16. If there is in that passage an allusion to the eucharistic service, then the distinction drawn is one between—not a Christian with miraculous gifts and a Christian without them, but between—the officiating minister, who also happens to be one possessed of such gifts, and those who at the particular service occupy the place of the congregation—i.e., of laymen. Dean Trench appears to reject this interpretation far too decisively. In the article on *θυσιαστήριον*, the alternative—"or rather *ἀναμνήσις θυσίας*"—is really a hardly fair way of slipping in a very important doctrinal view. Dr. Trench assuredly would not call the Eucharist a bare memorial, yet the unexplained clause points that way. Again, for an infinitely less important matter, in p. 112, the words "*α μέσον*," are used, as though meaning a habit ethically indifferent, and so capable of being either good or bad according to its application. And *φρόνησις*, being so called, is confounded with what Aristotle calls *δείνοτης*. Scripture, doubtless, does so use the word. But the term *μέσον* does not mean what it seems here used to mean. And the distinction between the higher use of the term *φρόνησις* in heathen ethics and its lower use in Scripture appears to be overlooked.

The book, as a whole, is one suggestive of many reflections, especially at the present time. It presses forcibly upon the thoughts, first of all, the exceeding difficulty and delicacy of one, and that but a single and limited, department of any work of revision, as employed upon our Translation of the Bible. Of course it is and must be impossible, without paraphrase, to transfer minute shades of expression from one language into another. But Dean Trench's exact and careful analyses bring home to the reader, on the one hand, the possibility of such transference being carried considerably further than our translators have carried it; on the other, both the impossibility of absolute success, and the amount and nicety of the preliminary study and thought requisite to any reasonable degree of success at all. And the difficulties thus elicited belong entirely to the one department of the translation of single words, leaving out of sight the additional and certainly not less difficulties arising from idiom and construction.

Another reflection suggested by the book is the accuracy of Scripture language; and again, its depth of moral significance.

Strict scrutiny reveals only the beauty and perfection of Scripture. The microscope does not detect minute blemishes under merely general effect, as in a human work of art. The narrative or the doctrine is only brought out with greater power and vividness, the more we appreciate the exact sense of the terms in which it is conveyed. And then, further, a whole world of deep and true ethics is involved in the very usage of words in Scripture. Either new terms coined, or special senses affixed, convey truths indirectly, and therefore forcibly, respecting the nature of sin, or the central and essential qualities of goodness, or, again, its nicer and more delicate shades, to which heathenism was a stranger, but which are without effort assumed as the natural atmosphere of the Bible.

And yet once more, doctrinally considered, a precise weighing of language, such as Dean Trench essays with so much success, is one of the surest methods of impressing upon us how Scripture is as it were saturated with dogmatic truth. Such truth is implied rather than taught in Scripture. And the exact meaning of words, as used by writers, who wrote being believers, but were not busied in formally enunciating creeds, supplies precisely the best way of truly appreciating the doctrines out of which such usage of words grew.

In these and similar considerations lies the special value of the field of inquiry which Dean Trench has in England made his own. Neither a dictionary-maker, nor an expositor, but in varying degrees something made up of both, Dr. Trench's monographs expand the history of a word at greater length than the former can afford to do, while invariably illustrating also the subject-matter in which consists the value of the latter. His little book covers much ground with the least possible pretension, and rests on the hidden foundation of great and careful labour. And it is a large contribution accordingly both to the lexicographer and to the commentator. But besides and above all this, it helps to do for the present time what the present time very much wants. It brings out the verbal perfection of Scripture. It enforces upon us the truth that the inspired writers use words, not at random or vaguely, but with special and precise meaning, even to minute differences and shades of significance. And it helps to point out how such Scripture usage rises far above the feeble shadows and imperfections of merely human language—how it needs a vocabulary of its own—how it involves in its very structure truths beyond human ken.

THE NEW TESTAMENT^a.

THE model of this useful book is professedly the parallel labours of Mr. Clinton upon profane chronology. It is a tabular arrangement of facts in order of date, expressed as far as may be in the precise words of the original authorities, with enough of comment to contain the necessary criticism upon these authorities, and the longer disquisitions thrown together into an Introduction. The numbering the paragraphs for facility of reference is the chief improvement upon Clinton in respect of arrangement. But the independent value of the volume is, that its contents turn mainly upon facts connected with sacred history (from B.C. 70 to A.D. 70), instead of (as in Clinton) treating this particular subject subordinately. As the fruit of a barrister's holiday, our surprise would be great at the amount of research displayed in the work, and that into subjects belonging to the leisure of the professed scholar, were it not that Mr. Lewin has habituated us to the sight of some ably compiled volume upon literary topics, with his name on the title-page, almost year by year. We do not think indeed that in any case he has succeeded in settling vexed questions by new and original inquiry. Perhaps the landing-place of Cæsar upon our own shores, or the topography of Jerusalem, cannot in the nature of the case be settled to everybody's content, until wise men shall have found out for us, by some thorough scientific examination, the way the tide did actually run in the Straits of Dover at the given hour and day of the one case, and in the other the actual measurements of the actual place upon the unimpeachable evidence of competent people allowed free access to every part of it, and not partisans. But though Mr. Lewin could not in his former publications do either of these things, he has in each case given us a thoroughly useful *résumé* of the whole subject, done with a barrister's power of weighing and stating evidence. The present volume is much of the same character. We doubt if it will settle any vexed question of New Testament chronology. In the particular points in which it differs from the views now most commonly received, it does not convince us, and we doubt if it will convince scholars in general. But it contains

^a "Fasti Sacri; or, A Key to the Chronology of the New Testament." By Thomas Lewin, Esq., of Trinity College, Oxford, M.A., F.S.A. (Longmans.) *Guardian*, Feb. 28, 1866.

a large amount of valuable historical information well arranged, and brought into a form easily accessible for practical use. Nevertheless Mr. Lewin has not convinced us, that because Herod almost indisputably died B.C. 4, therefore the era of the Nativity was B.C. 6. A theory which suggests and almost requires so violent and unauthorised a change of the text as the alteration of thirty in St. Luke iii. 23 into three-and-thirty, pretty well condemns itself. Neither can we accept the revival of Scaliger's enlargement of our Lord's ministry so as to make it include five Passovers. No doubt the forced gloss of, e. g. Wieseler, upon the word ἀνάληψις in St. Luke ix. 51, is as utterly untenable as Mr. Lewin's own emendation already noticed in the other verse of the same Gospel. And the passage in question must certainly belong to the beginning of our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem. Neither does the violent division of the following chapters of St. Luke into the threefold journeys of our Lord to Jerusalem during the last year commend itself to our judgment any more than to Mr. Lewin's. But we cannot see why the whole of them should not belong to the last of those three journeys—viz., to that between the Feast of Dedication and the last Passover. Assuredly they cannot belong, as we suppose Mr. Lewin must mean, to the journey up to, not the last of all, but the last Passover but one. Yet mainly upon this depends Mr. Lewin's conjectural insertion of another Passover. We see also that Mr. Lewin adopts Zumpt's conjecture and makes Quirinus succeed Varus in B.C. 4; yet he deprives himself of all the aid thus gained in interpreting St. Luke ii. 2, by antedating the Nativity to B.C. 6; thereby compelling himself to suppose that a census begun in the last-named year was not completed for some two years and a-half.

There are some useful tables and documents, taken from standard authorities, at the end of the volume. And if there be anything to complain of in respect to the matters included in it, it must be rather in the direction of the too much than the too little. It might be a little hard to say what is the bearing on New Testament chronology of the events of some threescore of the years following B.C. 70, from which the book starts.

STUDIES IN THE GOSPELS^b.

THE Temptation and the Transfiguration are the subjects of the two most theological essays in the series of "Studies in the Gospels." It is refreshing to read a discourse upon either which combines a straightforward belief with a profound and discriminating criticism. When even such a commentator as Lange can countenance, and almost adopt, the gloss upon the former—a gloss that contradicts the text—which supposes the Tempter to have been really no more than a Pharisaic messenger or messengers striving to make a compromise for his or their employers with the Saviour, it is welcome to find such a sceptical perversion dismissed contemptuously as cast-off clothes of sceptics themselves, while others of a like class, but more plausible, are ably refuted. Dr. Colenso's strange difficulty about the momentary view of all the kingdoms of the earth, which has been entertained it seems by more sensible heads than his, meets a longer treatment, although without reference to Colenso. Yet both in this and in the somewhat similar case of the "taking" of our Lord to the pinnacle of the Temple, Dr. Trench contents himself with pointing out the insufficiency of other explanations while supplying none of his own. His theological account of the Temptation and Transfiguration themselves is far more satisfactory, and in the former case especially good; but in details of fact we seem to trace marks of incomplete treatment, explained, and indeed excused, when we remember what pressing and anxious labours must now occupy Dr. Trench's time.

Of other interpretations of passages less dogmatic and more simply practical, we note one which is not, to our minds, quite satisfactory. The Archbishop wishes us to interpret "counting the cost" into such a reckoning of our means as to find that we have *not* sufficient, and so to be led into building upon the strength of self-despair, and doing precisely that which such a discovery, in the sphere of earthly things (to borrow the Archbishop's style for a moment), would naturally lead us to give up doing. And then further, in the fellow parable—which he a little grandly styles *The Deprecated War*—in order to avoid the difficulty of the advice to "make terms of peace" with Satan, we are told to interpret the adversary King, not of the Evil One, but of the Almighty Himself.

^b "Studies in the Gospels." By Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. (Macmillan.) *Guardian*, August 7, 1867.

Both interpretations strike us as forced;—as indeed such that no one would have thought of them save to escape a difficulty. Surely the advice to count the cost points, not to humility or self-distrust, but to deliberate well-weighed resolution, founded upon unworldliness,—to such a temper as deliberately resolves to prefer Christ to all else, duly weighing and knowing what it thus finds itself willing to surrender. We are not surely so to count the cost as to find we *cannot* build, but so as to find that we *can* do so; because we do really and of free choice pay the price of giving up the world, knowing what we are doing; however much it must be also borne in mind—of course—that the strength to do this (as all other good) comes not of ourselves. And so of the other parable, doubtless no such counsel as that of coming to terms of compromise with the Evil One could possibly be intended; but surely, here too, the parable contemplates one of two alternatives, leaving the other as a side of the earthly case not to be pressed. It, too, bids us not enter rashly on our Lord's service, thinking, in careless ignorance of the trials awaiting that service, that we may presume to encounter them unprepared. Rather weigh well what we are doing, and do not underrate the seriousness of the undertaking; or, otherwise, we shall assuredly fail, as that King failed. Elsewhere in the volume we fancy we have seen the old interpretations assumed incidentally even by the Archbishop himself; but, at any rate, we cannot subscribe to the new one which his formal commentary on the passage desires to substitute. Make the mockery at failure, and the ignominious terms of compromise, not the counsel given, but the consequence threatened, if we do *not* count the cost; and the matter seems clear.

DISCUSSIONS ON THE GOSPELS^c.

DR. ROBERTS, very naturally, exalts (to our minds) a little beyond its fair measure, the importance of a subject upon which he has bestowed considerable learning and labour. The language in which our Lord spoke, or in which St. Matthew wrote, are no doubt

^c "Discussions on the Gospels, in Two Parts. Part I. On the Language employed by Our Lord and His Disciples. Part II. On the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel, and on the Origin and Authenticity of the Gospels." By Alex. Roberts, D.D. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. (Macmillan.) *Guardian*, April 5, 1865.

very interesting collateral topics of inquiry, such as a pious curiosity, in both cases, though in different degrees, would be glad to investigate, while they amply deserve the very great pains and ability which Dr. Roberts has bestowed upon them. But it ought to be fairly made plain in the outset, that the answer to that inquiry, whatever direction it takes, does not concern the inspiration or the real value of the Gospels, or of any one of them. Piety may well find a reasonable pleasure in the belief that it possesses, not the thoughts only, but the *ipsissima verba*, which it pleased our Lord when upon earth to utter; or may be glad to think that there is no ground for the traditional supposition that the original of St. Matthew's Gospel has been lost. But the evidence which guarantees to us what we have now, guarantees it to us equally as the true expression of our Lord's teaching or of His Apostle's narrative, whether or no it be the actual words that were spoken or written respectively in the first instance, or only the equivalent of them in another language. The early Church accepted them alike upon either supposition. And the question, therefore, it must be affirmed, has nothing to do with the subject of inspiration or even (unless upon the narrowest literalism) of verbal inspiration. But, the ground thus cleared, it is only bare justice to Dr. Roberts, as the defender of a new view, contrary to that which scholars and theologians have as a rule hitherto accepted, to bear unqualified testimony to the scholarlike fairness and completeness with which he has handled the subject.

The precise point urged in his first essay is simply that our Lord and His Apostles spoke habitually, not in Aramaic, but in Greek; and in order to this, and as a position necessary to the establishing of it, that the Jews of Palestine,—of Galilee, as well as of Jerusalem or Judea,—as a rule understood and spoke Greek as well as Aramaic, at that time. And as an illustration, not an argument, he adduces, among others, the case of the Channel Islands at the present moment, where the mass of the people understand English, while they speak also their vernacular dialect of corrupt French. Unfortunately, both this and the other cases adduced by Dr. Roberts appear to us to go against his conclusion, not for it, so far as they have any force at all. Clergymen preach in French and use a French service in the Channel Islands to this day. And Italian in the Ionian Islands, another of his instances, failed, not only to supersede Greek, but to become an habitual speech with the Greek

population. And in yet another instance, Norman in England did not hold its ground and become universal, Court language though it was, as against the Saxon. And Dr. Roberts, again, would hardly command attention in Wales (a case he does not mention) at the present day, if he preached there in English, even in the towns. The adoption of the French tongue in Normandy by the Normans, to the extent of extinguishing their own Norse, is much more to his purpose: as indeed it is to our minds a very singular phenomenon, not the easier of explanation because the fact is undeniable. But after all, these parallels, and the *a priori* presumptions capable of being raised upon them, are not, as Dr. Roberts himself justly observes elsewhere, the real grounds upon which the question should be settled. Instances may be found in history of all degrees and kinds of amalgamation and transformation of one language with or by another. And direct evidence alone can decide—at any rate, if it exist, must predominate in the decision—to which of such instances the case of the Palestinian Jews in the time of our Lord was really parallel.

Putting illustrations, then, aside, we come to the gist of Dr. Roberts's argument. And the first thing that strikes us is, that the relation between the first part of his case and the distinct and special inference in which it issues require to be brought out more exactly than appears to us to have been done. That the Palestinian Jews at this particular era were in some proportion or other bilingual, is, we apprehend, disputed by nobody. The only question here is one of degree. And even if Dr. Roberts completely established the point that all Jews then and there understood Greek, and even that it was the official language, it would only follow that our Lord might have used Greek as readily as Aramaic, while it would still remain to be decided by further evidence which of the two He did employ. The earlier portion, therefore, of the present work is necessary to its writer's case, but does not prove it. If the Jews at that time and place did not habitually speak Greek, of course that our Lord spoke it would be untenable. But even if they did, speaking also, and feeling attached to, their own mother tongue, it would still require further and direct evidence to prove which language the Saviour actually used. Now, it does seem to our judgment that Dr. Roberts fails to establish even the possibility of a Greek discourse being intelligible to ordinary Galilean peasants. We give up to him the Jews of Jerusalem, although even

there the fact of St. Paul's address to them in Aramaic does appear to us to prove a preference for Aramaic, however accompanied (as other evidence proves) by a common use of Greek. But evidence to the fact that Galileans ordinarily spoke Greek, Dr. Roberts does not produce. And the remark in the Gospels respecting St. Peter's speech betraying him to be a Galilean, seems strong presumption in favour of their habitual use, not of Greek, but of Aramaic. But, says Dr. Roberts, the Sermon on the Mount was addressed to the people of Decapolis and of Tyre and Sidon, as well as to Jews; and the former at any rate not only spoke Greek, but did *not* speak anything else. One can but point out that this is really begging the question. The affirmative does not prove the negative part of the statement. And the fact that Tyrians and the rest understood Greek, no more excludes in their case the possibility of their having retained also their vernacular tongue, than it does in the case of the Jews proper themselves. Our point then is, that Dr. Roberts must, of course, prove that Jews spoke Greek if he is to maintain that our Lord spoke that language; but that any amount of proof that the Jewish nation was bilingual, leaves the question still undetermined which of the two languages our Lord employed; and that Dr. Roberts does not even satisfactorily prove that the Galilean part of the nation habitually spoke Greek.

The ground, then, must be considered at best as simply cleared by this large part of Dr. Roberts's arguments. Our Lord, we will admit, might have spoken either language, unless probably in Galilee: we will admit, for argument's sake, that perhaps also He might have done so even there. But it remains to shew that He did do so. And when we find a few phrases of Aramaic still preserved as spoken by Him, and take into account the undeniable preference shewn by the Jews even of Jerusalem for "their own tongue," it does appear to us still the probable inference, that, after all, it was not Greek which the Saviour chose, but that He spoke to people who clung to the old speech, in the familiar accents which they loved. We desiderate positive evidence to the contrary, before giving up that view which has all presumptions in its favour. At the same time it is due to Dr. Roberts to express our hearty sense of the learning of his book, however weak we may feel the explanations continually to be, by which he seeks to escape the force of that which bears against him.

THE FOUR GOSPELS^d.

IT is a perilous task to attempt to construct a *rationale* of the Gospels that shall satisfy the requirements and speak in the language of modern philosophy. The faith of Christ is truly called the highest reason; but it does not follow that human reason should therefore be able to comprehend it in all its bearings, to give an account of it in philosophical terms, and to refer it to philosophical principles. There is, of course, an opposite extreme. The love of paradox for the sake of paradox, and the desire for the incredible as the proper food of faith, is an error of theological courage in excess. But the defect is no less an error, and it is one to which modern speculations are more liable than they are to Tertullian's paradox. It is quite possible so to defend Christian truth in profession as to abandon it in substance, and in trying to meet the demands of reason to give up truth. It is quite possible, in treating of theology, to assume a pseudo-scientific tone in order to conciliate science, and so to trick out the former under the mask of the latter, as to mutilate as well as disguise the features of the theology itself. It is no news that Dr. Lange has been accused of transgressing in this direction, in the learned and laborious work which is now given to us in an English dress. To English minds he will appear to have done so, more decidedly perhaps than he does to his German critics. He is conscious, indeed, himself, of a distinct line of separation between his own, and what he calls the old, theology; and regards his work as assuming a position in relation to modern intellectual views, both differing from, and superior to, that of ordinary orthodoxy; nay more, as borrowing from rationalist speculations in order more effectually to refute rationalism. Is it clear that he has not stepped over the line to which he thus glories in having approached? or can he truly shelter himself under the plea of having only abandoned those untenable modes of maintaining the truth to which orthodox theology is accused of blindly and rashly clinging, and of having thus, by timely rectification of its position, strengthened the faith itself in severing it from needless stumbling-blocks.

^d "The Life of the Lord Jesus Christ: a complete Critical Examination of the Origin, Contents, and Connection of the Gospels." Translated from the German of J. P. Lange, D.D., Prof. of Divinity in the Univ. of Bonn. Six Vols. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) *Guardian*, Dec. 14, 1864.

This question must not be answered unfavourably upon the mere ground of Dr. Lange's ultra-philosophical method both of sentiment and language. To English readers it is, indeed, both wearisome and suspicious to be continually and unnecessarily lifted out of plain dogma and practical sense into a cloud-world of hard words and transcendentalisms. To be told, for instance, that all false Christology arises from substituting the romantic for the classic metamorphosis, or that miracles are "the decided irruption of a mediated principle of a higher life-sphere into the old form of a lower one," or that Judah in Genesis xxxviii. "sank below his dignity, yet the formative impulse of the theocratic nobility was notwithstanding ruling in his flesh," is certainly not attractive to the English mind. These grand words undoubtedly conceal truths that are really important, but it is quite possible to express them in ordinary language. And when Dr. Lange endeavours to relieve this affectation of philosophising by interspersing it with the strangest of metaphors, such as the "egg-shell dance of thought," or the comparison of sceptical arguments to "young bears prowling over a sunny meadow," while believers apparently are likened to "butterflies fluttering over its variegated flowers," or by dragging in photography, or physiology, and "infusoria," and what not, to illustrate very sacred truths, with which it sounds positively irreverent to bring them into connection, assuredly (though we will say no more) he does not improve his prospect of attracting English readers. One longs to get back to the manly, intelligible, and reverent sense of genuine English theology. But this is merely the dress of Lange's work. And he must be judged, of course, by its substance. Under all this Germanism of manner, what of his doctrine? Let us take some specimens.

The Temptation in the Wilderness is explained by Dr. Lange as simply a tempting of our Lord by the Pharisaic "hierarchs," who had been to John's baptism. It is an "historical temptation on the part of the Sanhedrim," who present the Saviour "with a Messianic programme diametrically opposite" to His own; and thus is Satanic indeed, but only as all temptations brought about through human instrumentality are so. And this explanation is supported by no other argument than the alleged impossibility of all other explanations stated one after another. If this is not rationalism, surely it is hard to say what is. Because we cannot otherwise explain a Scripture statement, a theory is to be invented without a shadow of

support from Scripture itself, simply to escape believing the natural meaning of the words of Scripture. Dr. Lange might as reasonably affirm that when the Holy Spirit is said to have led the Saviour into the wilderness, it was really some good and holy Jew, of more spiritual mind than his countrymen, through whom the Spirit acted and spoke. Nor do the ordinary rules of exegesis permit of such a gloss. When the Pharisees did send deputations to Christ, the Gospels (like any other book that meant to be understood) say so in plain words. And what does Scripture gain by such treatment, in the combat with rationalism? It is simply an indirect admission that all direct action of evil spirits upon the human soul is incredible and must be explained away; an admission certainly by which rationalism gains at least half the battle.

But this is, after all, a gloss upon Scripture which, it may be said, leaves Scripture statements where they were, and only explains by adding to them. And Lange is not worse at any rate than Milton, in thus treading upon dangerous ground in the attempt to expound and analyse the Temptation. The same can hardly be said of his disquisition about angelic appearances. "Appearances of spirits from other worlds," he tells us, "are, under the given conditions, imaginable, when the visionary mind, freed from its own world, receives from the spirit most kindred to itself in another world an influence which its own plastic agency translates into form, words, and perhaps also into a name; just as the light reflected from one countenance to another is re-formed into a countenance in the eye of the latter." In other words, the objective reality of angelic appearances is resolved into the subjective mental state of those to whom they appear, except only that there is somewhat without either form, words, or name, which suggests the appearance to a kindred mind. Undoubtedly Dr. Lange does not deny angelic influences, but he allows them to be possible only when the mind of the beholder is in so ecstatic a condition of devout fancy as to make those influences dangerously like to a merely subjective creation of the fancy itself. The plain doctrine that Divine power makes angelic beings, when it will, visible to the bodily eye, appears too like a miracle to be admitted without being eased off into apparent possibility by the supposition of certain mental conditions in the beholder himself. Dr. Lange distinctly affirms the "appearing of angels in the most literal sense;" but then he does so in such a way as to deny the pos-

sibility of these appearances, not only to wicked or to ordinary people, but to any one unless in an ecstasy. "The most objective angelic apparition," he says, "is symbolic,"—i. e., subjective, "inasmuch as the nearest approach of a spirit ever requires the plastic co-operation of the mind of the spectator." Here, again, the simple assertions of Scripture are limited and glossed, so as to represent a miracle in such a way as may best compromise with sceptical reason. Yet if the angel is there, as Dr. Lange himself plainly refuses to deny, why is it more difficult to believe that he may make himself visible if God wills it? The sceptic logically denies the existence of the angel at all. *If* he exists, his visibility on this or that occasion is a very small addition of the supernatural. And so Dr. Lange glosses Scripture, not only without authority, but to little purpose.

But we must go even further than this, and from a specimen of Scriptural exegesis, and an isolated instance of glossing away the supernatural in Scripture statements, turn to the very fundamental principles of the work. Now, here also Dr. Lange appears to base his Christology upon positions certainly novel, and at the best perilous. We trust we are not misrepresenting views which have to be gathered from different parts of his volumes, and are hardly stated formally and completely in any one passage. But he appears to maintain positions such as these:—That God is in such sense connected with man as to render the Incarnation necessary, both to the full development of human nature and even to that of the Divine: we cannot, he says, "form a conception of God without Christ, nor of Christ without man, and therefore we cannot form a conception of God without manhood;"—that with respect to the Divine nature, "the Son of God" has indeed existed from all eternity, but "the personal Christ has not" so existed,—for that the Lord before His Incarnation had indeed a substantial and not a "*merely* ideal existence," yet that the Incarnation "was an eternal" one—i. e., was in contemplation from all eternity as the future completion of the person of Christ, rendering it no longer ideal but historical, and so was (by what he calls a classic as opposed to a romantic metamorphosis) the legitimate fulness of the development of this Person according to the law of orderly determinate progress;—and, accordingly, that the human nature of our Lord is to be regarded as co-operating with the Divine in working His miracles;—while, with respect to men themselves, the Incarna-

tion would have been alike necessary even had Adam not sinned, inasmuch as it is needed, not simply for the restoration but for the development and full growth of humanity. And these views have a special effect upon an exegetical treatise on the Gospels, inasmuch as they lead the commentator to refer all our Lord's miracles as far as possible to human agency; so that Dr. Lange speaks, e. g., as he says himself, "of the accompaniment of a magnetic fluid (more correctly, a super-magnetic power), and of a spiritual-corporeal affinity (*rapport*), and of a plastic human spirit, in the miraculous works of Jesus." Now, the thought that suggests these views seems to be this—that the entire sum of all things must necessarily be the result of foreseen and orderly development, without interruption or afterthought, complete ideally from the beginning: so as to escape the objection of the sceptics even of heathen times, who demurred, e. g., to the ordinary conception of Creation as implying that there had been a time before creation when the perfectness of God was incomplete, and so creation was thrust into the midst without relation to what preceded it. They are not necessarily heretical views. And they contain a large amount of truth, only so mingled with doubtful speculation as to be perilously near to heresy. They seem to us to be simply the result of an attempt so to philosophise dogma as to make it palatable to human reason. However, without pretending to discuss here the large and solemn subjects thus mooted, it cannot be denied, first, that the views here put forward are novel; or, secondly, that the grounds on which they rest are not Scripture or revelation, but human speculation seeking so to fill up revelation as to adapt it to the requirements of human reason. "The modern free-believing theology," is Dr. Lange's own description of his views; and certainly they do differ from those older views which simply set forth dogmatic truths as they lie in revelation, and leave them to meet the difficulties of reason in their own strength, without filling them up and fitting them together by human supplements so as to evade those difficulties.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS*.

THE specialties of this commentary lie principally in its being a work of purely critical scholarship, with a studious omission of all reference either to Patristic authority, or to any human commentators whatsoever. The attitude of study which Dr. Vaughan regards as *par excellence* the best, deliberately puts aside the whole atmosphere of thought that has grown up in the lapse of centuries around the sacred text, and the entire historical development of the letter of Scripture into the controversies of past times, and trusts entirely, under higher aid, to a religious spirit, and to a knowledge of the language of Scripture for the key to its interpretation. The vague expression in his preface—"educated in the study of ancient writers"—appears to mean nothing more than the general knowledge, derivable from the study of writers who are *not* commentators or theologians—at least not *as* commentators or theologians—of the turns of thought and idiom common in writers of the same or similar date. And the legitimate conclusion from his view, carried to its fair consequence, appears to be, that the position most favourable for understanding Scripture would be that of a well-taught and religious scholar who should never have heard of the Gospel until he found a copy of the Scriptures and began to study them for himself. Doubtless there is much to justify an impatient recoil from the extreme opposite principle to this. Not merely has that opposite extreme led to a sad waste of power in commentating upon commentators instead of upon the text itself—not merely does it cause us to lose the freshness and vigour of a really original mind thinking for itself, and expose us to the perpetuation of error by mere copying from one hand to another—but it is open also to the worse evils of overlaying the divine word by purely human glosses that corrupt instead of expounding the text, and of binding down men of the present century to the forms of speech belonging to extinct modes of thought, and which have ceased to have a living meaning to ourselves. We have no sympathy with the style of commentary in which the commentator is himself nothing, while his notes stagger under an undigested burden of other people's dicta, even where those others are the Fathers themselves. And we are not insensible

* "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; with Notes." By C. J. Vaughan, D.D., Head Master of Harrow School. (Macmillans.) *Guardian*, Feb. 22, 1860.

to the value of a fresh line of thought, struck out by a reverent and able mind, unhampered by the trammels of controversy, and capable of reasoning upon words and texts without the perpetual and misleading cloud of opinions external to Scripture blighting its view. Read any of the Predestinarian works of the Caroline age—Owen, or Twisse, or the like—and we shall be at no loss for a specimen of the blindness produced by controversial exposition of Scripture, or for a proof of its intense mischief. But Dr. Vaughan appears to us—not in his practice but in his profession—to go beyond the legitimate boundary in the other direction. His theory appears to eliminate from a good commentary all attention whatsoever to the witness of the Church at large, whether we regard that witness as purely historical—to the fact of the currency, from the beginning, of such and such interpretations; or as morally authoritative, because expressing the consent of good, or spiritual, or learned men; or as possessing something beyond a moral authority, on the ground of the promises of Divine guidance. He strikes us as being so distressed by the perversions of the argument of authority as to be eager to rush to the unjustifiable extreme of throwing it overboard altogether. Of course it is impossible, in point of fact, for a man like Dr. Vaughan to put out of his mind all knowledge of the numberless questions and controversies that bristle out of nearly every verse of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. We merely protest against his *wish* to do so, and do not think a commentary likely either to be better written or to be more useful which should succeed in the impossible task. The thing resembles too closely the view of Dr. Arnold, when he enlarged to a divinity student upon the mischief of reading theology, properly so called, and upon the bracing effect produced upon the mind by the opposite study of standard works written without any reference to theology; advice, as it appears to us, much the same as if we were to require an engineer or an astronomer to study carefully all works that would strengthen the reasoning powers, but as carefully to abstain from any study whatever of mathematics or astronomy.

Turning from Dr. Vaughan's professions to their results, however, we have a very different verdict to give. For educated young men his commentary seems to fill a gap hitherto unfilled. We find in it a careful elucidation of the meaning of phrases by parallel passages from St. Paul himself, with a nearly continuous paraphrase and explanation by which the very difficult connection of the argument of the

Epistle, with its countless digressions and ellipses and abrupt breaks, is pointedly brought out. An educated lad, who thought for himself, would learn more of the real meaning of St. Paul's words by thoroughly thinking out the suggestive exposition of them here supplied, than by any amount of study bestowed upon more elaborate and erudite works. Dr. Vaughan has applied to the Scriptures a mode of annotation happily coming into fashion of late with respect to classical writers. We do not know that we can convey a better idea of the nature of his work, than by saying that he has annotated St. Paul, *mutatis mutandis*, much as Professor Conington has annotated the *Choephoræ* of Æschylus. He has endeavoured to supply the missing links of thought—a task of eminent difficulty, and proportionate utility, in the case of St. Paul—and has striven (to our minds, in the main, successfully) to act as a kind of chorus, pointing out from the bottom of the page the inner connection of the dramatic action going on at the top of it, with this main difference, that he does not moralise on his own account, as a chorus too commonly does.

The very principle of his commentary leads him to pass *sicco pede* over passages alive with controversy: and this sometimes to the detriment of his note, sometimes not. Of the latter kind, we would instance the note upon vi. 2—"A particular time and act is referred to. Baptism (in the case of a penitent and believing convert) was a moment of actual transition from a life of sin to a life of holiness, and is constantly referred to in Scripture as such." The ground of this remark is a grammatical one—viz., the aorist tense. Again, that on ix. 10, 12—"Nothing is here said of the *final destiny* of either (Jacob or Esau): that was shaped by the spirit and conduct of each. What is spoken of here is the position of the one, and not of the other, as the depository of the promise to Abraham." As a specimen of the former we instance the note in v. 12—"Adam fell as the sample, the representative of the race. *As he fell, so would any one of the race have fallen under the same trial* [the italics are ours]. God (for His own beneficent purposes) deals with the race as having been tried, and as having fallen, in him"—a mode of stating the doctrine of original sin which does not appear to us an adequate statement of the truth. Of particular verses, we question the interpretation given of i. 20. Surely, *ἀπὸ* here means *since*. The act of creation itself could not be the evidence to successive generations of the existence of the Creator; but His works were so

ever since that creation. In xii. 20, again, the difficulty of *ἀνθρώπος* *πυρὸς* seems to be passed over without notice. And in vii. 20, the verse surely is an *explanation*, and neither "mitigation" nor (which is Dr. Vaughan's, to our mind forced, explanation) "aggravation" of the condition described in v. 19—"I have the will to do right but cannot do it, *for* I do not do the good I would, but the evil I would not that I do." We give these few instances as specimens of occasional inaccuracies, in our judgment. As a whole, Dr. Vaughan appears to us to have given to the world a valuable book of original and careful and earnest thought bestowed on the accomplishment of a work which will be of much service and is much needed.

THE BOOK OF REVELATION †

THIS is a republication of simply the translation of the Apocalypse, which Dr. Tregelles published originally in 1844 in conjunction with an amended text of the book. The purpose of that publication was principally the editing of an amended text, and only secondarily that of correcting the translation. But Dr. Tregelles did then, and does still, profess to alter the received version, not only where an altered text necessitates such alteration, but also (although not with such rigorous care) where the Greek, as it stands unaltered in his text from the *Textus Receptus*, seems to demand a different rendering to that which the authorised version gives. And the present republication, dropping the text, confines itself wholly to what Dr. Tregelles conceives to be the correct rendering of the true text; save that it contains also a reprint of his "Historical Sketch of the Printed Text of the New Testament." The sole additional aid towards a good text of the Apocalypse which has been placed within the reach of critical scholars since the first publication (1844), is the MS. which is designated B, now in the Vatican, and published by Tischendorf in 1846, which brings up the number of Uncial MSS. of the Apocalypse to three; *the* Vatican MS., it need hardly be said, not containing that book.

† "The Book of Revelation, translated from the Ancient Greek Text, with an Historical Sketch of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, &c." A New Edition; with a Notice of a Palimpsest MS. hitherto unused. By S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. (Bagster and Sons.) *Guardian*, July 13, 1859.

With Dr. Tregelles' negative canon—that the *Textus Receptus* is critically worth nothing—on which he mainly insists in his Introduction and Sketch, all scholars, we apprehend, will agree; remembering, however, that such a canon merely means, that in the numerous but (with hardly half-a-dozen exceptions) doctrinally unimportant differences between the *Textus Receptus* and that text which rests upon really good MS. authority, the Greek text which a clever printer adopted upon scarcely no evidence at all in non-critical times, or that which in part even an Erasmus conjectured out of the Latin, must necessarily give way to that of ancient MSS. corroborated by versions and by early citations. Scholars, we say, and all who measure their judgment by the real merits of a case, will assent, of course, to such a proposition. At the same time, it will be wise in men like Dr. Tregelles, whom a long familiarity with the subject has possessed with its true bearings, to deal tenderly with the respectable prejudices of the mass of people to whom the English Bible is *the* Bible, and who know no other. It will be wise in them, for instance, to put forward, prominently and in detail, the fact that, *doctrinally*, the Bible of critics and the Bible of ordinary people are identical, one or two familiar texts being no doubt severed from doctrines hitherto supposed to be implied by them, but the entire result of the whole Bible together remaining absolutely unaltered. It will be wise, also, to put forward the fact that, although future discovery or study of MSS. may alter the text anew, even from that at present adopted by critics, and although critical scholarship is forced to be content, in some cases, with uncertainty, and to leave readings confessedly doubtful, yet the amount and nature both of the contingency of future change (judging by past experience), and of the actual and present doubtfulness, are such as in no way to affect doctrinal questions. These and similar considerations are pressed upon us, both by common sense and ordinary thoughtfulness for others, and by the experience of the past history of attempts to improve the text of the Bible. And the serious alarm caused to really good people by the recent publication of the Vatican MS., and by the mischievous use attempted to be made of it by one or two evil-disposed persons, is proof convincing that such carefulness is not out of place, but urgently needed still.

Of Dr. Tregelles' positive canons, his present publication does not lead us to speak. We turn to his translation. And here, with

much of improvement, we cannot but note many defects. Defects of taste and of correctness, for instance, as that of rendering δόσω in c. xi., v. 3, by "I will *endow*." Or again in the order of words, as in c. xiii., v. 8, where the order of the original places the phrase "From the foundation of the world" at the *end* of the verse. We suppose the change is made by Dr. Tregelles on the authority of c. xvii., v. 8; but, even if so, to alter the order of the former verse is simply to import an interpretation into the text. Again, after much said respecting perfects and aorists, we find an aorist, in c. xiv., v. 4, translated as a perfect—"have not *been* defiled;" and in c. xiii., v. 11, an imperfect translated by an aorist—ἐλάλει, "he spake." But our principal censure, and that which shakes our confidence most in Dr. Tregelles, is the alteration which he has introduced into c. xxii., v. 14—"who wash their robes," instead of "who do the commandments." Of course we do not doubt Dr. Tregelles' perfect honesty of *intention*. But he avows so naïvely that he regards the latter reading as unscriptural, and only to be forced by an unnatural gloss into harmony with the rest of Scripture, that we cannot but feel unsafe. And when we find on examination that the evidence for the received text is at least equal if not greater than that for the alteration which Dr. Tregelles prefers, our feeling of insecurity is increased tenfold. Moreover, what perverted theology to complain as he does of the received reading! And what carelessness does it betray with respect to internal evidence! For surely the blessing upon "doing" the commandments of God is quite a characteristic topic with St. John—e.g., in St. John's Gospel xiii. 17, while the other phrase might well be borrowed by a hasty scribe (as has been truly remarked) from Rev. vii. 14. We cannot, however, be ungracious enough to withhold our tribute of thanks to Dr. Tregelles for the valuable and patient labour of his life, devoted as it has been to the one cause of eliciting a good critical text of the New Testament. It is no great censure, but rather a useful warning, to remind him that he too has *idols* to guard against, and to entreat him to hold the balance of his critical judgment steadily against the influence of theological bias, as he has done against influences of other kinds.

THE BOOK OF REVELATION §.

WE have placed these two books together by way of antidote and poison. Nor could we desire a better way to bring into vivid relief the sobriety, thoughtfulness, and soundness of Mr. Galton's lectures than by reading them (as we have chanced to do) consecutively with the strange mixture of sense and madness contained in Mr. Irving's self-assertory and crude Millenarianism. The absolute egotism, indeed, of religious fanatics constitutes one of the points in which such fanaticism borders nearest upon insanity. The mental eye is concentrated with a diseased intensity of vision upon the one error, so as to absorb the entire powers of the man. And in Mr. Irving's case those powers were singularly self-reliant. In the whole of this volume of his there is not the slightest trace either of patient inquiry or of careful weighing of other people's opinions or of deference to the Church—not a word of other interpretations of the Millenary chapter in the Apocalypse—not a vestige of even a momentary reflection on the possible correctness of an opposite view to his own. Even the discovery of the Jesuit origin of the book which he translates, and which with somewhat of simplicity he had been beguiled by the pseudonym of Ben Ezra into believing to be the production of a converted Jew, distasteful to all his prejudices as the discovery must have been, could not shake his faith in himself. No matter if it was Jesuit, at any rate it was Millenarian. It came within the charmed circle of the one truth which Mr. Irving's monomania projected into a distorted and disproportionate size and outline upon his mental retina; and he snatches at it at once, much as Don Quixote would have welcomed a knight-errant from a foreign land.

It is no part of our intention to attempt to discuss either the doctrine or the history of Irvingism in the short space at our command. But the present volume suggests one remark which must strike the most superficial observer of the fortunes of that strange

§ "Notes of Lectures on the Book of Revelation." By John Lincoln Galton, M.A. (Masters.)

"The Rev. E. Irving's Preliminary Discourse to the Work of Ben Ezra, entitled 'The Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty;' to which is added an Ordination Charge delivered by Mr. Irving in 1827; and also his Introductory Essay to Bishop Horne's Commentary on the Psalms." Reprinted by permission from the original publications. (Bosworth and Harrison.) *Guardian*, Nov. 16, 1859.

sect—so bravely and shrewdly cleaving, as in its present form it does, to unpopular truth, yet marring that truth so seriously by one fundamental but all-pervading error. As Mr. Wesley would not recognise Wesleyanism, or George Fox even understand modern Quakerism, so, and far more decidedly, we apprehend, would Edward Irving fail to recall the faintest idea of his own offspring in the present phase of Irvingism. Its beginnings, and the system into which it has settled down, are as unlike to one another as an egg is to a full-grown fowl, or a chrysalis to a butterfly. Out of Scotch Presbyterianism, developing through some strange form of heresy, and by way of fanatical millenarianism, into the mania of the Tongues, there has grown, as if in marked antithesis to the prevalent errors of the day, a system, sacramental, ritual, sacerdotal, yet distinctly anti-Roman, which, as it were, parodies the Church; nay, maintains some important truths with a breadth and boldness such as Churchmen shrink from. Scarcely a subject exists upon which the Church has now to do battle, wherein Irvingite publications do not, up to a certain point, stoutly and ably maintain the truth. But in the writings of Mr. Irving, now reprinted, and written at a time when he still held office as a minister of the Scottish Kirk, not a sign of this later development can be traced; with the one partial exception, perhaps, of a strong assertion of the reality of the sacraments, based, however, on nothing more precise than the Confession of the Kirk of Scotland in 1567. The Irving of 1826-7 still gloried in Calvinism, and denounced Arminians; still discoursed in the style of a Napier (to whose abrupt and imperious mode of speech Mr. Irving's, at least in his Ordination Charge, bears no small resemblance) against "Papal and prelatical invasions;" still read Church history with the spectacles of the Kirk, and believed in "the Presbyterian discipline of the Culdees;" still preferred extempore prayer to a liturgy, however perfect; and still urged views of justification which he gloried in thinking would provoke the stigma of antinomianism. Millenarianism, indeed, is the main subject of the larger tract in the volume. And although it is true that out of millenarianism, and other opinions ordinarily connected with it, grew ultimately the peculiar Irvingite view respecting the present and the coming Church, yet the present volume carries us no further than to a general statement of the coming rejection of the Gentile Churches, as preparatory to the restoration of the Jews and the *coming in* of the alleged Millennium.

We turn gladly from the feverish dreams of Mr. Irving to the form of sound words which meets us everywhere in Mr. Galton's pages. They are, indeed, remarkably plain-spoken about subjects of the day, and probably bear a greater appearance of roughness of speech, from being orally delivered, than would have been the case had they received the softening and polishing of written composition. But their principal excellence lies in their careful and intelligent preference of ancient expositors, and in the consequent absence from them of the crude, distorted, whimsical farrago of unhistorical history which disfigures most modern expositions. Seeking practical edification mainly, Mr. Galton treads, but in an independent spirit, and with a wholly different sort of ability, in the path of Mr. Isaac Williams. We find nothing in his book of the miserable and self-destructive crotchets about Napoleon or Lord Nelson, or about Albigensian and Waldensian Witnesses; nothing of the preposterous folly which has wasted so much valuable ingenuity upon identifying the Beast by his number; nothing of that sincere but perverted polemical spirit which insists on distorting all Scripture into a special protest against Rome; nothing, in short, of that presumptuous spirit of Apocalyptic exegesis which called forth South's celebrated *dictum*. Prophetic symbols are designed to enforce practical lessons, not to teach history. The Revelation will never help any one, before the time of fulfilment, to write a precise account of things future. And they who use it thus, mistake its purpose; and assuredly have incurred a severe punishment of their mistake in the preposterous follies wherewith they have been blinded. Mr. Galton, on the contrary, has turned the book to its right use as a teacher of practical truth.

That the Apocalyptic prophecies relate wholly to the last times—that their several series are contemporaneous, not consecutive, a combination of parallel symbols supplementing one another, not symbols belonging each to a different set of events—that the Millennium is in truth the very period now passing, between the first resurrection of the Church from the Lord's ascension onwards, and the final resurrection to judgment at the end of the world—such are, in brief, the principles which underlie Mr. Galton's lectures. And in the details of the commentary we find a similar sobriety and modesty of tone. We give as a specimen the explanation of the Sign of the Beast—an explanation which certainly rests on grounds very plau-

sible, at least; although Mr. Galton has fallen into something of confusion in the details of his account of it:—

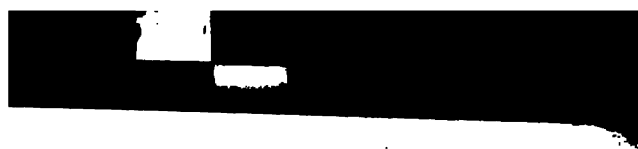
“The number, six hundred and sixty-six, is not written in the original in words at length as in the English version, but in numeral letters; they are three—Chi, Xi, Sigmatau, $\chi\xi\sigma'$. The first and last combined form an abbreviation, known from the earliest days as a representation of our Lord, $\chi\varsigma$ being the first (*sic*) of the letters which form the Greek word $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ or Christ; these in the passage before us are simply divided by a letter which is in form serpentine, like a snake wound round a rod (ξ). It has been supposed, and with much probability, that the design in giving this number to the Beast, under such a form as we have described, was to state the truth, that the last Antichrist will be one who will systematically strive to do what the Apostle tells us can never lawfully be done (2 Cor. vi. 15, 16), to join Christ with Belial, to join light with darkness, and to make an agreement between things that are as wide as the poles apart, separated, as heaven is from the abyss, by an impassable gulf.”

We commend the whole series of lectures to those who wish to draw edification from the Apocalypse as from the rest of the New Testament, not as a commentary merely, but as a volume of practical sermons. The latter, which was the original design of the volumes, rather interferes, indeed, with the consecutiveness and clearness of their former or exegetic function. But we know no book on the Apocalypse where so much of sound exposition is set forth so comprehensibly, or where the tone of the writer commands more attention by his evident combination of both depth and sobriety of thought. Without the fancy or the deep Patristic lore of Mr. Isaac Williams, Mr. Galton is plainer, and, by any ordinary reader, more easily followed. And the perusal of his book will do more, we believe, than that of almost any other commentary, to disabuse men's minds of the perhaps more foolish than seriously mischievous errors now prevalent on the subject of Apocalyptic prophecy.

We presume Mr. Galton is aware that the Vatican MS. of the Apocalypse, to which he occasionally refers, is not *the* Vatican MS.



IL
DOCTRINAL WORKS.



DOCTRINAL WORKS.

WE now proceed to print articles by Mr. Haddan on some of the doctrinal questions which have agitated the minds of men, especially within the English Church, during the last quarter of a century. In the discussion of matters which have been the subject of so much controversy, it is only to be expected that people should find something from which they dissent. They may think that the author, in some cases, takes a hard line, and, with undue rigour, condemns practices which have ministered to men's spiritual welfare, such as "non-communicating attendance," or they may desiderate sufficient allowance being made for the power of sentiment in religious matters; but, not to mention that it is necessary on such points as these, that the mind of such a man as Mr. Haddan should be clearly known, it will be acknowledged that each subject dwelt on is treated with singular fairness and candour, that the objections are at least well weighed, and that no theological odium influences the decision arrived at. The deep, calm thoughtfulness which distinguishes the reviews which deal with the objections to revelation and the supernatural will not fail to strike the reader.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT*.

THE following passage sums up the thesis of these seasonable and able lectures,—lectures thoughtful more than brilliant, and which seem to grow in meaning the more they are read. Teaching with

* "The Administration of the Holy Spirit in the Body of Christ." Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1868, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A. By George Moberly, D.C.L., Fellow of Winchester College, Rector of Brightstone, Isle of Wight. (James Parker & Co.) *Guardian*, Feb. 17, 1869.

well-weighed words, but in no uncertain tone, the good old doctrines of the Church, the Priesthood, and the Sacraments, with the authority of forty years of singularly wise and thoughtful Christian labour, Dr. Moberly regards these doctrines on the side which at the present moment presses most for a right adjustment—viz., on the side of the laity. And he states thus in brief the view upon which the lectures dwell in detail:—

“There can (he says) be no doubt, that in the language of Holy Scripture it is the Church, entire and complete, not any class, or rank, or caste of persons within it, which is spoken of as the Spirit-bearing body of Christ, the successor of Christ, the holder of power and privilege in Christ,—nay, even as Christ Himself upon the earth. ‘As the body of a man is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, though they be many, . . . are one body, so also is Christ.’ No person can, I suppose, have any doubt, that this great saying applies to the Church at large, not to the Apostles or the clergy within the Church only, but to the entire Church, including all its members, whether clerical or lay. In like manner we believe, with St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, that when Christ promised to St. Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven, He promised them to the Church at large, whose faith and whose unity St. Peter on that occasion represented. We believe, that in the case of the admission of a child or a converted heathen into the Body of Christ by Holy Baptism, it is the Church at large, the common parent of Christians, who bears as a mother the newly-made member of the body. We believe, that in Holy Communion it is the whole Church, the body of Christ, which commemorates the life-giving Sacrifice of the Lord, feeding its unity and its holiness by feeding on the meat indeed and the drink indeed of His Spiritual Body and Blood. We believe that in absolution it is the Church’s peace that is given; that in excommunication the sentence is to be pronounced upon such as, when their sin has been told to the Church, refuse to hear the Church. If a council makes decrees in matters of faith, it does so not as overruling the Church, nor as issuing laws of faith to the Church upon its own authority, but as representing more or less faithfully the entire Church, and speaking in its name, so that its decrees are really binding in exact proportion to that faithfulness. All these things speak plainly to the great truth, that in the Church in its entirety, in all its members, not in some only, dwells the fulness of the Holy Spirit, and so the ultimate authority which nothing but the indwelling of the Holy Spirit can give. . . . This is one great half of the truth, never to be forgotten. But all this is entirely compatible with that other not less important half—namely, that there exists in this Spirit-bearing Body a Divinely descended Priesthood, who, ordained by imposition of hands in due succession from the Apostles, are divinely authorised to represent the entire Church in these various functions, reserving some of them entirely in their own hands to administer, yet even in these wielding powers which are ultimately the powers of the whole body, and in others asking in various degrees the joint action of other members of the body besides themselves.”

The view thus set forth adapts itself further,—in so far, recommending itself,—to a position intermediate between the unbridled democracy of the Dissenting platform and the absolute and single autocracy of the Papal theory. The power of the keys, according to the latter view, not only flows to the clergy wholly through the Pope, and is indeed held to be in some wonderful manner suspended, yet not interrupted, in each vacancy of the Popedom; but it flows also, not to the clergy (howsoever organised) through the Church, but to the Church through the clergy: insomuch that the clergy are as it were a Church within the Church, intervening between the laity and the great Head of the Church Himself. And on the other hand, the anti-Church theory resolves the ministry into mere delegates of the existing body of Christians, deriving all the powers which they are held to possess entirely from those who delegate them. Upon the Church view, the ministry is, in appointment independent of, in the exercise of its functions subordinate to, the Church at large.

The Lecturer further explains his position, not, indeed, by the analogy of the civil state, but by the Scriptural analogy of the human body. Political analogies, indeed, would have drawn the argument forthwith into the vortex of theories of the origin of civil government, disputed and shifting in themselves: although something definite, perhaps, in the way of analogy might have been found in the combination of the two counterbalancing principles, of the ultimate derivation of power (humanly speaking) from the whole body politic, and yet the providential arrangements of the governing body, created commonly for and not by that body politic, and limiting its action to the organisation thus provided for it. But the analogy of the physical body is undoubtedly of a more precise and a more unquestionable kind. The organs through which the body acts are given to it, not created by it. Yet it must needs act through these organs, although it can control and direct their action, and concurs to it by supplying the vital power which enables them to act. And yet further, if deprived of these organs, it cannot replace them, nor can it by any other means properly supply their place; although it can nevertheless, very often, imperfectly and lamely patch up the deficiency by roundabout ways and indirect use of other organs and other make-shifts. And even so, in all points, even in the last-mentioned of all, stands the case with the Church and the ministry.

It is obvious that upon such a subject the one question must be—not what seems expedient, or harmonises with human theories, or even what has actually led, or seemed to lead, to the best results, but—what has the Divine Founder of the Church appointed to be the constitution of His Church. And the proper issue, therefore, rests where Dr. Moberly rightly rests it,—upon Scripture as expounded by primitive practice. But the principal purpose of these lectures is rather to carry the general doctrine thus enunciated through each of its several applications, and thus at once to prove and explain it, and to shew its real importance. Take, for instance, the office of teaching the faith, and so ultimately the case of Councils. The Greek Church, or at any rate Greek theologians, interpret the promise of the Holy Spirit as conferring formal and immediate infallibility upon a fairly summoned and rightly ordered Council of Bishops, and of Bishops exclusively. The present Roman communion, as every one knows, limits the same power to the formal utterances of the Pope, summing up in himself—as he is supposed to do—as its one earthly source, the totality of clerical authority. The sounder view here enunciated carries us at once, with bold impartiality of application, to what are certainly striking results. How far do they hold good? Not only is the subsequent assent of the Church as a whole held to be necessary in order to “declare” that the decrees of a Council respecting the faith are correct enunciations of the one original faith—just as the unanimous assent of all educated men to a great scientific law, once discovered, sets the stamp of practical infallibility upon that law, but with, of course, in our case, the additional guarantee of God’s promises to the Church. But the intervention also of the laity *ab initio* in the Council itself is dwelt upon as the Apostolic and primitive practice. And not only this, but in the very question of the original teaching of Apostles themselves: the inspired authority of the Apostles, or of others, whether expressed orally or in writing, is held to have been sanctioned by the reception of the Church at large; although in itself also, and antecedently, authoritative. And we are relegated accordingly to Church testimony, not only as guaranteeing to us that certain books were in truth the writing of inspired men, but also as adding a sanction to the teaching contained in the books so guaranteed. Here, then, are two points which are confessedly, the one novel, at least in the mode of its expression, the other at the least *very much* disputed. That we can know that the books we have

were the books that were actually written by Apostles or others, solely by the testimony of the Church; and this, a testimony founded upon means of testing the fact long since perished, and which therefore leaves us in possession of the conclusions, but not of the special grounds on which those conclusions at the time rested;—this is, indeed, a doctrine most plainly true, however much people have at times ignored it; and most important, too, in its consequences. And it is plain also, that by the like testimony alone can we know, in the first instance, and subject, no doubt, to the proper counterbalance in its place and kind of internal evidence, which books were inspired and which were not, among the remains of the Apostolic age. But we are here carried a step or two farther. Yet it should be noticed likewise, that the necessity of a subsequent general reception of a Council in order to give that Council its full authority, provides fully for a real office and an ultimate power of control and sanction in the body of the (present) Church, whether or no we take the further step above indicated; and also, that the relation of the Church to Apostles may and must have been one of submission as to inspired teachers, wheresoever that inspiration came out into formal and full exercise, without any impeachment of the Church's ultimate power when Apostles should be withdrawn. Dr. Moberly's main doctrine, therefore, would be left untouched, even were these two more advanced positions controverted; while it is needless to spend words upon proving what a broad sweep of important inferences is contained in those less-advanced and first-mentioned doctrines. But if not essential, certainly the two views opened up in the lectures are of great moment.

First, as to the relation of Church and Apostles, involving as it does, too, the question of the process whereby Apostles themselves arrived at their own belief and teaching. The old conventional notion, we suppose, finds now but few intelligent defenders, which conceived of the whole explicit truth, worked out into a complete formulary and a complete code, as just dropped from heaven, and handed by Apostles to disciples just as it stood. The action of the Apostles' own minds, as men, and as men of special characteristics, recognised as it is in Scripture unmistakably, is, we presume, by this time admitted on all hands. And thoughtful men have learned to see that such action is consistent with the highest and noblest form of inspiration, however the principle may have been caricatured and exaggerated by sceptics into a denial of inspi-

ration altogether. But what these lectures insist upon is a parallel and complementary position to this, and one which the Scripture equally recognises. It is, indeed, but another side of that upon which Church writers have ever insisted. Just as the Scriptures themselves come *ab initio* to a man's knowledge with an external authority, conclusive to a reasonable man, and yet the evidence on which he receives them is not complete to him, until he has as it were assimilated them to himself, and recognised in his own convictions the truths they teach; so with Apostolic teaching generally. The Apostles plainly did appeal to the older Scriptures, and to men's reasons, and to the faith of the disciples already in the Church, and did not simply and commonly propound truth oracularly, to be, as it were, received blindfold. And it is a seasonable thing, in the present state of thought, that this should be put forward in a believing and Christian spirit. We can but wish that the circumscribed space of one out of eight lectures could have been so enlarged by the writer, as to have enabled him to expand and guard it fully.

On the second point, Dr. Moberly appears to us to tread less firmly in supporting his view. That laymen were present, more or less, at Synods down to St. Cyprian's time, we with him believe. That their ultimate assent as making up the whole Church was required, we believe also. But it appears, to our judgment, as if we must not look for any further explanation of their subsequent disappearance from the actual Synod, than to the simple fact of the increase of numbers, which made their presence impossible. And since their voice from the beginning was one of assent (or the contrary), not of consultation, their presence by representatives other than the Bishops did not take place when their personal presence became impossible. We do not then find, for our parts, proof of a consultative office *ab initio* belonging to the laity in the Councils of the Church. Of course we are speaking of questions of faith, or of discipline as touching upon faith. On the secular side of Church subjects, the matter is widely different. Reserving the chief management to the chief Church officer, and their right place also to the other orders of the ministry, it is right—and in the present course of social and political opinion it is both inevitable and essential,—that, as an integral part of the Church, the laity should take their place, really and effectively, in the management of all ecclesiastico-temporal affairs. Taken as a combination of men for pur-

poses subserving the common good, it is obvious that every member of the Church has an inalienable right to a voice in its guidance, proportioned, of course, to his individual position, and limited only by the special Divine laws which difference the Church from all other combinations of men. And in all the many sides upon which the Church touches upon the things of the world, there is, we suppose, an increasing feeling, that it is both the right of the laity to take a real place in Church management, and that it concerns (humanly speaking) not only the well-being but the life of the Church, in a country like ours, that they should do so. The *esprit de corps* engendered by hearty co-operation for an object in which all are interested, the zealous and pronounced grasp of the truth as the Church holds it,—i.e., of the truth itself, acquired by the habit of active combination in support of that truth, the very life which active life begets and multiplies, are all as much and as exclusively the products of united zeal of all for that wherein all concur; as the opposite evils of torpid indifference and apathy are of that state of things where an official class has been driven into managing the affairs of the whole body for them. Half the evils of the Church would disappear if Churchmen pulled together with the one pull of all, heartily and in combination, for truth and good; as vigorously as comparatively insignificant bodies in this land pull together in the cause of falsehood and evil. Once persuade Church laity practically that they are as much of the Church as clergy can be; and that the interests of the Church are not the interests of one class in it, but of all; and the Church will certainly not be “in danger” any longer. But all this refers in an unqualified way to the secular side of things. In matters of faith, the laity have indeed as deep and living an interest as any clergyman. And the assent ultimately of the whole Church, laity and all, to any decision about truth is indispensable, not only to the practical force of that decision, but to its formal authority. But it does seem to us that the Apostles and the early Church reserved to the clergy the functions of consultation and (subject to the control just spoken of) determination on subjects of faith.

ON EUCHARISTICAL ADORATION^b.

WITH those who deny any special presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and thereby reduce the Sacrament simply to the rank of an acted representation, designed to quicken the memory, the further question of adoration is, of course, superfluous. If Christ be not present in any sense other than that in which He is present in every part of the whole universe, or, at the utmost, than as He is present where two or three are gathered together for prayer, then, of course, special adoration of Him is impossible. And, on the other hand, inasmuch as extremes meet, the question seems to be equally cut off by any doctrine involving Ubiquitarianism; for, if the presence be everywhere, by virtue of the union of the divine to the human natures, then there is no more reason for adoration at the Eucharist than on any other occasion, for Christ is equally present, and in the same precise mode, always, and in all places. Whether men depress the notion of the sacramental presence of Him who is Man as well as God, to that of the (so to say) ordinary and providential presence of God, or exalt it above this upon a principle which applies to an universal presence if to any, the distinctive presence, and, therefore, special adoration at the Eucharist alike fall to the ground. So much is plain enough. And those who hold the former of these opinions consistently denounce all adoration, and ought to refuse to kneel at the Sacrament. But, assuming a special presence, the question still has to be solved—does such presence necessarily or rightly involve adoration directly offered to Christ as thus present? And this question seems to lead to a further one. Assuming that such adoration is right, how ought those who offer it to conceive of Him who is the object of it? Ought they not to worship Him as in heaven, so far as place has any reference to Him? and as present in His Humanity in some way consistent with the natural Presence of that Humanity in heaven? or can they rightly worship Him as locally present in the elements, or indeed as present anywhere upon earth in a local, which is necessarily a material, sense? We pass by as irrelevant all questions concerning degrees of adoration. Paid to our Lord, it must be adoration such as is due to God. We pass by also all questions concerning posture, which is only the

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dwells upon logical distinctions where a reverent and simple adoration would be more in place, the blame must lie with those whose errors in past ages have rendered a simple creed now unsafe, if not impossible. In the worship of our Lord we cannot help making a distinction between Himself and His Presence. The principle of this distinction is that on which rests the world-wide difference between Omnipresence and Pantheism. The application of it to our Lord rests also upon the truth of His humanity, and the presence of that humanity itself now somewhere not upon earth. How the glorified Humanity *can* be anywhere is a question which human reason cannot solve, any more than it can understand the nevertheless undoubted fact that every human soul is related to the body which it vivifies. But if we accept the plain words of Holy Scripture, and believe accordingly that the humanity is not so transferred into the divinity of the Saviour as to have ceased to be truly humanity, we *must* distinguish between its natural presence in heaven, and its spiritual presence, either in the Eucharist, or in the souls of Christians, or in the world itself. And widely as the last three modes of presence differ from one another, the first nevertheless is obviously contrasted the most widely with all three. The gulf lies between it and them. And as our worship ought not, by unanimous consent, to be addressed to our Lord under either of the last two, so ought it not to be so either under the other of those three modes, but only under the first. In other words, in worshipping our Lord, we must think of His human nature as in heaven, although, indeed, by a spiritual presence specially vouchsafed, He is present in the elements. What we desiderate, then, in the treatise, is a more explicit and full precautionary statement, guarding against any such *local* adoration as was above spoken of. What Mr. Keble has said in page 80, we desire to see brought out into greater prominence, and made the subject of an integral part of the treatise. The *italics* are Mr. Keble's own. The topic is one we could wish he had more emphatically and prominently dwelt upon :—

“If the bread and wine is not mentioned (in what is said of Melchisedec in the Epistle to the Hebrews) in words, it is sufficiently implied in the repeated references to Melchisedec ; and the omission itself is significant, shewing it to be the will of the Holy Ghost that the worshipper should not allow his mind to dwell upon what he *sees* in the sacrament. It is strictly to be to him an image lifting him up to the great invisible realities going on both here and in heaven.”

And what we mean is this :—As we believe, upon the assurance

of our Saviour Himself, in the real presence within our own hearts, if truly Christian, and therefore adore Him, not *in* ourselves, but *because of* His presence within ourselves, so ought we to adore Him in the Eucharist; yet not with any localisation of Him in the elements—(if we worship Him as God, as well as Man, we *cannot* so localise Him)—but *because of* His mysterious presence in the elements. He is there, indeed, but in some way consistent with the literal absence of His human nature, and with the transcendental nature of His Divinity, which simply has no reference to place at all. For the mode of His presence in the elements—(we speak with diffidence in treating such a subject, not to add, also, in criticising one like Mr. Keble)—is analogous to that of His special presence in a Christian's soul, rather than to that of the presence of His human nature in heaven. And if so, Christian adoration must take this into account: and remember also, in adoring the Saviour, that the axiom of Christian worship is the spiritual nature of the object of adoration, and that the humanity of Christ is to be worshipped only as taken up into One person with His Godhead. Now this is implied all through Mr. Keble's work. We do not think it is expressed there with sufficiently explicit prominence. And we need hardly add, that if primitive times could well spare such precautions, our own times unhappily require them, both to prevent error and also (which is more important) to prevent the truth being evil spoken of—to prevent offence.

The latter part of the treatise we read with a satisfaction not diminished by the fact that the ground for the feelings under which it was written has been swept away since its publication by the happy annihilation of the whole Denison case *ab initio*. With the Bath Judgment disappear also all the semi-legal ratifications of anti-Church doctrines whatever to which the case gave rise. And matters are now exactly as they were before Mr. Ditcher wrote his first letter on the subject. But we see in this book the bold and firm attitude which Mr. Keble was prepared to assume had matters unhappily turned out otherwise than under Providence has been the case.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST^c.

WE are not about to criticise this thoughtful, practical, and able pamphlet. We wish to do what is, perhaps, equally superfluous—to recommend its perusal most earnestly to all persons concerned in the solemn question to which it relates, and above all, to urge upon them the lesson, which we would desire it should impress upon ourselves, of reverence, humility, and Christian love. Seldom have we read any theological pamphlet more completely uniting deep and learned and fearless statements of belief, with considerate moderation and charity in the mode of stating and enforcing them. In all its contents, indeed, it is hardly necessary to say we do not acquiesce. Our already published views on such subjects, for instance, as Adoration in connection with the Eucharist, and on others also, remain what they were. But all who are compelled by their position to take any steps at all in the matter of the present unhappy controversies, and above all the Scotch Bishops and the Scotch presbyters, will do well to ponder, with prayer and deep thought, the weighty considerations which Mr. Keble has here laid before them. And we can but pray to Him in Whose hands are the destinies of His Church, to guide them to a temper akin to Mr. Keble's in dealing with the vital questions now submitted to them. On their acts, humanly speaking, depends an issue nearly touching the life of the Church, both in Scotland, and at no remote interval in England also; in determining which a false step will inevitably cripple her activity, and may tend to bring in its train another period of dry and cold indifference. May the thought be duly before their minds, now that it is still time, under Providence, to avert the evil!

 NON-COMMUNICANT ATTENDANCE AT THE HOLY COMMUNION^d.

It is now some time since an attempt was made, with a zeal somewhat disproportioned to the number and weight of its supporters, to introduce the practice into the Church of England

^c "Considerations suggested by a late Pastoral Letter on the Doctrine of the Most Holy Eucharist." By John Keble, M.A., Vicar of Hursley, and Honorary Canon of Cumbrae. *Guardian*, Aug. 11, 1858.

^d *Guardian*, Dec. 13, 1865.

of the continued presence of the non-communicant portion of the congregation through the Holy Communion itself. At first as a kind of inferior worship, to be ultimately brought to the higher standard of actual communion, but, at length, as itself the very ideal of ordinary worship, the substitution for which of a form of common prayer is held to account for the absence of reverence in English congregations—at first as a thing to be tolerated, but now as an object to be aimed at—the practice in question has been pressed with (it must be said) a recklessness of assertion, and a hardihood in condemning those who differed, in an inverse ratio (as it seems to us) to the real strength of the case itself. The legality of such attendance, or in other words the lack of power, under our present rubrics and law, to punish or to expel non-communicants so remaining, unless indeed they “behaved themselves ungodly,” is disputed, we apprehend, by no one. And if any person, in a reverent spirit, desires to remain, nobody we suppose would wish to send him away, however much they might prefer that he should do more than simply be present. Such an one, it might be said, would at least shew more signs of serious thought than those who turned their backs and went away altogether. And the letter of Mr. Molyneux, which we print elsewhere, at least puts this view of the case in the foreground (although affirming also the other), and dwells principally upon the expediency of thus training persons to become communicants. But there are many supporters of the practice who proceed upon far deeper grounds. They appear to maintain that presence at the Sacrifice, apart from participation in the Sacrament, is in itself acceptable worship, and that private prayer then offered by individuals, without any further relation to the public service going on contemporaneously, enjoys a special blessing. And while the more outspoken supporters of the practice boldly condemn the Reformers for abrogating it, the opposite and inconsistent assertion is actually ventured by less hardy reasoners, that these same Reformers sanctioned and intended its continuance. On such grounds the practice has arisen, not merely of allowing, but of endeavouring to constrain, the continued attendance of the whole congregation throughout the entire service. Now it is quite true, that in the practical belief of average members of our own Church the idea of Sacrifice has been obscured, if not lost. It is equally true that in Churches in communion with Rome the idea of the Sacrament has been similarly obscured by that of the Sacrifice.

Can any good be expected to come of an attempt to correct one error by re-introducing the other? Assuredly there is no Scriptural warrant for separating the Eucharistic Sacrifice from the participation in it. And if so, then presence without communion does not cease to be wrong because absence altogether is, or may be worse. And if we turn to primitive custom, while we cannot but express extreme astonishment at the passages from Patristic or other authorities which have been pressed by some into proof of that which many of them actually disprove, we will content ourselves with the authority of their own best witness—viz., Dr. Mill. We must affirm, with him, that the ancient liturgies “ignore” the presence of baptised and Christian persons non-communicant, although the nature of the case must apparently have necessitated the gradual growth of such a class,—that such a practice was for a while tolerated (although not apparently to the extent to which Balsamon waters down the ancient canons),—so far we must take leave to qualify Dr. Mill’s words, but that when the abuse (for such it was) became prominent, it was severely condemned. And we must call upon those who rely upon his authority, to accept also the practical conclusion which he himself founds upon it—viz., that, although (with the primitive Church) he would not have such persons excluded, yet he should “be strongly opposed, under our present circumstances,” even “to inviting their presence as non-communicants;” expressly condemning also, in the same passage, the “unauthorised” practice of “seeking through a *sight* of the elements, what is only promised to the manducation of them.”

And if from primitive and Apostolic Christianity we proceed to inquire into the mind of our own branch of the Church, there can hardly be any doubt what that mind is, save to one who is defending a foregone conclusion. Beginning at the outset of the Reformation with an effort to bring all to communicate, compromising the question in 1549 by separating non-communicants and banishing them from the quire within which all communicants were to be collected, proceeding in 1552 to bid non-communicants withdraw altogether, and severely rebuking such as stayed without communicating, our Church, finally, in 1662, when the practice of non-communicant attendance had died away, struck out the language expressly commanding withdrawal, and contented herself with indicating the point of the service at which it becomes exclusively

one for communicants alone; retaining at the same time the Article which lays down that sacraments are not "ordained to be gazed upon," and the strong language of the Homily against such "gazers," who are "not partakers," but only "beholders of others." Certainly the utmost that can be said is, that the Church of this land refrains now from expelling, while she severely condemns, such non-communicant attendants. We can but ask, then, in all soberness, those who in the face of all this are striving to introduce the practice, whether for such a forlorn hope they are prepared to weaken by yet one more controversy the great and growing Church feeling which the perilous trials of late years have so wonderfully strengthened and fostered? We see by a sensible and able pamphlet*, of which we give the title below, what the best of our laymen think of the attempt. And those who have examined the question must perceive that Mr. Hubbard's well-put statement understates the real strength of his case, and might have been expressed much more strongly in many parts of it. Are good and earnest clergymen prepared upon grounds so feeble to hinder the good works of men such as the writer of that pamphlet? It is not of the merely allowing persons to remain without communicating that we complain, but of the endeavour to compel the whole congregation to do so, and of the teaching them that such barren presence is itself anything less than a plain disobedience of a plain command of our Lord, quite as much, though not as defiantly, as the absolute withdrawal from church can be. At the outside it may be good that such presence should be allowed as a preparation to those who are intending to become communicants. Of course, if the question were one of clear and essential principle, no consideration of consequences should find place in its determination. But the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is not here in question; only a particular, and by our Church (as by Scripture and by primitive custom also) unauthorised, mode of acting upon that doctrine. We cannot but press upon those who like that mode, to refrain at least, in common prudence and consideration for others, from attempting to enforce it.

* "The Attendance of Non-Communicants at the Administration of the Holy Communion, reprinted from a Letter to the Editor of the 'Church Review.'" By J. G. Hubbard, M.P. (Masters, London.)

THE HOLY EUCHARIST^f.

MR. GOODE has disinterred from the State Paper-office a second letter of Bishop Geste's, the contents of which appear to him to neutralise the effect of that other and earlier letter recently published by Dr. Pusey and others. The case stands thus:—A section of the English divines of Queen Elizabeth's time, with the sympathy, it would appear, of the Queen herself, desired to retain higher Eucharistic doctrine in the formularies of the Church than some of their brethren approved. Of the number were Bishops Geste and Chesney; but the latter seems to have gone further than the former. In 1566 Bishop Geste writes to Cecil to explain that Chesney need not hesitate about accepting Article 28, for that he, Geste, himself had penned it, and that the word "only," in the phrase "after a heavenly and spiritual manner only," was not intended to exclude a real, but only a material Presence. This was the letter published (first published in the "Guardian," and subsequently quoted) by Dr. Pusey, who claimed, with good reason, the right to hold the article in the avowed meaning of the writer of that article himself, that writer being also a Bishop of the Church, and a member of the Convocation which had passed the article, and alleging the words of that article, and his own certainly *not* non-natural interpretation of them, five years after they had received the sanction of Convocation. Mr. Goode now publishes a subsequent letter of the same Bishop Geste, written in 1571, in which the Bishop declares the words not of the 28th, but of what is now the 29th Article, to be contrary to both Scripture and the Fathers, and urges its omission; although, when overruled, he subscribed it. And on the strength of this Mr. Goode argues, that because the 29th Article is by Bishop Geste's own testimony irreconcilable with the Bishop's view of the Presence, "*therefore*" his interpretation of the 28th is excluded also. We can but ask, in all simplicity, Why? That the Presence, antecedent to reception,—as *given, taken*, and eaten,—is after a heavenly and spiritual manner only, and that faith is the means whereby this real and spiritual Presence enters the recipient,—is *received* and eaten,—are statements which say nothing about the gift received

^f "Supplement to Mr. Goode's Work on the Eucharist, containing two Letters of Bishop Geste's (one hitherto unknown), from the State Paper-office," p. 47. (Hatchard.) *Guardian*, Aug. 11, 1858.

or not received by the wicked. They leave the question still undetermined, what becomes of the Presence if faith be *not* in the recipient? Bishop Geste, then, might continue to hold his view of the 28th Article, whatever became of the 29th. And, therefore, we must take leave to say, so may, if they please, Dr. Pusey and Arch-deacon Denison. What Mr. Goode's discovered letter really proves is, that a Bishop of the English Church, at the time the Articles were framed, held views like those of the two divines we have named, and continued to be a Bishop of the English Church, and held all along that the 28th Article was wholly agreeable to the doctrine he himself believed, but that at one time he conceived the (present) 29th Article to be inconsistent with his views, although subsequently he thought it was *not* inconsistent with them. In other words, Mr. Goode has proved effectually that the Church of England at that time allowed such views to be held, if those who held them conceived themselves able to sign the Articles, the 29th inclusive. Whether the 29th Article be or be not irreconcilable with them, is a question for those who hold such views to determine for themselves. The Church of England at that time left it to their decision, and so do we; but so does not Mr. Goode.

At the end of his pamphlet Mr. Goode makes an onslaught upon ourselves, for a review of his work inserted in our columns nearly two years ago. Our reviewer pointed to a very slipshod sentence of Mr. Goode's, to the effect that a certain well-known passage of St. Ignatius was not "*in most of the Greek MSS. of the Epistle*," but was found in the Medicean MS.,—as evidence of Mr. Goode's ignorance of Patristic lore. On this Mr. Goode joins issue. He quotes from Dr. Smith's note on the passage (evidently his own and only original authority for making it) the words "*in vulgatis Græcis codicibus*," which he has rendered, "*in most of the Greek MSS.*" Now, could Mr. Goode have thus altered Dr. Smith's words (inserting the word "*most*," and omitting the slighting epithet "*vulgatis*"), had he been aware that the one only existing or accessible Greek MS. of St. Ignatius, and the only one of any authority, is the Medicean, and that the others known at all to scholars are two in number, and are known only through the two old printed editions of 1557 and 1560, and are, moreover, confessedly interpolated and corrupted? He wished, we suppose, to discredit Dr. Pusey's quotation, as of questionable genuineness. It was surely a very odd way of attaining his end, had he really known how the case stood, to say,

This passage *is* in the one genuine MS., but is omitted in most of those which are corrupt, it being, in truth, omitted by all of the latter class, the all being two. Pearson, no doubt, mentions a third interpolated Greek MS., differing from both the genuine Medicean and from the two first known, but it does not appear that this MS. was used for any printed edition. We must reply, therefore, to Mr. Goode, that after all, his remark *is* "his own," and not "Dr. Smith's," and that it indicates a knowledge of St. Ignatius just as deep as might be possessed by one who, seeing Dr. Pusey's quotation, looked for it in Jacobson's *Patres Apostolici*, and then looked at Jacobson's quotation of Smith's note at the foot of the page. And "in what position these facts place" Mr. Goode, we "leave the reader to judge." Even in Mr. Goode's answer to us, he has contrived to display the superficiality of his knowledge. He quotes Smith, Pearson, and Bellarmine, who each speak of "*Græci Codices*;" and then adds, "*moreover*, two of the earlier editions of Ignatius were printed from two different Greek MSS., the localities of which are described by their editors." Did Mr. Goode know, or did he not, that these "two different MSS." are the identical *Græci Codices* to which his other authorities refer? We cannot suppose that he did; for, if so, his statement would be disingenuous, which we do not believe it is. But if he did not, then he cannot escape the charge of ignorance. With which dilemma we leave the subject.

We fear no words of ours will much influence Mr. Goode. Otherwise, we should like, in sober seriousness, to ask him whether the continual imputation of falsehood to his opponents in which he indulges is not rather impolitic, to say nothing of higher grounds of censure? Does he not see how large a portion of his influence Dr. Pusey owes to the significant fact that no one word of bitterness, no one angry or uncharitable imputation, ever drops from his pen, though scarcely any man ever had so much of violent and causeless provocation? Let Mr. Goode weigh this well: and remember, that there will come a time when the temper in which we have maintained our cause will assume quite as much and as vital importance, as either its abstract truth or our own mental sincerity.

DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST^ε.

MR. SCUDAMORE'S book is one which will be of permanent value, although elicited by present and passing controversy. It is based upon competent knowledge, and this upon all the very different topics which such a commentary must embrace. It is in character historical rather than argumentative. It secures itself against omissions by commenting upon each phrase, and almost each word, of the rubrics of the Service *seriatim*. And, above all, it is obviously not written in support of foregone conclusions. Mr. Scudamore, indeed, diverges very rarely into anything like pleading or rhetoric. He prefers rather to let each of the many and very various questions that arise on his subject as it were determine itself, by simply stating as fully as possible its origin and the actual facts of the case. And he does this, as it seems to us, with perfect fairness and with abundant knowledge, suppressing or misstating nothing, while writing at the same time in a tone independent of party bias, even in cases where he himself undoubtedly holds strongly to a particular view. His avowed aim is to rectify hasty and crude assertions, to unravel mistakes, and to assign its real value to each of the several practices or dogmas now so hotly disputed, by supplying the actual authorities or testimonies that either support or contravene them. And this same historical character of the book, while it certainly meets controversial needs in the way best adapted both to conciliate and to convince, gives value likewise to the work as a commentary on the Service for all times.

A mere enumeration of some of the most salient topics of the volume—written (let us add) before, not only the Bennett, but the Purchas, case was decided—will shew best both the importance of its contents and the independent nature of the conclusions at which the author arrives. If we take them as they lie in the volume itself, in the order suggested by the successive portions or rubrics of the Service itself, there is not one of the several Eucharistic controversies that are unhappily now rife within the English Church

^ε "Notitia Eucharistica: a Commentary, Explanatory, Doctrinal, and Historical, on the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper according to the Use of the Church of England, with an Appendix on the Office for the Communion of the Sick." By W. E. Scudamore, M.A., Rector of Ditchingham, and formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Rivingtons.) *Guardian*, July 3, 1872.

which does not find the materials for its right solution here put together. Other minds may, perhaps, in some cases draw conclusions from these materials different from those drawn by Mr. Scudamore. But, at least, we have fairly before us in his pages, and, in a tone free from special pleading, the facts by which each case must ultimately be decided. To say nothing of the *word* Mass, which some would revive among us, but of which Mr. Scudamore begins by telling us (truly enough) that it is in itself a purely unmeaning and inappropriate term, that has got into its present use by mere accident; omitting, however, this comparatively unimportant matter, we find evening Communion condemned, notwithstanding manifest and confessed Scriptural precedent, as contrary to primitive custom dating from sub-apostolic times, if not from St. Paul himself, and this admitted change grounded upon reverence and comparative fitness of recipients in morning and evening respectively. And this is one of the few topics upon which Mr. Scudamore permits himself to turn aside into something of personal views rhetorically urged. We find—what is new to us—that even as late as the reign of Elizabeth children were confirmed as early as even seven years old. We have, in truth, only drifted, as it were, without any formal act or change, into our present custom. And consistently with his preference for the earlier practice, Mr. Scudamore urges the propriety of Infant Communion. We find him again, on the Vestment question, at one in his facts with the well-known work of the late lamented Professor Marriott; and referring the matter to grounds, not of authority or obligation, but of abstract fitness, to be decided practically, no doubt, so as to meet present prejudices, but without sacrificing principle. Yet again, that narrow but not the less vehemently disputed battle-field—the Ornaments' Rubric—sending us (say what people may) to the rubrics of Edward's First Book, and this negatively as well as positively—does, he tells us, make cope and "vestment" (in the technical sense of the latter word) binding upon English Bishops and Priests when celebrating, to this day. Altar-lights again, except to give light, are, he holds, correctly declared to be forbidden by the present law of the English Church; but, while such prohibition is to be regretted, yet it should be remembered that the practice of using symbolical lights cannot be traced in the West higher than the time of Isidore of Seville. So also the use of incense is correctly forbidden (speaking of the actual law on the subject) as a ritual act—was, indeed, little prevalent in

England before the Reformation,—and cannot be traced for certain in the Church until after St. Augustine. The “north end” controversy is not quite so conclusively settled. The rubrics, we are rightly told, refer to a state of things when the altar stood commonly in the body of the church, and lengthwise east and west, instead of north and south. Consequently, it is impossible in the nature of the case to observe them literally now. And therefore, it is inferred, we had better do as other Churches do, and as Edward’s First Book directs—viz., stand in front “afore the midst of the altar,” which is at least as near an observance as any other position. But if the position of the Priest relatively to the people is to determine the point, surely that which is now the “north end” places him most nearly as he was, when standing in Reformation days before the then “north side.” Mr. Scudamore summarily condemns this as “most unseemly”—i.e., his feeling is in favour of the other position. Perhaps our feeling may be so too. But the question thus becomes one merely of feeling. However, he very truly reminds us, that “in itself the position of the Priest is indifferent,” and may therefore be settled by each branch of the Church for herself as she judges convenient. Let us add, in passing, that he may strike out Mallwyd certainly, and we are nearly sure Deerhurst also, from his list of churches where the “Puritanical” arrangement of the altar is still retained. Both churches, we believe, and undoubtedly the former, have been restored, and the altar rightly placed, within the last quarter of a century or thereabouts. Upon two other yet more important topics Mr. Scudamore is far more decisive. He declares—and proves—non-communicating attendance at the Holy Eucharist to be absolutely wrong, doctrinally and in principle, and to be directly contrary to primitive rule. And while desiring the restoration of the mixed chalice to our rubric, and shewing it to have been a general yet not proveably an universal custom in the primitive Church, he points out that it is demonstrably non-essential, has varied in every conceivable way in point of practice, and is not held essential even by Roman Catholics. Lastly, maintaining firmly the doctrine of a Real Spiritual Presence in the Eucharist, Mr. Scudamore joins,—with many others who nevertheless hold the doctrine apparently intended by the terms,—in condemning the employment of the words objective and subjective in relation to that doctrine, as importing needlessly into a theological question terms variously defined, and referring to a difficult and unsettled

branch of scientific terminology. Into all these, and numberless other topics, this work enters with minute detail, and abundant adducing of authorities, taken from all dates and all countries. On each of them it will be found a repertory of the weapons wherewith disputers must argue. And on each it will be found also, as far as we can judge, a fair and complete statement of *all* the evidence, whichever way it bears, stated historically, so as to indicate its real value and weight in the matter.

Mr. Scudamore, in an advertisement prefixed to the volume, expresses his deep fears for the consequences of the Purchas Judgment, delivered after his work was nearly ready for the press. He had hoped that sufficient information on the subjects of his book might lead to some modification of men's opinions, and to a right estimate of the real "indifference" (theologically speaking) of many of the current disputes. But the nature of that Judgment has made him despair of such a result. The course of things since that Judgment may perhaps a little re-assure him. And one thing at least is plain—viz., that the personal feelings of a party triumph, and the keen sense of injustice suffered, will certainly grow weaker and pass away as time goes on, while the thoughtful and learned statements of the truth which he has endeavoured to give us will only gain strength the more they are weighed and understood. Complete harmony is no doubt a Utopian dream. But the only possible result of a full, free, and honest discussion of the subject must be to bring the mass of Church-people to a substantial unity upon at least main principles. And Mr. Scudamore's learned and thorough book will prove a powerful aid in promoting and guiding such a discussion.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST^h.

THIS book is written in so devotional a tone that we are unfeignedly sorry to be obliged to find fault with it. Controversially considered, it strikes us as unfair, although, we are sure, unintentionally so. Mr. Knott distinctly intends to controvert the Eucharistic views of that school of theology amongst us which we may best indicate as represented by the late Archdeacon Wilberforce's

^h "The Supper of the Lord, with an Appendix on Transubstantiation." By John W. Knott, M.A., Vicar of St. Saviour's, Leeds, and Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. (Mozleys.) *Guardian*, April 21, 1859.

book upon the Holy Eucharist. And there are certain extreme positions which divines of this school indignantly disclaim, but which opponents affirm to be the practical, if not the logical, results of their views. Mr. Knott thinks it fair to denounce these extreme positions, and in very strong language, as though the school which he censures avowedly held them. Surely he himself will hardly, upon consideration, deem such a course right. It was quite competent for him, of course, to prove, if possible, that such untenable positions result, whether practically or logically, from the views which he dislikes, and so by a *reductio ad absurdum* to refute the views themselves. But the language he has actually used leaves him open to the disagreeable alternative of having either mistaken his opponents' views or misrepresented them. For instance, it may be very true that extreme views respecting the Presence in the Eucharist tend to obscure the completeness of the One past Sacrifice, or the truth of the Humanity of the risen Saviour, or to make the Eucharist literally, and taken in itself, a proper propitiatory sacrifice, or to substitute for a spiritual apprehension of the Gospel a mechanical *opus operatum*. And to point out either the probable or the actual connection in practice, or the necessary connection in logic, between the position controverted and the results above indicated, is a legitimate field of controversy. And such may be (we join Mr. Knott in thinking they are) desirable topics to insist upon at the present time; although it is surely much more desirable, nay rather necessary, to insist also upon positive doctrine, as well as to guard against excesses. But to denounce those results themselves, as though opponents confessedly held, while in fact they expressly disclaim them—nay, while they actually (whether rightly or wrongly) retort upon Mr. Knott's own school of doctrine as itself leading really to these very evil consequences—is as little justifiable as it is prudent. We have not read a single comment upon Mr. Knott's book by any writer of the school in question, but we cannot help thinking that the feeling with which they will have perused his remarks must be one of pure indignation at finding themselves so, in effect, misrepresented. It is true Mr. Knott does not *say* that any one in particular holds these extreme results; but we presume he does not write an elaborate treatise against a chimera. And we presume, also, that the doctrines which he confutes, and the superstitious practices or opinions which he selects for censure, are those which he imputes to the divines against whom he is arguing. And

yet we believe we might safely challenge him to produce one single writer, either of the English or of the Scotch Church, who would adopt as his own, or rather, who would not vehemently deny, the extreme views which Mr. Knott so trenchantly condemns.

We pass to Mr. Knott's own views with an equal regret at being under the necessity of criticising opinions which are put forward—crudely indeed, intellectually considered, but with a reality and a piety of tone only too rare in these, or, indeed, in any days. There is a recognition also of the truth (as we hold it, and believe the English Church to hold it) in occasional passages, which increases our reluctance to find fault with the general line of sentiment in the book. But the truth is the truth; and Mr. Knott himself can wish for nothing more than that we should speak what appears to ourselves under the guidance of the Scriptures and of the Church to be the truth, so only that we speak in love.

Mr. Knott's language is anything but precise or even consistent, and his views are not clear. Still, taking the general drift of the book, there appears to us to underlie all his arguments a very untenable assumption. He evidently thinks that gifts of grace are measured by, and consist in, the consciousness of those gifts. The sacrament is to him the most vivid method of presentation of spiritual truth to the spiritual faculty, and if he has a deeper view it is lost sight of in this. The value of the sacrament consists, he appears to think, in offering Christ to the faith more powerfully than preaching does, but (it would seem) in the same kind of way—i.e., from without, and through man's own conscious act. "Apprehension" retains something of its logical meaning in his usage of the word. And we "apprehend" Christ by becoming mentally certain of our individual acceptance with Him. And such "apprehension" is what the sacrament gives. We should be sorry to misunderstand Mr. Knott; and we admit that he scatters up and down sentences which indicate an uneasy effort to free himself from such a view as this; but such appears to be the view upon which all his arguments are built. Now surely there is a very subtle Pelagianism in this extreme subjectivity of doctrine. Does Mr. Knott mean to identify the actual work of God's grace with our mental apprehension of it? The doctrine (so to call it) is a common one. There is a large school of English theology which piques itself upon the stress which it lays upon grace, and which yet virtually resolves that grace into the subjective feelings of the receiver of it. And

Mr. Knott strikes us as differing from this school—which abhors Pelagius in words, but sympathises with him in fact—only in substituting for feelings or experiences generally the one feeling of personal acceptance. Now grace, we venture to think, works upon the souls of Christians after a mode of its own which we can in no degree measure or analyse, and of which we need not be directly conscious. If grace, indeed, be in our hearts, we shall very quickly *become* conscious of its presence—by its fruits. But to resolve the work of grace, and especially of that which is the chief means of grace, into the faith of the receiver powerfully apprehending Christ—i.e., by a conscious mental act realising his own acceptance by Christ, is open to a double censure. It makes grace, in truth, not a gift of God, but an act of man; and it singles out the turning of the eye of the mind upon self, which surely is *not* uppermost in the believer's thoughts when in his highest spiritual state, as the one measure of grace. We object, then, to the general tone of Mr. Knott's doctrine upon two grounds. It impairs the truth of the influence of grace itself; and of the various fruits of grace it makes highest and first that which really should come lowest and second.

The effects of this erroneous view extend at once to Mr. Knott's view of the Sacrament of the Eucharist itself. Take the following words by themselves, and few would ask anything more in the way of concession on the subject of the Eucharistic Presence. "There can be no question," says Mr. Knott, "but that τὸ νοητὸν, the spiritual reality in the Lord's Supper, is the Lord Himself in the whole truth of His Person, Body, Soul, and Godhead. The doctrine of Transubstantiation is but the carnalising of this deep spiritual truth. The Lord is the Substance, the elements of bread and wine are shadows, and as it were 'accidents;' that is, they are simply means to the spiritual end of the Sacrament, which is to present Christ to the soul. After consecration, remaining physically what they were before it, they receive from the Holy Spirit efficacy to present the Lord's Body and Blood as given and shed for us." Most true. And who, in the English Church, asks for more than this, if it be taken in the natural meaning of the words? But then mark the ambiguity of the word "present." And mark, also, the terms in which Mr. Knott continues his statement. To "present," in Mr. Knott's mind, does not mean to be the means of actual vital union between Christ and the soul—to give effectually, supposing the receiver capable of re-

ceiving. It means nothing more than so to bring before the receiver's mind as to call forth there a vivid spiritual sensation. The bread and wine, Mr. Knott goes on to say, "are *figures*, on which the believer's mind does not rest, but *through* which it passes on to the realities which they signify, and to the end of all, which is the Lord Jesus Himself, the True Substance." And then he proceeds to compare them to the words of a preacher, as though the modes in which Christ is presented or offered by the sacrament and by preaching respectively, were the same in kind, and differed only in degree. In other words, he simply ignores the distinctive character which makes a sacrament to be a sacrament.

There is much the same kind of confusion and illogical argument in Mr. Knott's argument about the Eucharistic sacrifice. We cannot, he says, know we are accepted if we place the ground of our acceptance upon anything of our own creation; nay, such an error is mere idolatry. Most true: although we should have preferred to write "we cannot *be* accepted," rather than, "we cannot *know* our acceptance." But what argument can possibly be grounded upon this against the doctrine of a sacrifice in the Eucharist? Does Mr. Knott mean that the assertion of a *proper* propitiatory offering in the Eucharist is a mere creation of human speculation? We think with him that it is so, if the word *proper* be intended to express any literal repetition of the One past Sacrifice. But whether this be so or not in regard to the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice is the very point in dispute. And of Mr. Knott's words, "reiteration, filling up, extension," the two former would be repudiated, and the last explained into something harmless, by the very persons he is condemning.

We gladly recognise, indeed, in other parts of the book, a more true and full account both of the Presence in the Eucharist and of grace itself in general. We read in a later page that "God works in us by the *secret* inspirations of the Holy Ghost," and that "He *inwardly draws* us to a resemblance in heart and life to that glory and loveliness which He presents to our minds." And in p. 42 we find a very true account of the "*virtual* Presence" everywhere of the Manhood of the Lord; and a further statement that "this virtual Presence is *not* identical with the sacramental Presence of the Lord, nor with that more general Presence which He promises whenever two or three are gathered together in His name, nor with that Presence whereby He is with His Church always unto the end

of the world, nor with that whereby His Word preached presents Him, nor with that whereby He dwells in our hearts by faith :” and that “all these are modes of His Presence of a more special kind than the former virtual Presence ; and one may distinguish them from it, without attempting to discriminate them more particularly from one another, by saying generally that in all these kinds of His Presence the Lord is present by the special power and operation of the Holy Ghost.” Taken apart, then, from the general tone of the book, and putting our own meaning upon Mr. Knott’s words, his purely doctrinal statements about the Presence might be made to harmonise, as far as we see, with the views we should ourselves hold to be those of the English Church ; although we would do so without excluding others who hold more than we ourselves do. There is, indeed, a lack of precision about them, and a safe confining of censure to extreme doctrines which really all alike condemn. And there is an equivocal ambiguity of phrase in the way in which they are stated, which leaves an uncertain vagueness about them. But at least we fancy we might pick out words tolerably expressive of orthodoxy. Our great complaint is, that the whole stress of Mr. Knott’s teaching is thrown upon the one subjective side of man’s own spiritual feelings, and of them, upon the one feeling above others of personal acceptance ; and that the gift of grace in the sacrament is made subordinate to, if not resolved into, these subjective states of the man himself.

CAN WE BELIEVE IN MIRACLES¹?

How can I possibly believe in a miracle in past time, when, in common with all reasonable men, I should unhesitatingly disbelieve a miracle now ? We need not complicate the matter by adding the questions about ecclesiastical miracles, or (still less) about such as occur in profane history, although the answer to the general question must needs provide for, or harmonise with, the answer to these also : as Mr. Warington’s certainly does. But limiting ourselves to Scripture miracles, the question we have started with is no doubt one that is pressing hard upon many a mind at the present

¹ “Can we Believe in Miracles?” By George Warington, Caius College, Cambridge ; Author of “The Week of Creation,” &c. (Christian Evidence Committee of S.P.C.K.) *Guardian*, March 6, 1872.

time. Mr. Warington's reply to it is (as, indeed, it ought to be) substantially the same with that of other and able thinkers, who have written in defence of the faith. But the argument has seldom been put in so compact, complete, and conclusive a form, or reasoned out with such scrupulous care to keep within the limits of indisputable premisses, and to assume not one iota beyond what the most rigorous opponent cannot possibly help admitting. Briefly that reply is, that, given the same conditions, purpose, character, and evidence, with Scriptural miracles, and, all reasonable men, so far from refusing to believe a miracle now, would undoubtedly believe it. Dean Lyall, for example, has stated this argument forcibly in a supposed case about Queen Elizabeth. Scripture miracles are not purposeless, or isolated, or grotesque marvels. They are parts of a great scheme of revelation of religious truth, which is in itself credible; and they purport to be the work of One Whose agency in producing them is only analogous in kind, though not in degree, in the case of most although not all miracles, to the agency of man himself, in the combining and directing of natural forces: nay more, Who, if He exists (and His existence is part of the alleged miracle itself, and must be taken into account in estimating its *à priori* credibility), is as capable of directing His work in nature in one direction at one time, as He is of doing so ordinarily in another. Believe in God, and there is no further antecedent difficulty about Scripture miracles. And, therefore, take the whole case of Scripture miracles together, and a clear stage is left for that which is their proper proof—viz., testimony. For Mr. Warington's argument is strictly a preliminary one. He does not aim at proving that the miracles actually happened, but that, upon the profoundest and widest shewing of human reason and knowledge, they *might* have happened. And thus he leaves the field clear for the historical proof that they did.

The answer to Hume's well-known paradox strikes us as put in the clearest and most convincing way we have ever chanced to see. And there are also one or two ingenious cases of Scripture exegesis incidentally introduced—e. g., in relation to the miracle of the sun and moon standing still, and in relation to the history of Jonah. It is impossible, however, we fear, to accept Mr. Warington's interpretation of the former (hardly that of the latter) case,—since the third of the words applied, as he correctly says, to the sun, means *in the only other passage where it is applied to the sun* (viz.

in Gen. xv.) not to continue in the heavens, but to set. And Mr. Warington's idea is, that the miracle was one, not of prolonged light, but of prolonged darkness, caused probably by clouds.

One general remark, however, we have to make, upon a part of Mr. Warington's case. And the attempts at explaining the two miracles just referred to are cases in point. His language, at first sight, seems to limit the power of God in working miracles, or rather in working such miracles as can be *à priori* believed, to the mere superadding of a special supernatural cause to natural causes; in-somuch that a miracle, in which "some force or matter known to be at work could be shewn to have acted contrary to the laws and properties universally valid for it elsewhere," would be simply incredible, be the evidence what it might. And this language looks, at first sight, as though it restricted miraculous agency to the simple collocation supernaturally brought about of natural forces, together with an additional force indeed, but one not interfering with or suspending the ordinary action of the natural agents involved in it. Yet one does not see why it should be incredible that God, whose continual power keeps these natural forces in being at all, should for once suspend, or even reverse their action. No doubt the agency of man in putting together unchanged natural agents in certain collocations, and thereby producing such marvels as the telegraph or the steam-engine, is analogous to a very large part of God's dealings in providence, or at the least helps us greatly to the comprehension and acceptance of those dealings. But it must not be allowed to limit our conception of them, and tie it down to such narrow boundaries. Mr. Warington, however, probably means no more than this—that if, apart from a supernatural force holding it back, we were required to believe that a natural agent *acting by itself* had acted exactly contrary to its well-known ordinary properties, then such a statement would be incredible: as certainly it would. But we are bound to say that there appear indications in the volume of a wish and endeavour to explain *all* particular miracles as simply results of the collocation of unchanged natural agents, together with an additional supernatural force, bringing about such collocation, but no more. And if we are right in this supposition, then it must be said that this is a weak point in a book otherwise and as a whole of singular power, and of as remarkable fairness.

ON MIRACLES^k.

THE question of the antecedent probability of miracles is one largely dependent upon the mode in which it is stated. An isolated prodigy, professing no purpose, leading to no results, connected with no doctrine, in a word, at once (to our view) unaccountable and useless, presents itself to the spectator burdened with a marked and heavy weight of improbability. The presumption is in such a case immense, that the miracle (so to call it) is only so relatively to our own ignorance; and that the facts are either not correctly observed, or, if they are, are instances of some yet unknown law, and therefore in truth no miracle at all. The probabilities of a case, however, must in fairness be judged upon the whole statement of that case. And upon the religious hypothesis, miracles assume a very different aspect. In truth, it is not too much to say, that to a vivid faith the expectation of miracles would be not only natural, but even lively enough to be almost embarrassing, were it not checked and sobered both by the nature of the religion believed, and by the experience which is diffused as the result of extensive scientific knowledge, and by the very evidential purpose itself of miracles, which would be defeated by frequency. A miracle, given as the credential of a revelation, comes with an adequate cause and a sufficient motive, and clashes with instinct and prejudice, no doubt, but with no intellectual first principle that will bear examination. If there is a supernatural world, wherewith we have, or may have, to do,—if there is a personal God, distinct from, but omnipotent over His own creation,—if there is occasion and need for special communications from God to man,—then there can be no more room for wonder that the personal will of God should, on occasion, like the personal will of men, manifest itself, from time to time, as a special power, interfering with the ordinary course of nature;—then there can be no contradiction, in a miracle, of the laws of nature in the larger and truer sense of the word, for nature in that sense includes the supernatural;—then transcendentalism, which is

^k "Eight Lectures on Miracles, preached before the University of Oxford in the year MDCCCLXV. on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury." By J. B. Mozley, B.D., Vicar of Old Shoreham, late Fellow of Magdalen College. (Rivingtons.) *Guardian*, Jan. 24, 1866.

so far true in that it recognises a higher side to the Divine Personality, must leave room, nevertheless, for the possibility of personal actions in Him who is still personal;—then there is a reason for expecting miracles at given times and in reference to some sets of circumstances, for the Invisible God fitly makes His presence evident by visible signs, and the message which He sends is a sufficiently weighty message to justify and explain such signs, whilst in its very nature it requires them;—then, lastly, the testimony of witnesses to miracles becomes, or may become, the testimony, not of enthusiasts projecting their own unsifted fancies into an imaginary reality, but of sober and rational people observing facts upon a reasonable theory. The man who feels that God is close beside him, hidden only by a thin veil from his sight, and standing to him moreover in the closest of moral relations, will be more apt to believe too many miracles, and too easily, than to be sceptical about them.

Of course, such a view as this requires to be cleared from the suspicion of being a vicious circle—an inferring of the existence of a supernatural Person from supernatural acts, which acts themselves are only credible upon the assumption of a supernatural Person already made. But this, even if true, would merely shift the position of miracles as a religious evidence. It would make them come in, upon the assumption of natural religion, as evidence, not of the being of God, but of His communications to man. They would be an answer to the Deist, not to the Atheist. And this is, in effect, Mr. Mozley's reply in the volume we have to notice, when he argues, and argues conclusively, that we believe in the Personality of God upon other grounds than miracles, and so believing, come to the question of miracles on the ground of such belief already established. But even apart from this, the antecedent probability of miracles must in fairness be discussed upon the assumption of what miracles profess to be, not upon that of their being what they do not profess to be. The abstract question must relate to miracles on the religious hypothesis, not the atheistical. The sceptic has no right to fasten upon believers a difficulty of his own making by assuming his own case. Moreover, the moral element in the argument of miracles has yet to be taken into consideration. And it is an aspect of the subject upon which Mr. Mozley has also, and rightly, dwelt. That a given series of miracles is blended with a revelation which forms the corner-stone of a mar-

vellous moral regeneration of mankind, which calls into living activity the deepest principles of human nature previously distorted or obscured, which has set the whole philosophy of man upon a new and profound basis, is surely a most important element in estimating the probability of miracles themselves. The nature of the message reacts upon the credibility of the messenger. Such a message, as it could not have come from any other than God, so is at least worthy of a special Divine ambassador equipped with singular and Divine credentials.

The value of Mr. Mozley's lectures turns mainly upon the prominence given by them to this fair and true view of miracles as Christian evidences. Miracles as required by a revelation for its appropriate and indispensable and reasonable credential,—as natural when held to be the medium of communication between a supernatural world and mankind,—as the acts of a Divine Person, not contradicting natural laws by anything approaching even most distantly to the nature of a logical contradiction, but simply counteracting them in particular cases just as a man counteracts the law of gravity by the act of his will in lifting his foot,—as inconceivable again only in the same manner in which all physical facts are inconceivable—viz., in the mode of their production, not in the thing done itself;—such is the aspect of miracles, under which Mr. Mozley undertakes to deal with the antecedent presumptions for or against them. He does not discuss their evidential value when once established, except indirectly and incidentally; neither does he deal with the nature and claims of the historical evidence *à posteriori* to their actual occurrence; but with that which (as he truly states) the present current of men's thoughts chiefly impugns, their antecedent probability. Taken as evidence of a revelation, and as professing to be acts of a Personal God conveying or sealing that revelation, are we precluded from accepting them, prior to any inquiry into actual testimony, by the results of physical science, by historical experience according to its true *rationale*, by fitting conceptions of the attributes of God, by any inherent impossibility of adequate testimony for that which miracles are, by the existence of false miracles? Such are the questions which Mr. Mozley answers in a closely and powerfully reasoned series of argumentative discourses.

There is no particular order of connection between the several lectures. Each of them is a whole by itself, and discusses one

special class of adverse presumptions. Without attempting to analyse the entire book, we may, perhaps, best convey an idea of its contents and of its merits by confining ourselves to one or two of the essays which compose it.

The second of the lectures, taken with the dissection of Mr. Mill's views contained in the notes, goes to the root of one of the most popular fallacies on the subject. It deals with the "inductive principle," or the "order of nature," or whatever other words will fitly describe the view which made such sad havoc with Professor Baden Powell's faith: and in doing so, is led, of course, to analyse the nature of induction, and to traverse the ground already covered by Mr. Mill's logical speculations. Now we certainly cannot understand how the widest and the profoundest discovery of the extension of the dominion of law (so to call it) over physical phenomena can exclude a miracle *à priori* from being possible; unless—what no one can pretend—it could elevate such law to the nature of a self-evident axiom of the reason. So far Mr. Mozley's answer, expressed and backed by a happy quotation from David Hume, is conclusive. To suppose that the sun will not rise to-morrow, or will rise later than it should, or will in any way vary from precedent, is not, and cannot be made, inconceivable, in the same sense as it is inconceivable that two and two will then be found to make five. All the result of a widely-extended knowledge of physical law amounts to this and no more,—that we unhesitatingly expect the same phenomena under the same circumstances; *unless* we have reason to expect also the addition of a new causal fact, or in other words that the circumstances will *not* be really the same; and then we shall expect a variation in the phenomena. Now a miracle presents that additional causal fact, in the action of God, working special signs for a special purpose. Mr. Mozley has brought out with great force the real import of the inductive principle—that it consists of the double process, first of observing what *has been* the case, and then of leaping by an instinctive but not a reasoning impulse, to the assumption that the same *will* be the case. And he exposes powerfully Mr. Mill's fallacious investing of the latter step with the character of necessary truth. He does not seem to us to have clenched his argument, as he surely might have done, by pointing out that the same inductive principle or order of nature actually leaves room for miracles, whenever there is reason to expect mira-

cles; inasmuch as the very same principle, which expects similar results under similar circumstances, expects also, by the very force of the terms, different results under different circumstances. If there is a case for Divine interference, then there is reason to expect the presence of a new cause, and therefore the occurrence of a new result. All that is necessary to be shewn in order to the argument is simply, that we have no right to mean by a law of nature, more than a certain unvarying sequence, as a matter of fact, of particular phenomena, which we expect to recur so long as circumstances are unchanged, but with respect to which circumstances *may* change for aught we know,—it would shock no principle of our reason whatever if they did,—and then they would not recur.

Mr. Mozley's argument, then, is, that the expectation of this sameness of nature is an instinct, not a law, which does not render a variation in that sameness impossible, but only prevents us from looking for it *unless* we have reason to do so: an expectation which is perfectly consistent with the admission of the existence and activity from time to time of the personal will and action of men, producing a variation in what would otherwise have been the course of nature, and which is therefore equally consistent with a like personal will and action of God. The argument is unanswerable. Yet Mr. Mozley does not seem to us to have made enough of the real force of the presumption, against the necessary nature of which he so ably contends. He calls it an unreasoning instinct, and dwells upon its being common to brutes as well as men. May it not be said to be a principle of reason, that like causes have like effects?—And if so, then the presumption in question will run thus—that *if* the antecedents remain the same, then the consequents in the cases of all natural phenomena will remain the same likewise. And so stated, that presumption will naturally be, as it actually has been, enormously increased by every additional step of discovery, widening the circle of observed orderly sequence in nature. We shall then reasonably believe, with Mr. Mill, that things *will be* as they *have been*, with only the important addition—unless we have reason to expect a change.

Mr. Mozley assumes also,—he has a perfect right to assume it, as belonging to a different topic from his own,—the freedom of man's personal actions. His "order of nature" is confined to physical nature, and does not take cognizance of the alleged statistical and

other fetters which some have attempted to fasten upon human actions. Yet, of course, if human freedom were indeed only a semblance of freedom, which wears the appearance of freedom from law merely as the weather wears it—viz., through our own unavoidable ignorance of the antecedents of each case, then Divine freedom likewise loses its one impregnable proof, that derived from our consciousness of our own freedom; and with the impossibility of Divine freedom, miracles, which are the personal actions of God, would become impossible as well. But this belongs rather to the Theistic argument, founded upon the absolute perfections of God. It assumes a miracle to be impossible, because the operations of the Deity must needs be the unchangeable development and fixed course of an absolutely perfect chain of causation. And Mr. Mozley does not treat this branch of the subject at length and in detail.

The third lecture is one of great value likewise. It deals with the influence of imagination on belief. Mr. Mozley thinks, with considerable reason, that among the special causes of disbelief in the supernatural at present prevailing, the historical imagination must count as one of the most powerful. Undoubtedly men do realise history now, in a way strangely yet undeniably and immeasurably more vivid than our forefathers ever dreamed of. Historians used to write, and men in general used to think, of past generations of men, as if they had been, not flesh and blood actuated by the real and complicated forces that do act upon flesh and blood, but like figures painted on a stage scene, that have but one superficial attitude, which is the same and no more let the spectator place himself where he will. Things now are unspeakably altered, and we deal with the past with a vivid reproduction of it, so far as our sources of knowledge go, as it really was. Now obviously the fallacy is a ready one, that infers from reasonable unbelief in the supernatural *now* (so far as it *is* reasonable) a like reasonable unbelief in the supernatural *then*. M. Rénan, for instance, among other causes of his unbelief, has literally been moved most powerfully by that which in a believer would kindle the warmest emotions of a living faith. The actual scenes of the Life of our Saviour have lent such vitality to his own anti-supernatural *rationale* of that life, as to crush out his belief in its being supernatural at all. And in the same way it is a real temptation to unbelief, when ordinary men who have been accustomed to think of our Lord without any deliberate reference to the standard of their own ordinary practical

beliefs, happen to be brought to realise to themselves the actual and material circumstances of that which, while it was a doctrine only, remained in their minds unrealised and *therefore* believed (if such an attitude of mind can be called belief). Mr. Mozley truly points out, and it is one of the most valuable portions of his book, that all this is in truth a fallacy of the imagination. It does not follow, that because we do not expect miracles now, therefore we have no right to believe in them then, when they profess to have been wrought. It only *seems* to follow, because we transfer in imagination our canons of belief for present events to circumstances which professedly differed from present events. Disbelief in a miracle now may indeed well be groundless. There may be cases in which we ought to believe it. But even if it be not, we have no right to exclude important and material characteristics from the circumstances under which the miracles of Scripture are described as having been wrought, upon the mere ground that those characteristics do not form part of the conditions under which we judge of what is present. Yet no fallacy certainly operates more forcibly in the matter than the thought, that people don't believe miracles now, and that their unbelief is the result of a cultivated reason, and, *therefore*, why believe those of past time? A large and increasing portion of Scripture narrative has been referred, not altogether untruly, to human causes. History has been analysed, and a *rationale* of events constructed upon principles not supernatural. And men leap to the conclusion that history then is, after all, only what history is now, save that we do not so plainly see its real springs and causes. Now, certainly, if the attempt to elaborate the human side of the Bible has been of late largely made, and with the good result on the whole of making Bible history more *vividly* real to us, the attempt on the other hand to eliminate the continuous supernatural element blended throughout with the texture and with every detail of that history has been an equally signal failure. And they, therefore, who would deal with Bible history as with any other history, if they do so unconsciously, are simply carried away by a fiction of their imagination, assuming things to be like that are really unlike; if consciously, are omitting the most material feature in the whole case which they profess to criticise.

We cannot go through the other lectures in detail. That which deals with "testimony" strikes us as one of the most powerful: that upon "false miracles," as perhaps the least so. The latter is

an apt instance of a mode of reasoning which is a favourite one with Mr. Mozley. He loves to deal with arguments as if they were physical forces or mathematical quantities. There is so much probability one way, so much the other: subtract, and yield to the difference. An argument has a certain weight, but counter considerations make it nugatory in certain cases: in other cases, the argument remains as it was. Surely it might sometimes be answered, that if a line of reasoning is proved to be inconclusive in this or that case, it loses its force in all cases, until a difference is established, affecting the reasoning, between the specified cases and others. Now, the difficulty about false miracles is, we suppose, this—that a certain amount and kind of evidence establishes both Scripture miracles and ecclesiastical ones, but the latter are false, therefore that amount and kind of evidence is worthless to establish the former also. To this there are obviously two answers possible: either that ecclesiastical miracles are true, or that the nature of Scripture miracles, with the evidence for them, one or both, differs from the nature and evidence of ecclesiastical ones. The subject of Mr. Mozley's work confines him of course to the consideration of the different nature of the two classes of miracles in themselves. Whether ecclesiastical miracles be false or true, and antecedently to any comparison of evidence, Scripture miracles are in themselves of a distinct character from all others, and are relieved accordingly from the burden of many and heavy presumptions which lie against the ecclesiastical class. There may be, then (let it be allowed for argument's sake), an equal quantity of evidence for each class, but it encounters different amounts of counter argument, and therefore may be valid in the one case, even if invalid in the other. Now, in the particular case this statement appears to be sound and just. Of course, we reserve the further plea, that some ecclesiastical miracles are true. But this apart, it is quite possible to make out a sufficient case for believing the one without believing the other class. Only, it does not go home to our minds to make it a case of different quantities. We should prefer to say, that it is only the very strongest and profoundest of *à priori* difficulties that can outweigh really well-sifted testimony; and that the difference made by the bulk of such considerations as Mr. Mozley urges is not one in the argumentative ground of belief, but in the easiness or the reverse wherewith we are able to accept that belief. Give us good evidence, and we should be

bound to accept ecclesiastical miracles in spite of these considerations. Their absence, therefore, in the case of Scripture miracles, only makes room for the full weight of *their* evidence in our imaginations, and makes it less difficult to believe them.

Both in this, however, and in the other lectures, what we have said amounts to little more than a criticism upon the method of stating the argument, rather than upon the argument itself. Of the lectures as a whole, hard and able ratiocination is the chief characteristic. In each, Mr. Mozley's work will be found to be as close in the texture of its reasoning as if it were a veritable piece of machinery. Each link draws the reader on with unrelenting power, until the conclusion is reached. Rhetoric, or what is called eloquence, they certainly do not arrive at. But as dealing conclusively, and with a masterly grasp of the bearings of the argument, with the great problem of the day in one of the most obvious of its aspects,—with the temper that denies the supernatural, and therefore holds miracles upon rational grounds inconceivable,—the book is a specimen of reasoning worthy of the University before which it was preached, and of the *prestige* of the foundation whose name it bears. We have had prosy Bampton Lectures, and we have had some that were very good sermons and nothing more, and we have had also a fair proportion, under the circumstances, of original and profound works, which will take their place out of the official series that lives on college book-shelves, and which belong to our theological literature. The narrowness of its subject is the only drawback to our reckoning this work among the latter class. And yet that narrowness is not such but that it is in contact with many broad and profound subjects. The logician may learn by it something of induction, and the Church historian may find rules and measures to help him in dealing with ecclesiastical miracles, and the speculator in Theistic subjects may gather much to adjust his thoughts upon the relation of God to physical nature: while upon the proper aim of the book itself, its argument is, not perhaps one to be popular, but possessed in no small degree of that which is the special merit of an argument, conclusiveness.

ON NATURE AND GRACE¹.

DR. WARD (as we presume he would desire to be designated) aims at rivalling mediæval scholastics, or the Jesuits of the Suarez order. A *Summa* adapted to modern times, and nothing less, would appear to satisfy him. As honest reviewers, we regret to feel obliged to express our opinion, that, in spite of his marvellous cleverness, he does not possess either the metaphysical acumen to grapple with such subjects, or the clearness of thought which could make his views tell upon others, or (will he forgive our saying so outright?) the power of expressing them in lucid or vigorous English. The task is really a painful one, of following his meaning through the involved verbiage in which it is too often hidden. And we do not feel ourselves in the hands of a master of his craft, when that task is accomplished. Butler indeed, and Aristotle, and Dr. Newman's anti-Romanist writings, have inspired a large portion of what is valuable in the book. Dr. Ward has added from his own stores a considerable amount of sensible and mostly sound disquisition about the principles of ethics, diluted over a great number of pages, and varied with a great deal of discursive talk, chiefly directed against "Protestants." Very much of the rest of the book, we must fairly say, is made up of a metaphysical speculation very feebly conducted, and of elaborate quotations from authorised Roman Catholic writers, intended to prove the orthodoxy of Dr. Ward's sentiments.

Apart from its philosophy, there are some polemical statements in the book, which, we must plainly say, would be offensive were they not absurd. Dr. Ward appears to live in that happy dreamland in which Roman Catholic converts contrive usually to fancy themselves. He believes himself to have in his Romanism the clue to all difficulties, and to be, as it were, raised on a lofty mountain-top, far above the clouds that shroud the view of the less fortunate non-Romanist dwellers in the lower ground. And accordingly there is much in his volume of that assumption of knowing all about it by reason of being a "Catholic," which provokes an involuntary smile

¹ "On Nature and Grace; a Theological Treatise. Book I. Philosophical Introduction." By William George Ward, D.Ph., late Lecturer in Dogmatic Theology at St. Edmund's Seminary, Herts. (Burns and Lambert.) *Guardian*, Oct. 31, 1860.

on the part of us less-favoured speculators. But when Dr. Ward goes on to bring heavy accusations against those who do not agree with his religious views, the smile must be exchanged for a different expression. And when those accusations literally take the form of affirming "Protestants," indiscriminately, and as contrasted with Roman Catholics, to believe only in an abstraction and not in a personal God at all, the only thing to be said is to remind Dr. Ward that at any rate the *Ninth* Commandment (according to "Protestant" reckoning) is still recognised by Papal authority, and therefore we presume binding upon himself.

There are two philosophical positions which Dr. Ward's labours are especially directed to establish; what he calls the principle of Moral Certitude, and the doctrine that moral truth, while it depends upon the Divine Nature, is not to be resolved simply into the arbitrary dictate of the Divine will. In the latter, it need hardly be said, he has the hearty sympathy of all reasonable Christian men who understand their own words. Our only surprise is to learn, that the opposite doctrine, that attributed to Occham, and subsequently to Calvin, is so current among Roman Catholics as to render it necessary for Dr. Ward to marshal an elaborate array of testimonies to the contrary, lest he himself should be deemed unorthodox for asserting the truth. With respect to the former,—touching which he has paid us the compliment of arraigning a passing word of our own in honourable company with Mr. Mansel and Mr. Mill,—it certainly appears to us that Dr. Ward both misjudges ourselves, and misapprehends the question. If we ought to be sceptics, as he affirms, at least we are not so: and that, irrespectively of "revelation," which he so strangely drags into the question. Assuredly, were we in Dr. Ward's presence, we should believe in our senses as testifying the objective reality of that presence. And assuredly, too, we believe our memories, as representing to us the image of that presence—no easy one indeed, if Dr. Ward will pardon our saying so, for any one to forget who has enjoyed the pleasure, in Wardian language, of once "intuing" it. Even were we heathens, as Dr. Ward in effect calls us, we should still retain this belief. And whatever may be said of our humble selves, certainly to accuse Mr. Mansel of disbelief in ontology, when that philosopher has actually sketched out and published a complete treatise wherein the reality of our beliefs is set forth in detail and with its right limits, is simply preposterous. The truth is, as regards Mr. Mansel, that

Dr. Ward confounds the assertion of the finite nature of our cognitions of all sorts, with the denial of the veracity of those cognitions. He seems to think that a man disbelieves the existence—e.g., of the soul, because he declares the utter inadequacy of the conception of soul in his own mind, either to exhaust the attributes, or literally to image forth the essence, of the soul itself. But it may be said, if we once concede the fact of dissimilarity or of resemblance by analogy only or of disparity in any way between the object conceived and the subjective conception, who or what is to mark the limit of that disparity? And yet, unmarked, our knowledge will be as effectually destroyed, as by the absolute denial of all truth in it whatsoever. If our conceptions are confessed to be speculatively inadequate, who is to pronounce that they are, and how far they are, practically true? Now, into this question, so far as we know, Mr. Mansel does not anywhere enter at length. But neither does Dr. Ward himself discuss it, except to mention and set aside another person's solution of it. Yet Mr. Mansel does repeatedly affirm his unhesitating belief in the practical truth of human consciousness. And so, but no more, does Dr. Ward. The latter *affirms* that "some" intuitions, or "intuems," as he seems afterwards to prefer calling them, carry with them their own evidence. But he gives us no test, except those of a writer whom he himself sets aside, by which to distinguish the true from the false "intuems," and no other proof of his position whatever, beyond the naked assertion that it is so, and the *argumentum ad hominem*, that no one is a consistent sceptic, and the argument from consequences, that to deny it would lead to scepticism. Wherein, then, has he a right to censure Mr. Mansel, who has done as much as himself? However, a sentence or two of Mr. Mansel's appear to supply a passing answer to the question. And interpreting these by a few words of our own—a process of which surely Mr. Mansel has a right to complain—Dr. Ward assails us both, as holding principles which involve scepticism. He will not allow the veracity of our faculties, for practical purposes, to rest upon any antecedent belief in the goodness and truth of the Creator; because this belief must itself be based upon these very faculties. But is it not quite possible, that *some* of our faculties may give us evidence of outward realities, although others by themselves do not? And if so, may not the evidence of the former be legitimately taken, if it will bear the burden, as evidence to the veracity of the latter? Our powers of locomotion reveal to us with a special clearness of

evidence the existence of a real outward world, to which our senses bear only equivocal testimony. May not those facts of our consciousness, which indicate the being and the holiness of God, stand out in the same way above other classes of intuitions? And if so, what becomes of the alleged arguing in a circle here laid to our charge and to Mr. Mansel's? The truth is, that many reasons might be alleged for a practical belief in our faculties. The actual proof from experience, that our senses, while "speculatively false," are practically true, is a very valid argument for the assumption of a similar kind and degree of veracity in our other faculties. The utter inability of any man to escape such belief, up to a similar point, supplies another argument. And another may be found in our personal and moral relations to other men, based as those relations are upon truths that run up into insoluble mysteries, which yet supply an indisputable basis for most practical realities. But to a religious mind, the argument we alleged seems to us still among the strongest: although we must remind Dr. Ward that "revelation" is not needed in order to its validity, and that his mode of stating Mr. Mansel's supposed argument is consequently unfair. He must permit us, in conclusion, to refer him to an authority which he of all men must allow—to Dr. Newman's ante-Romanist writings, as quoted in the end of Mr. Mansel's Preface to the third edition of the Bampton Lectures.

We cannot pass unnoticed the deliberate and, to say the least, cool assertion, twice repeated in the book, that "no Catholic moralist" ever sanctioned lying! We wonder Dr. Ward's very ink did not blush red while writing such a statement.

And to end in good humour, who but Dr. Ward himself could ever have thought of such an instance to exemplify a "moral impossibility," as that of the lazy man, well off, and not miserly, going ten miles in two hours for a half-crown wager! Did not his pupils receive the illustration with such amount of decorous smile as the discipline at St. Edmund's College would allow?

ON ACCEPTANCE WITH GOD^m.

THAT good conditioned by the existence of evil is the highest and only conception of good attainable by human reason : that holiness in a Being who is by His nature incapable of sin, is unintelligible to man, although his thoughts necessarily run upwards to a belief in the existence of such holiness : that moral perfection is *per se* inconceivable, much in the same way as the asymptotes of an hyperbola or the relations of a mathematical quantity raised to infinity are inconceivable ;—such are in effect the admissions of Dr. Ryder himself, applied by him, as by many before him (though Dr. Ryder strangely ignores them), to a purpose which they only half answer—viz., as an explanation, which he seems to consider more complete than it is, of the existence of evil at all. That they qualify and mitigate the difficulties of that terrible problem may be readily admitted. We cannot think they remove them : any more than does Dr. Ryder's other suggestion, of our inability to conceive how anything finite, good or evil alike, could proceed from the Infinite. The broad fact of the existence of evil within His world who is at once Good and Omnipotent, remains still unexplained. But there is meanwhile another result to which these admissions certainly do lead—viz., the palpable inconsistency of the reasoner who makes them, and yet whose book is largely employed, sometimes with great acuteness, in denouncing Professor Mansel's well-known doctrine on the subject. In truth, there is a great deal too much of mere logomachy in the fierce discussions to which this subject has given rise. And Dr. Ryder, while hunting down the *παρεκβάσεις* of the other side of the truth in question, forgets those which attend upon his own side of it. Without disputing here, however, *who* has said *what*, surely two things are manifest, and must be admitted by both sides : the one, that to call God just or merciful without a meaning in the words, is simply to utter irrational sounds (to say nothing of its results, logical, moral, or religious), and that the sole meaning we *can* attach to these words must of necessity be derived from their meaning in relation to human morality ; the other, that the true

^m "The Scriptural Doctrine of Acceptance with God considered in reference to the Neologian Hermeneutics." Six Lectures preached before the University of Dublin in MDCCLXIII. on the Foundation of the late Mrs. Anne Donnellan. By Arthur Gore Ryder, D.D., Ex-Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, &c. (Hodges, Smith, and Co.) *Guardian*, April 11, 1866.

conception of the essence of Divine justice or mercy must, by the necessity of the case, stand to our own conceptions of those virtues, much in the same relation as that in which the conception of eternity stands to that of time, and that this antecedent presumption of the inadequacy of such our conceptions of the moral attributes of God is actually confirmed by the facts of the case; by the fact, for instance, that the capacity of doing evil is essential to our own conception of human goodness, and that virtue seems to become impossible in the very act of becoming perfect, while yet we are forced onwards to assume the existence of a virtue the conception of which shall rise above this impossibility, even as it transcends also our own powers of conceiving; or by the fact again (to go no further) of the actual co-existence of evil with good in that which is God's creation. The real pinch, no doubt, arises when some particular apparent injustice, for instance, seems to come under the shield of revelation. And yet,—assuming for argument's sake the unmis-takeableness of the meaning and authority of the revelation in the particular case,—surely it is a legitimate mode of weakening the force of such difficulties, to point out both the presumption of inadequacy, and the actually proveable instances of such inadequacy, in our own conceptions of God's justice.

Dr. Ryder's book, however, deals with this subject only secondarily. He conceives that our belief in the Personality of God as against Pantheism, or in other words, our having any real religion at all, depends mainly, if not wholly, for a solid foundation of reason, upon our own moral consciousness. The Calvinistic theology destroys altogether the possibility of reasoning from that moral consciousness to the attributes of God, by attributing to God decrees and acts hopelessly irreconcilable with the first principles of such consciousness. He aims therefore at answering the Neologian by framing (out of the facts, rather than the reasonings, of the New Testament) such a view of man's acceptance with God as shall conform to our apprehensions of justice, and by exhibiting the harmony between such a theory and the doctrine of the Atonement. Now it is no part of our business to argue the fitness or the reverse of condemning Calvinism upon *à priori* moral grounds: seeing that—to begin with—we believe Calvinism to be unscriptural and false. At the same time, if *any* doctrine is *ipso facto* incapable of being received on moral grounds, assuredly it is Calvinism. Happily, the choice does not seem to our minds, perhaps because we live in

England, so plausibly reduced to one between Calvinism and scepticism, as it does to Dr. Ryder's. The current form of theology here is fortunately not Calvinism, however much it may retain of its leaven in some quarters. And the objections, moreover, to religion, taken on moral grounds, are—not so fortunately—taken against orthodox and Catholic doctrine as well as against the indefensible extremes of Calvin. We are bound to say then, first, that the absolute necessity of satisfying those objections by an answer that shall not only silence but remove them, does not press upon our minds so heavily as it seems to press upon Dr. Ryder's; and next, that we do not think Dr. Ryder's theory a perfect answer to them. Those problems are to our mind insoluble. And it is for this reason that we would welcome reverent and serious reasonings which go to exhibit their necessary insolubility, arising from the inherent limitations of our own faculties: remembering always, 1, that our moral consciousness no more loses its practical use and real grasp of truth through such limitations, than our eyes lose the practical power of seeing truly through like limitations; and 2, that the difficulties in question are either identical with, or analogous to, difficulties which *every* theory has to encounter, be it religious, or be it atheistical. We are prepared, then, more than Dr. Ryder seems to be, to say to an objector, No doubt God is just—just in a sense answering to what we mean by justice, and just far beyond the reach of our conceptions of justice,—and hereafter you will *see* that He is so; but you must not expect always to understand the justice of His ways now; you must look for things of which you will not perceive the justice; and you are not entitled to reject the claims of a revelation because you do not perceive it; any more than the man who is colour-blind would be justified in denying the existence of the particular colours to which he is blind, and which he knows, therefore, to exist on the testimony of others. It is impossible but that God *is* infinitely and truly good. And any revelation from Him will bear intrinsic marks of His goodness. But there may well be in that revelation many things which look unjust, but of which you do not know the reasons, not even more than an infinitesimal part of the case itself; nay, of which your faculties *now* could not comprehend the goodness if you did. And though these cannot present themselves to you as recommendations of that revelation, yet they ought not in reason to weigh against it. We must premise, therefore, that the *a priori* moral difficulties which weigh

so heavily on Dr. Ryder do not press so overwhelmingly upon ourselves. We do not feel entitled to demand a revelation that shall avoid them absolutely.

And what, then, of Dr. Ryder's own statement of the terms of acceptance offered to us in the Gospel? He is so occupied with the preliminary refutation of pantheism as to leave himself inadequate space for developing and guarding that statement. And he seems, accordingly, to accomplish nothing beyond a statement (based mainly upon the facts recorded in the Acts), that the last great judgment will be really and truly according to works, and that now and always, gifts of grace, rightly used, draw down greater gifts, without any attempt to solve the really difficult problems attendant upon such a statement, beyond a short reconciliation of it with the doctrine of the Atonement. That men are born in sin and children of wrath,—that they inherit a nature in itself incapable of keeping the rule of holiness,—that such a nature, and the life it of necessity produces, deserve God's wrath and condemnation,—that none therefore can be saved (not *in*, but) *by* the law, which in fact they profess, even although they live as well as they can under that law,—that union with Christ and with His Spirit brings a real change and moral elevation to those who receive it,—that such union is the one covenanted mode of salvation,—all these are truths which lie beyond Dr. Ryder's position. In his reconciliation of revealed truth and morality, these truths, and the difficulties attendant upon them, find no solution. Upon his view, so far as he states it, a man is just as well off as a heathen as if he were a Christian. Justice is a matter of proportion. And a ratio represents exactly the same quantity, whatever multiple its terms may be of its lowest form. Most true it is that the judgment both is and will be a just one. But our present faculties, exercised upon facts which are matters (not of religious theory but) of plain experience, cannot fully understand *how* it will be so. And we look, therefore, with fear upon arguments which (like Dr. Ryder's) assume to all appearance as an axiom of religion, that we must of necessity understand the deep things of God.

ON THE RESURRECTION ⁿ.

THERE are certain lines of argument respecting revealed truth, akin to one another, yet clearly distinct, and of varying degrees of cogency. And somehow, although it may be our own fault, Mr. Westcott, in this valuable but too brief sketch of a very copious subject, seems to us a little to mix them together. If a series of undoubted facts can only be explained by the assumption of one particular fact as their antecedent, they constitute of course a testimony to that fact, of a cogency proportioned to the impossibility of any other explanation of it. And the conduct and tone of the Apostles and other disciples after the Day of Pentecost, contrasted with their conduct and tone prior to the Resurrection, constitute accordingly a strong additional support to the direct evidence, not only for their belief in the Resurrection, but for the certainty of the proof which wrought that belief—i.e., for the Resurrection itself. As Mr. Westcott truly says, we cannot now without an effort enter into the exceeding difficulty which must then have attended a belief in such a fact as the Resurrection, and are apt in consequence to underrate the cogency of the evidence which so completely crushed that difficulty in the minds of the Apostles, and pervaded them instead with a living belief, transforming their whole nature.

Here, then, is one line of argument, and that both logically powerful and impressive to the imagination; but it is one coming under the head of circumstantial evidence. The Resurrection is, so to say, wanted, as the key to make things intelligible. An argument of a different kind arises, if we look back to history preceding the Coming of Christ, and again look on to the history that has followed it, and tracing a unity of plan in the two, exhibit in detail the gradual converging of the political, social, mental, and moral life of man towards the Resurrection to come, and the fundamental change in that life in all its phases which has been based upon the Resurrection past. Here we have also no doubt the same kind of circumstantial evidence as before—viz., a double series of facts, which are meaningless and inexplicable, except on the hypothesis that the Resurrection actually

ⁿ "The Gospel of the Resurrection: Thoughts on its Relation to Reason and History." By B. F. Westcott, B.D., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Macmillan.) *Guardian*, May 30, 1866.

took place. But we have also more than this. We have a view of the world's history, in which the Resurrection takes its place as part of a designed order of events, nay, as the very hinge upon which that whole order of events has turned, and which provides accordingly a sort of natural place for the Resurrection considered as an historical fact. Now such a view, carefully made out, not merely removes antecedent presumptions against a causeless or isolated miracle,—not merely makes out a connection, that may be external only, but is such at any rate as to make the one set of facts imply the other,—but lifts the Incarnation with all belonging to it into its proper place as the great centre of the broad scheme of God's Providence from beginning to end. But then an argument of this nature requires to be carefully handled. It requires to be so stated as to make out, with respect to the previous history, that all things, indeed, led up to the Coming of Christ, yet in such wise as to make it the most improbable of all suppositions that man should have invented that Coming out of his own subjective imaginings; and with respect to the subsequent history, that any like projection of subjective belief into an assumption of objective fact is a wholly inadequate supposition to explain the actual case.

And this takes us on to yet a third line of argument, possessing great weight if duly stated, yet even more capable of misapplication. For while, on the one hand, that men feel a craving for the support or comfort derivable from a particular doctrine, is by itself no proof of the objective truth of that doctrine, yet, on the other, not only is individual belief perfect only when it realises such satisfaction, but the fact of the suitability of doctrine to human nature—not to this or that man or time, but to human nature lifted back (or in order that it may be lifted back) into its own proper perfection,—is a very strong supplemental proof that the revelation of which this is the real yet not anticipated character, came from God. That the Resurrection meets our wants may be a strong argument, or no argument at all, for the fact of the Resurrection, just as it is properly guarded or not. Man might have invented what would meet his needs. Yet that which, against all likelihood and all prejudice, proves itself at length the effectual remedy for man, must needs have come from Him Who knows what is in man. Now Mr. Westcott has ingeniously and neatly expressed some of these distinctions;

as, e.g., in speaking of Christianity as "exceptional but not unnatural," and of the world as "prepared to receive but not to create it." But we cannot but think that he has mixed our first and second lines of argument in the first part of his little treatise, and that in its second part he has hardly elaborated the third line of argument with sufficient care to point out its real cogency. It is not enough surely, as a proof of the fact of the Resurrection, to point out that "it throws light on the mysteries of personal life;" or in other words, that it just meets the special cravings and wants of our souls:—not enough, except as contrasted with the doctrines which man *did* invent for the purpose, and as shewn therefore to be at once beyond man's imagination and yet the very thing he needs.

We make these remarks, however, with a full sense of the value of the argument which Mr. Westcott elaborates, and of the original thoughtfulness with which he has worked out a subject, not new indeed in itself, but handled by him with a freshness of application to present ways of thought. He desires to unfold what may be called the "naturalness" of the Resurrection. That such a fact is needed as an explanation of all history—what preceded, converging to it, what has followed, springing from it;—that it is needed also as the one answer to individual spiritual wants,—the actual and seen fact, in the one typical instance, of the heavenly life of transformed Body and Soul, as developed out of the human life through the grave, supplying the only basis of reason for our instinctive anticipation of a personal life hereafter;—that it is the one foundation, lastly, of the spiritual life of the Church;—such is the outline of his argument. He aims not merely at removing adverse presumptions—which an Introduction essays to do as regards the simply miraculous character of the Resurrection—but at constructing a positive presumption, antecedent to direct testimony in its favour, regarded in its special character.

The Introduction just alluded to is a fair specimen of Mr. Westcott's powers. He is an ingenious rather than a close reasoner; and deals with his case in a popular rather than a rigorously scientific tone. His Introduction, e.g., is simply a popularising of the argument so rigorously and scientifically handled in last year's Bampton Lectures. The presumptions against a miracle, which are shewn in this volume to have no force as against the true notion of a miracle, are the popular presumptions. An educated reasoner does not transform a law from a *mode* in which force acts, into a force of

itself. Such an one would rather argue that the particular mode of action which we call a law excludes the possibility of that other mode of action which makes this or that term of a series vary abnormally from those which went before and those which follow after. Both are fallacies, but the former, with which alone Mr. Westcott deals, is the fallacy of confused and uneducated thinkers; the latter is that of many an observer, shrewd enough on purely physical subjects. And so also of the other popular confusion of thought which he points out—the attributing of the use of means, and of succession, and gradual development to God, as not simply the nearest view to the truth which we can frame, but as the very truth itself. The philosophical mind discerns, but cannot draw a sharp line of difference, between the anthropomorphic and the transcendental conceptions of God. The popular mind refuses to admit such a difference at all, and revolts angrily when the idea is thrust upon it, in a kind of despairing fear lest it be deprived thereby of any belief at all; as in the recent well-known Bampton Lecture controversy. Mr. Westcott deals with the subject with depth enough to point to the real fallacy of the popular belief, yet without exactly sifting it and setting forth the philosophical view that should take its place. In short, he has given us in this, as in the volume itself, a pleasantly written and ingenious sketch, rather viewy occasionally, but taking a broad view, and commonly a sound one, and elaborating (only too briefly) a very necessary side of the truth for thinkers of these times to ponder over.

We must demur, however, in conclusion, to the unqualified announcement that the Resurrection Body of our Lord was characterised by “the absence of blood.” Stier’s distinction between “flesh and blood,” and “*the* flesh and *the* blood,” may be over-ingenious. And all words on such a subject must fall utterly short of the truth. But we cannot see what right any one can have to make assertions about it upon the most shadowy of negative arguments from Scripture words, that indeed to our minds do not even imply such an inference. Neither do we see how the broad statement laid down by Mr. Westcott agrees with the doctrine that our Lord took again His Body at the Resurrection, “with flesh, bones, and *all things* appertaining to the perfection of man’s nature.” And what are we to say of such a statement in relation to the Holy Eucharist?

ON PRAYER FOR THE DEPARTED*.

It is no doubt the easiest of tasks to shew that the Church of this land, while dropping out of her public services special commemoration of, and special prayer for, the dead, has yet never condemned such prayer in itself, although it must be owned that she has in a semi-official way discouraged it. The well-known words in her Burial Service are, for instance, undeniably a general prayer for the faithful departed, limited only in its object within the boundaries of what is revealed. And her best divines and authorities, from Ussher and Jeremy Taylor onwards, and down to Sir Herbert Jenner Fust's well-known judgment, have accordingly pronounced it throughout to be allowable, if restricted to the primitive pattern. Whatever value Dr. F. G. Lee's elaborate volume possesses lies in this part of his case (not in its tone indeed, for he makes the worst he can of the English Reformation Church, but in its substance), and in the collection of documents (some of them, however, irrelevant to his argument) to be found in the Appendices. Such prayer, indeed, rightly limited, is a necessary sequence from plain Christian truths and duties. That those who have departed in the faith of Christ may have the consummation of their bliss in the full presence of God at the Resurrection Day is certainly in substance a legitimate prayer. And it is one, the obligation to which follows by unavoidable inference from the fundamental truths of the Resurrection of the body and of the Judgment to come, combined with that unity of love and of intercessory prayer which binds all Christians together, whether alive or dead. So far, prayer for the departed has Scriptural warrant and Scriptural precedent. And the Church of this land has not discarded it. But Dr. Lee unfortunately goes further. He is of course not responsible for mediæval speculations which he only relates. But the views which he adopts as his own, while in themselves in the main theories excogitated in order to meet difficulties, are alien from, if not contradictory to, the few intimations which Scripture gives us upon the subject. How far he goes is, indeed, not quite clear. He cites, in a note, with approbation, a singularly inconsequential but characteristically

* "The Christian Doctrine of Prayer for the Departed." By the Rev. F. G. Lee, D.C.L., &c., with copious Notes and Appendices. (Strahan.) *Guardian*, May 8, 1872.

peremptory passage from Dr. Littledale, which attributes the prevalence of Universalism to the discontinuance of prayers for the dead. That is to say, the prohibition (or, at any rate, the discouragement) of prayer for the faithful departed, who *ex hypothesi* would be saved, whether prayed for or not, is affirmed to have led to a denial of the condemnation of the unfaithful departed, for whom prayer has hardly been offered at any period by any one, and to whom it would confessedly avail nothing if it were. If, indeed, it were held, in addition to this, that those who have died out of the pale of salvation, yet not through gross sin, but only as being what, as Dr. Littledale truly says, "the incalculable majority" of men are at their death—that such as these, we say, are capable of being saved through some process of purification after death, which admits of being procured or promoted by the prayers of the living, whereas otherwise they will *not* be saved; then we could at least see some plausible connection between the cause and its alleged effect, although we should still demur to the assumed premiss. Yet even so, the extension of the period of probation, so as to include the interval between death and the judgment, would only add a second life, wherein to remedy the presumed injustice of supposing the final decision to depend upon what seems such a chaos of moral discords—viz., the present life alone. And why should the results of this second period be different in character from those of the first? Dr. Littledale, however, at least as Dr. Lee quotes him, does not appear to hold this further view, which alone, as it seems to us, could make his position an intelligible one. And in any case, all this is, so far, Dr. Lee's own view at second-hand only. In his own person, he does appear to take the further step, and to maintain that the "eventual final state" of the dead is "not yet settled" at death; or, in other words, that some who die unsaved may yet come to be saved; which, by implication, we fear, involves also the converse proposition. We say, he *appears* to maintain this, because, while it is expressly affirmed in his summary of the doctrine, yet the general drift of his book limits the results of the intermediate state to the completion of the sanctification of those who die in a state of salvation, but full of imperfection and sin;—a process which he conceives to last up to the Day of Judgment, but leaves its painfulness or the reverse an open question.

Giving him then, the benefit of his own ambiguity, it must

be said, even of this latter view, that, first of all, it is a device of human reason to escape difficulties, and next, the whole tone of Scripture intimates something different in respect to the intermediate state. The answer, indeed, which one school of thought would make to it, is no doubt mere words. The simple imputation of the righteousness of Another, unaccompanied by any moral change in the man himself, obviously would not make that man's soul fit for His presence whose eyes are too pure to behold iniquity. But the wrongness of one answer is, of course, no proof of the rightness of another. And Dr. Lee's view, although quite conceivable in itself, has no grounds in Scripture, and does not harmonise with it. That *all* those, even the best, who depart in Christ, yet die in a state far short of perfect holiness, and that in some way unrevealed they must needs be changed before the Judgment Day, are no doubt both of them truths that cannot be got rid of. But Scripture (for really Dr. Lee's quotations to the contrary have no claim to be noticed) represents the entire interval between Death and the Judgment, for the faithful departed, as a state of rest, of sleep in Christ, of dwelling in Paradise, of being with Christ. The souls of the martyrs under the altar look only to changes on earth for the hastening of God's Kingdom. And Lazarus is in Abraham's bosom at once. And St. Paul has "finished his course," at "his departure," and his crown is thenceforth "laid up" for him, although not to be "given" to him until "that Day"—words which he himself extends to "all those" who are true Christians. Are these passages consistent with an extension of the weary strife against sin throughout the whole of this interval? Surely they shut us up to the belief that with death the struggle and the warfare—not only the uncertainty—cease. They leave nothing to complete, except the union once more of soul and body at the Resurrection Day, and the passing at the Great Day of Judgment into the full bliss of heaven. In truth, the real motive that has prompted men to speculations about Purgatory has not been any mere question respecting the time or the mode of the completion of men's sanctification, but the longing to find yet another life, wherein the question of the few or the many that are to be saved may perchance meet with a solution less hard and painful than that which presses on men now. Dr. Lee only meets this longing if he really means what the one sentence we have above quoted expressly says: a view supported in another page

by the position, that forgiveness of sins may be found by some in the next world who have failed to attain it in this. But such a view, literally taken, is so plainly against Scripture, that we prefer (as we said) correcting it by the general drift of the book as a whole. We have only to add, that several of the inscriptions on tombstones which he puts on record, although not comparatively a large number, belong to Roman Catholic families; and that the College graces which he sets forth at length have nothing whatever to do with his case.

ON THE FUTURE STATE^p.

Θέσιν διαφυλάττων, is the remark which this book suggests. To shew that all the arguments which natural reason can supply, whether from physical or moral considerations, either prove nothing or prove too much concerning the immortality of the soul—are either inconclusive, or tend to conclusions which revelation contradicts, or include on the same footing both men and beasts, or both good and bad men, or imply a Purgatory—such is the object of its first two parts. To prove that Holy Scripture, truly interpreted, leaves the dead in the intermediate state in a condition of absolute unconsciousness, is the object of its third and concluding portion. It is republished, moreover, by its author when advanced to a bishopric, and therefore solemnly adopted by him under circumstances of special responsibility for his opinions. It aspires in form and bulk to the proportions of a treatise. And it is the work of much thought and some reading (confined, however, mainly to a narrow line of modern authors) on the part of a thinker of original mind and considerable power.

The first of the two theses thus adventurously maintained is of course one perfectly open to any man to adopt, without any imputation upon his orthodoxy. It brings him, indeed, into rather ominous collision with Bishop Butler. But in itself it is simply a matter of allowable disputation; and is open to no other kind of censure than the logical one involved in Aristotle's remark, that

^p "The Future States, their Evidence and Nature Considered on Principles Physical, Moral, and Scriptural, with a Design of Shewing the Value of the Gospel Revelation." By the Right Rev. Reginald Courtenay, D.D., Lord Bishop of Kingston (Jamaica). (Hatchards.) *Guardian*, Jan. 27, 1859.

a probable argument is not to be got rid of by merely proving that it is not (as, indeed, it never pretended to be) a necessary and conclusive one. It is true, we may well feel thankful, with Bishop Courtenay, that the Gospel has "brought life and immortality to light" for us, out of a previous state of twilight, without requiring to suppose that such previous state was one of utter darkness. Yet certainly there is no harm in the latter supposition, if any one thinks it true. Bishop Courtenay, however, appears to us, among some very valuable criticism upon preceding arguers, to go a good deal too far himself in depreciating their arguments. He seems to think, for instance, that he has met and refuted the celebrated argument drawn by Butler, from the powers of reflection as contrasted with those of sensation; so far, at least, as that argument is pressed by Butler to the proof of a positive and not merely a negative conclusion. The powers of reflection, says Bishop Courtenay in effect, are exactly parallel with those of sensation in their dependence upon a material organisation; for the brain is as essential to the one as the retina or visual organ generally is to the other; and consequently the dissolution of the brain is as effectual a ground for expecting the absolute suspension of all powers of reflection at death, as the dissolution of the eye is of a similar result as regards the sensation of sight. But is the parallel thus drawn complete? The sentient power in the soul requires both a material organ and a material object. The reflecting power requires, even under its present condition of being, the former only. The very essence of the activity of the former is dependent upon matter. Merely the present mode of the activity of the latter is known to be so. We should be disposed even to draw the very opposite conclusion to that of Bishop Courtenay, and to say that the soul which possesses even the sentient power only—that marvellous power which can present to our immaterial consciousness a picture communicated to it through a mere bundle of fibres—must be itself something above the nature of the body, and of which we have no physical reason to expect that it should be destroyed by the body's dissolution. Much less, when we turn to the more wonderful and still more self-centred power of reflection. And if it be said, as it is said repeatedly of similar arguments by our author, that such an argument proves too much, because it includes brute animals, we should reply, that apart from the Gospel we should believe as a probable position that the brutes did survive

their present state of existence, and that even under the Gospel our utter ignorance respecting them deprives any argument derived from suppositions about them of all force whatever. They may survive death for aught we know. And at any rate, we cannot infer that an argument must be worthless as affecting man, because it seems also, for aught we know, to affect all animate life as well. There may easily be something out of the range of our knowledge, which would alter its force wholly as regards the brute creation, did we know it.

And to turn from the physical to the moral arguments, we have the same remark to make with respect to them also. For instance, St. Paul tells us that triumphant persecution of the disciples of Christ is to them "a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God," to come hereafter. Dr. Courtenay is of a different opinion. He thinks such an argument to be "dangerous ground" for a man to venture upon. He argues in brief, that, first, the present state of the world being one of imperfect retribution, the presumption apart from revelation must be that the future world will be so too. Did he never read Butler's masterly reply to this very cavil—to this identical misapplication of the great philosopher's own master-key for this world's difficulties? But, next, Dr. Courtenay seems to argue, that we have no right to expect a perfect state of retribution or compensation hereafter, because we cannot possibly comprehend how such a compensation is possible—a point which he proves at length, and most easily. Of course we cannot comprehend such a thing. We cannot comprehend how evil can exist at all. Neither can we comprehend how any subsequent event can so alter the past as to make it consistent, *to our apprehension*, with the union of perfect righteousness and perfect power in God. And we grant also all Dr. Courtenay's detailed proofs, so far, at once. But are any of these difficulties sufficient to overthrow our anticipation of the ultimate vindication of both attributes? Surely not, under any supposition. And still less, when we take into consideration the conditions under which evil now both exists and triumphs—when we reflect that its existence is as that of an intrusive and unnatural graft upon nature, not as of an organic part of original nature herself; and that its triumphs are the result, not of the essential tendencies of things, but of their incidental defects. Let Dr. Courtenay study such books as Dr. Steere's, and ponder all Butler's golden words, not

only those portions of the "Analogy" which he strives to refute; and he will learn, we think, a soberer and a profounder philosophy.

Upon the whole of these portions of the book we cannot do better than echo Dr. Courtenay's own words, which stand as his own unconscious confession and self-condemnation:—"God forbid that anything in this book should appear to have a tendency to render that improbable which the Word of God has most solemnly and plainly declared."

The third part lies open to a heavier censure. Ignoring the unanimous voice of the Church from the beginning, evidenced even by the aberrations into which large portions of that Church have from time to time gone astray upon the subject, Dr. Courtenay tries to force upon the New Testament Scriptures the position, that the souls of all men are utterly unconscious during the intermediate state. That any man may hold this belief without contradicting the Creed, we readily allow. But the man who holds it must have an entire trust in himself, and resolutely set at nought the seemingly instinctive belief of other Christians with very insignificant exceptions. Neither do the particular interpretations of Dr. Courtenay strike us as felicitous, to say the least. Following in the wake of an English prelate, whose name in theology should be a beacon to avoid and not a guide to follow, he argues that the thief on the cross is as exceptional a case as those of Moses and Elijah—that in the parable of Lazarus and Dives the whole structure of the narrative means nothing, because the details, such as the lifting up the eyes, the tongue, the tip of the finger, &c., cannot be accepted literally—that the martyrs under the altar in the Book of Revelation were themselves raised for a short space before the final resurrection, and had previously been in an unconscious sleep—that God being the God of the living, and also the God of Abraham at the very time of our Lord's speaking to the Sadducees, is no proof that Abraham, dead in the flesh, was nevertheless still then living; nay, that the text proves him dead in soul as well as body, because otherwise there was no love of God to be shewn in raising him to life again! Such are some of his interpretations. They seem to our judgment to refute themselves. And while we willingly admit that Holy Scripture is not express, and affords no detailed or decisive information upon the subject—while we gladly acknowledge, further, that the resurrection at the Last Day is the true and prominent object of

all anticipation and hope and fear on the part of Christian men—yet we cannot but regret that a Bishop of the Church should have been found to maintain a view which Scripture has all along been held to condemn. The eccentric Dodwell, and the self-opinionated prelate above referred to, and Mr. Francis Newman in one of his earlier phases, are but poor authorities to shelter a departure from the almost unanimous voice of the Church from the very beginning until now. And even of these the second, and to the best of our remembrance the third, go no further than the allegation that Scripture does not determine the question.

ON THE PERSON OF CHRIST¹.

THE very subject of this elaborate treatise will require an apology before it can be rendered acceptable to English readers. Partly from a lack of theological training, partly from Dr. Newman's book, partly from the crude shallowness of the prevalent "Bible and Bible only" theory, the very notion of development under any shape is repugnant to English instincts. Truth as it is in Scripture, and truth as it is in creeds and in scientific systems of theology, are for the most part vaguely, in this country, held together until some rude shock reveals the antithesis that exists between them. And then our advanced "intellectual" school emulates the shallow sharpness of the Priestleys and Belshams of last century, overlooking the substantial identity in the discrepancy of form; while the ordinary "Protestant" plays into its hands by a vain effort to stand upon "simple and pure" Scripture without any dogmatic views at all. Apart, too, from these defects among ourselves, the subject is one, in its own nature, that requires both precision and depth of thought, and above all, a reverent tone. And Dr. Dorner does not recommend it by lucidity or simplicity of treatment. Obviously his translator is answerable for a good deal of the repulsive and sphynx-like style of the book, that reads like sheer profanity, and will absolutely hinder it from being read at all by nearly every Englishman. But Dr. Dorner himself seems to anatomise truth with too much of a surgeon-like callousness of tone. And under any style of treat-

¹ "History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ." By Dr. J. A. Dorner. Translated into English. (T. and T. Clark.) Five Vols. *Guardian*, Sept. 30, 1863.

ment, the history of dogma is a difficult and delicate subject, and to an ordinary Englishman an alien and repulsive one, under which he fancies, and with very plausible grounds, that all manner of dangerous and pestilent results lie concealed, and which in real matter of fact does and must both trench upon the boundaries of mischievous error, and also dissect most sacred truths in a tone defensible almost only on grounds of absolute necessity. Yet some theory of development is plainly necessary. It is, indeed, the question of the time, whether we regard the Roman Catholic, or the sceptical assailant; and it is, at all times, in some shape or other, involved in the very nature of the case.

It would have been, indeed, a miracle, and a needless one, had truths which touch upon the deepest problems of both the human heart and the human reason, either been so revealed in the first instance as to be protected explicitly against every possible question suggested by them, or, if revealed simply, preserved through centuries of human thought in their original simplicity, untouched by any questionings at all. And developed, therefore, in some sense of the term, the truth must be perforce. The points to be guarded are, first, that the full scientific statement of a dogma shall contain absolutely no wider range of thought than the original revelation of it; next, that even logical inferences, however directly involved in the primary statement, shall be kept distinct from that statement and on a lower ground, while all inferences of the heart, all *idola* of human longings, or of human ideas of fitness, shall be rigorously and altogether excluded; and, lastly, that the Church, while throughout recognised in its due office of witness and keeper of the truth, shall not be supposed to know more now than in previous centuries, as though Apostles and Fathers had an imperfect faith, and we knew more than they, but simply to have succeeded in answering, as time went on, more and more of the philosophical questions about the faith, which the human reason cannot be restrained from asking. With these provisos, development, and its expression in creeds and theological systems, are not only necessities, but safeguards, and not only safeguards, but advantages, things to be thankful for. They are proofs that the living faith of the Church keeps pace with the ever-shifting phases of human thought, and is not set aside by them, but on the contrary rules over them, converts them to its own use, takes up the truth that is in them without being tainted by their admixture of falsehood, and is armed at

all points against difficulties, continually raised, to be as continually answered. They do not make the faith more complete in itself, but they adapt it in form and mode of statement to the needs of the cultivated and philosophical intellect. They are, in short, the expression of the one faith in the language of the educated reason.

Dr. Dorner's treatment of his subject appears to be founded upon true views of it. He starts indeed, it is true, by speaking of the more advanced Christology of St. John over St. Paul, and of St. Paul over the synoptic Gospels; but he carefully guards the repellent tone of the statement, as extending only to the form of the doctrine, and not touching its substance. And if the first and unavoidable impression of his thorough analysis of the minute and elaborate subsequent development of the doctrine is one of almost sorrowful amazement—as the richly and often fantastically carved building is more and more seen to overload and almost hide the original foundation—yet, throughout, Dr. Dorner builds wholly upon that foundation, points out carefully how the successive impulses of human thought were checked upon the verge of error within the Church herself by the Church standards based upon Scripture, distinguishes exactly where human speculations transgressed the line thus drawn, points out how anxiety for the security of one aspect of doctrine led the Church on from time to time to the verge of endangering another, its complement and counterpart, which again in its turn engaged a like anxious prevision, ending invariably in a form of statement which secured both, and in a word holds firmly to the original and divinely given truth as the clue to guide speculators through the dizzy and uncertain mazes of human thought. And if from the general framework we turn to the detailed execution of the work, our praise must be higher still. Independently of the greater range of the work, extending as it does to the present day, while our own great works on the like subject are mainly confined to ante-Nicene times, or to the Arian period immediately following them, the manner of handling the question is far more instructive, though harder to follow, than that specially English fashion in which our Bulls and Waterlands have dealt with their narrower range of matter. English divines have mainly confined themselves to a dry objective proof, that Church belief before 323, whatever the human elements were that affected it, *did* really coincide in substantial dogma with the Nicene Creed;

and that aberrations of individuals either were statements innocent when out of connection with subsequently developed heresies, or were condemned. Dr. Dorner traces the play of human thought which led in each case to this or that tendency of opinion, whether the occasion of that thought were heathen or purely rational philosophies, or the internal relations of Christian dogmas to one another. He traces the process by which opinions grew, and marks therefore with increased exactness and power the force of Church belief, balancing and checking them, and clinging ever to the one original deposit against opposite tendencies of thought. We have in his volumes, not a dry setting of text over against text to prove identity of meaning, but a living picture of living thinkers and actors. We see, not merely that the Church did keep the truth, but the very process by which she was overruled to do so. The ship is not only shewn to have been brought safely into harbour, but the winds and currents which combined unceasingly to second the pilot's skill who steered her, are laid down on a chart for our instruction.

Dr. Dorner, however, is no doubt open to criticism, both as regards his general position and with respect to some of its details. He appears, for instance, to hold that philosophical speculation can in the end *explain* Christian dogma. He seems to anticipate that a theory for example can be attained,—nay, that in the Lutheran body it is in large part attained,—whereby the relation of the Divine to the Human Nature as united in one Person at the Incarnation, can be set forth intelligibly to human reason. We conceive that he has no right to any such anticipation, nor can we discover in his own account of its supposed realisation any satisfactory theory of the sort. Philosophy can shew that she herself has no right to doubt the Christian dogma, in that all apparent grounds for such doubt are removable upon the showing of philosophy itself. She can so state the dogma as to guard its entirety from being infringed by philosophical speculation. She can answer, therefore, questions, and so in appearance explain the dogma, while really doing no more than preventing the original meaning from being frittered away piecemeal by erroneous explanations. But that any human philosophy whatever, this side of heaven, should make plain to human thoughts and in human words the real nature in detail of the union between the Infinite God and finite human nature, is simply impossible in the nature of the case.

And this apparently over-sanguine expectation of Dr. Dorner's colours his views in some cases. He dwells, for instance, upon Monothelism, as not only containing—or at least springing from—a truth, but as more true than what he calls Dyothelism, but which surely has been held by the Church ever since to be the correct corollary from the truth itself. And he does this, it should seem, because St. John Damascene's arguments and distinctions in answer to Monothelism are capable of being shewn to be inadequate as an explanation of a duality of wills. Of course they are; they could not be otherwise. But the simple *à priori* ground is unanswerable nevertheless. Our Lord not only was for a time, or potentially, or in any other incomplete way, but is, both God and man. But will is essential to either conception; and, therefore, there is a duality of wills in His One Person, however utterly inconceivable such a duality is upon any possible explanation; as is, indeed, every other duality of power or attribute predicable of Christ. We should be sorry to excommunicate a Monothelite; the dogma is one thing, inferences from it are another. But to deny Two Wills is in effect to deny our Lord's Humanity, and as such stands condemned. St. John Damascene's attempts to construct a theory of Two Wills fail unquestionably; but their failure arises from the inherent impossibility of the task, not from the want of truth in the doctrine.

And that successful solution, which Dr. Dorner, with a pardonable but very suspicious self-glorification, claims for the Lutheran body, as in part realised, in part promising to be realised, for Christians at large by this his own section of them, is only mere words if taken as supplying a *rationale* of the Union of the Two Natures in One Person. Let any one read pp. 248, 249 of Dr. Dorner's last volume, and say at the end how much the wiser he is, beyond the old Church determinations, by the explanation there given. We will not complain of Dr. Dorner for assigning an office to modern thought, even in the present disjointed state of the Church, in the building-up of doctrine. The ages since the completion of the Creeds have not been unfruitful. Yet there is something to be said about the difference between a tradition yet unforgotten and a Church yet united, and on the other hand, a speculative spirit disjointed from the past and from authority, and a Church shivered into fragments. And Dr. Dorner takes little account of the difference. Nor can we quite get over either our insular feelings, and overlook

Dr. Dorner's almost entire forgetfulness of our own Church ; or our belief in the office of the Church Universal, and so attach the importance which he does to Lutherans. Nay, more than at any time since the fertile days of Greek thought-spinning, has the German contribution to theology been marked by ingenious error and enigmatical wire-drawn heresy. And if it is now wiser, while we in England are taking up with its cast-off slough, at least let it not claim so high a privilege as Dr. Dorner assigns to it.

As usual, the translator of the work is guilty of small unscholar-like errors : some of them we should have thought misprints but for their frequency. Nor can we feel quite safe with him in the darker parts of his author's speculations. Still, the task of translation, in a work of such a kind on such a subject and by a German, was no doubt one of the hardest conceivable, and has at least, it is obvious, been honestly discharged.





III.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.



ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

WE now bring before the reader what we esteem to be the most valuable of the remains of Mr. Haddan,—the Reviews and Articles written by him on his own special subject, Ecclesiastical History. It will be observed that, in addition to the Articles from the "Guardian," which hitherto has been the sole source of contribution, we now are able to supply two very important works of greater length, published in the form of Articles printed in the "Christian Remembrancer."

THE ACTS OF THE DEACONS*.

To meet a special want, and to meet it well, is perhaps the highest praise that could be given to practical works on theological subjects. It is one fully merited by that now lengthening series of doctrinal expositions which bear the name of the newly-appointed Dean of Norwich. Reminding us in outward shape of a series—that of Mr. Isaac Williams—which contrasts sharply with them in every inward characteristic except reverence and soundness of doctrine, they are precisely fitted to meet the tastes and the needs of the ordinary educated but non-theological lawyers and professional men among whom the writer's later ministrations have thrown him. They are the works of a scholar, a little too imaginative, perhaps, in the way of illustration, but never substituting fancy for reason. They suppress all display of Patristic learning, and deal with no allegorical interpretations. Neither have they any show of theological terminology. But either as direct expositions of the Prayer-book, or (as in the present case) of some Scriptural topic, or in a more general form, they touch incidentally upon almost all the

* "The Acts of the Deacons: being a Course of Lectures, Critical and Practical, upon Acts vi., vii., viii., and xxi., 8—15; in Two Books—1. The Acts of St. Stephen, the Protomartyr; 2. The Acts of St. Philip, Evangelist." By Edward M. Goulburn, D.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, &c. (Rivingtons.) *Guardian*, 1866.

subjects of current dispute in theological matters. And while in language and sentiment singularly fitted to leave theological or educational prejudices unruffled, they lead step by step to far deeper views on theology than would strike the reader at a first glance. A teaching which requires special pleading to fasten it upon the Prayer-book, or one which is in tone alien to the sobriety of the Prayer-book, or even one which requires in a reader the antecedent education of a theological or a Patristic training, would, for varying reasons, fall comparatively powerless upon the mass of educated Englishmen. But one which elicits doctrine out of the Prayer-book as its natural sense, flowing, without any forcing, from its broad plain meaning, will command a hearing at once. And many a fair but untheological business-man, we are sure, must have risen from the perusal of Dr. Goulburn's books, to find himself an orthodox Churchman before he had well dreamed of it, and, let us add, to find himself also a better man for the process.

It may perhaps have assisted towards this result, that the sermon-like form of Dr. Goulburn's works leads him rather to set forth principles than to adjudicate upon the precise lines of their application; and leaves him free to pass by difficulties of detail, or to summarise them in a single phrase, without actually avoiding them. Take, for instance, that great stalking-horse of the rationalist Biblical critic, the historical accuracy of St. Stephen's speech; a topic of exegesis upon which, of course, Dr. Goulburn's subject directly brings him. The bulk of his account of that speech is spent, and rightly so, in exhibiting the bearing of the facts which are enumerated in it, but which are not therein drawn out into their application to the great purposes for which it was delivered. Dr. Goulburn shews at length what is, we suppose, the real account to be given—viz., that the speech is, in fact, rather the material than the wrought-out work of a discourse; and that external circumstances, such as the explosive and malicious temper of the audience, and the actual abrupt cutting short of the speech, to which surely might be added the probability that St. Luke has given notes of it rather than a detailed report, explain adequately the skeleton sort of framework of principles and pregnant but undeveloped hints of which it consists, instead of (what we might rather have looked for) the flesh and blood of an elaborated piece of reasoning. So far Dr. Goulburn's account is thoroughly good and satisfactory. But meanwhile what of those "inaccuracies," over which we find in all rationalising com-

mentaries such a flourish of trumpets, about the human element and the need of candour and the false policy of economic glosses, and all the rest of such well-worn and well-known commonplaces? A "rapid summary" gives the "appearance" of historical inaccuracy; such is Dr. Goulburn's brief explanation appended to a rather general account of the matter. Now this assuredly is the key to the difficulty. But then the whole statement, as it stands in Dr. Goulburn's pages, leaves the reader to draw no other conclusion than that the truer phrase would have been, not the "appearance" but the "reality" of historical inaccuracy. And he does not enter sufficiently into detail to point out that St. Stephen was really correct and not inaccurate. Neither does he mention the further and noticeable fact that St. Stephen relies upon historical evidence outside Scripture as well as upon Scripture itself, although not for any important fact.

We have much the same kind of remark to make upon Dr. Goulburn's account of the development principle as applied to—1. Church government, and 2. Doctrine. Laying down most important and most sound principles, he does not apply them fully. The appointment of Deacons, for instance, is no doubt a plain proof that the order of Church government was not laid down beforehand upon a cut-and-dried plan frozen into stiffness from the very beginning, but that the Apostles took order by new measures for emergencies as they arose. And the inference as to the absolute necessity of recognising a self-organising and legislative power in the existing Church, if that Church is still to retain her life, is unanswerable. But then many questions arise. May the Church therefore deal with the orders of the ministry as the Apostles did, and add a new order? And if they may add, may they not suppress? Are there not limits to this organising power? No doubt Dr. Goulburn would quite agree with ourselves in asserting such limits. All we say is, that he has in this book enunciated the general principle without limiting it. Again, we find in the sixth chapter of the same book some very true and valuable remarks respecting the growth of doctrine. The absolute necessity of a work of the human mind upon the original deposit of truth, and the reasonable assumption that such a work in the hands of pious men must have at least some good fruit, and in the hands of the Church must result in a systematic theology "constituting the essential faith" of the Church;—all this is *duly* recognised. But first it is quietly as-

sumed that the Apostles (as well as our Lord) lodged the good seed in the human mind, themselves, as we are left to suppose, fully understanding what the recipient disciples did *not* fully understand. And next, not a word is said of any divine office of the Church towards this deposit of truth, in the way of deducing from it its legitimate results and none other. In a word, the difficult subjects of the growth of the truth in the minds of the Apostles themselves, and of the power and office of the Church, are left untouched. We have, indeed, no right to complain of this. It is simply saying that the writer has done one thing and not another—has suggested certain most wholesome principles, assuredly necessary for these times, but has not written a systematic treatise upon them. We only note what appears to be a characteristic of the book.

Perhaps a like remark might be made upon the observations respecting Inspiration. But we prefer calling attention to a portion of the work which is very much an exception to such a remark, in a very valuable chapter in the Second Book, where there is a precise and plain account of another topic, like, in its present relation to public opinion, to the above—viz., Absolution. Dr. Goulburn speaks plainly there, what the Prayer-book speaks plainly; and shews conclusively from Scripture that the Prayer-book is justified, or rather bound so to speak. Even there, indeed, we find a slightly suspicious quotation from Barrow, in a note, which seems to limit “dispensative” absolution to Holy Baptism. But the text to the note seems rightly to use this reference, not as an exclusive case, but as an instance proving a rule. How far, indeed, the verbal distinction drawn by him between absolution and forgiveness holds good may be made a question. But Dr. Goulburn does at any rate lay down plain doctrine in plain terms on the subject.

THE EARLY AGES OF THE CHURCH^b.

It is certainly strange that Church histories should still be wanting. Yet any English student, who has attempted the subject, must have felt the want. There is, no doubt, a whole library of books; yet, once beyond Newman’s *Arians*, or the Oxford por-

^b “A History of the Church, from the Edict of Milan, A.D. 313, to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.” By William Bright, M.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford, late Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Scottish Church. (J. H. and Jas. Parker.) *Guardian*, 1860.

tions of Fleury, and before or outside the sphere of Dean Milman or Neale, there are no special or detailed English works, until we reach the excellent Manuals of Archdeacon Hardwick. Nothing is left but the dry bones and repulsive coldness of Soames's Mosheim, or the philosophising of Neander, or the brief although masterly compendium of Gieseler;—all of them embracing, and therefore abbreviating, the entire history of the entire Church;—all, moreover, translations;—unless the reader have time and means to study the original sources, or to work up the great folio historians of the sixteenth century, or the quartos of Fleury or of Tillemont, unless he understand German. Mr. Bright's is the first attempt in English to carry on what Blunt, and Bishop Kaye, and others, have done more or less for ante-Nicene times, and to produce a thorough but compendious account, the result of independent study, of the first great post-Nicene period.

The book is, moreover, well-timed. It describes the period of the formation of Creeds—of the Creation of systematic theology—of that doctrinal development, which has settled for all time the fundamental formularies of orthodox belief. Embracing the history of the Arian (with its countless Protean shapes), the Pelagian, the Nestorian, the Eutychian heresies—in a word, of the Four Great Councils,—Mr. Bright includes within his book the entire range of the internal settlement of Christian doctrine, whether respecting the Nature of the Divine Being, the nature of man, or the relations between God and man in the Christian dispensation. He treats of that period of Church work, which has excluded and condemned for all time heresies respecting fundamental doctrines: as distinguished from previous controversies with external or quasi-external error—of Pagans, Gnostics, and the like—and from the subsequent disputes concerning the instruments and outward organisation of Christianity—the Church and Sacraments;—as distinguished, again, from the Monothelite, Adoptionist, and other such later controversies, or those again of Gottschalk, which were only as it were appendices to the great controversies already settled, and were determined by implication in the settlement of the Athanasian and Augustinian periods. Now the more advanced Rationalism of the present day has dared, it is true, to assail Scripture itself, and to attempt to resolve even the Gospels into a mere product of human faculties. But the more plausible and dangerous assailants of the truth direct their efforts, with a wiser reserve, to attacking

theology as distinguished from Scripture. The whole work of the early Church is cut up by them from the roots as not Scriptural, but human. A "world of human thought" is alleged to be interposed between the Bible and even the Nicene Creed. And this human thought is assumed—not to have trod in the old paths, according to its own profession—not to have simply excluded, by successive denials, successive infringements upon the one truth originally revealed—but to have built up a purely human system of dogma out of hints and casual allusions and phrases distorted from their proper bearing and context; in short, to have developed precisely upon the extremest principles of Dr. Newman's celebrated theory of development; and to be therefore a mere yoke of man's devising bound upon the neck of free thought now, and to be broken to pieces and flung aside as fast as inveterate prejudice will permit. It is a great gain, then, that a reverent, thoughtful, and learned mind like Mr. Bright's should recall to the memory of divines, and place in a brief compendium within the reach of general readers, the real account of what the Church of that time actually did. Did she add? or did she preserve? Did she speak *nova*, or simply *nove*? Are Creeds not in Scripture as to their substance? or do they simply express the identical Scriptural truths in systematic form? Are we to be tied down again by these modern liberal thinkers to the narrow technicalism, which started back in old days from terms and definitions, because the very syllables were not in the Bible? Or are we to be allowed to suppose that the Church could correctly express, in words of her own, truths which she understood? Or, again, are we, or are we not, to confound the development of the Creeds with the later developments of the mediæval Church, and to be left by rationalists, as we are by Roman Catholic ultramontanes, in the dilemma of believing nothing or of believing Popery? These are among the serious practical questions of the day to thinking Christian men. And Mr. Bright's valuable book helps us, modestly but effectually, to the materials for a true reply to them.

Of the literary merits of Mr. Bright's summary, as a narrative—concealing, as it does, under a plain and simple statement, a world of thoughtful inquiry—those only can be fair judges who have tried to unravel the complicated thread of the history of those times for themselves. And of their verdict there can, we think, be little doubt. Of course he has made use of his predecessors. But his *statements* are those of an independent investigator of the original

sources. Of the still greater merit of its tone and spirit those will judge best who turn from its pages—we will not say to those of Gibbon—but even to those of Dean Milman. And even in point of mere style the book is singularly free from tinsel or rhetoric. It is marked by the grave and thoughtful tone of one who can be impartial without being indifferent, and who is protected from partisanship by the very fact of his deep sense of the vital and awful truths with which his narrative has to deal. Its theological line, although distinctly that of Anglicanism—witness among other points the repeated, express, and well-grounded references to the origin and grounds of the Papal primacy, supremacy, autocracy—is, nevertheless, not polemic. Mr. Bright has the art—perhaps we should say the honesty—to allow facts to speak for themselves according to their true bearing, as much as any one we know. He does not destroy the strength of his own case by forcing the men of the fourth and fifth centuries to speak by anticipation in the precise terms of those of the nineteenth. Neither does he insist upon making Oriental, Italian, or African Christians of the earlier date tally, after a Chinese minuteness, with modern English practices or views. But the effect of his narrative upon a thoughtful and fair reader is powerfully enhanced by this honest absence of all shades of the *idola*, whether *tribus*, or *specus*, or *theatri*. And no one, we think, can read the book without feeling himself in the hands of a guide resolved that no views of his own shall disturb the truth of the image which patient inquiry has formed. His treatment of St. Jerome and of St. Augustine may be instanced as affording ample proof of his impartiality.

As a matter of convenience, we demur to the arrangement of the book. Neither does Mr. Bright strike us as possessing the art of displaying facts in a telling form. He is compelled by his subject to carry on the threads of several different narratives at one and the same time. And the reader is hurried from Rome to Constantinople, or Africa, or Egypt, or Gaul, or Palestine, and back, over and over again in a few pages. The result is, that it becomes a matter of patience to pick out a complete view of any one subject—the Pelagian heresy, for instance, or the Donatist schism. Neither does the progress of the Church, whether materially or in relation to Paganism or to Pagan philosophy, or as to ritual or form of Church government, grow upon the reader's mind into a distinct and vivid image, but has to be pieced out from a page here and a sentence

there. The very division of the chapters is one of mere chronology—so many pages to each lecture—independent of the internal connection of events. But these are merely objections to the exterior, as it were, of the book. Compare it with other English attempts of a like kind; and its internal merits will become at once apparent. Bishop Kaye's and Dr. Burton's labours on the ante-Nicene period, meritorious as they were, do not deserve to be named in the same breath. Professor Blunt's excellencies lie in a different direction. His singular skill lay in the construction of a perfect figure out of a torso or a fragment—in drawing out history from allusions and scanty evidences. Mr. Bright has succeeded equally in his own line. But his task is to combine into an impartial and consistent history the conflicting and vague statements of controversial documents, and to condense facts without obscuring them. Dr. Newman's *Arians* travels over the same ground in great part, and has evidently been of much service to Mr. Bright. But the object of the two books precludes comparison. That marvellous specimen of an unrivalled power of analysis, equalled only by the same writer's subsequent notes to the Athanasian treatises, is a commentary upon the subtleties of Arianism, as much as, or more than, a history of Arians. And it is only in his brief but exact statements respecting the various shades of Arianism or Pelagianism, that Mr. Bright has an opportunity of shewing his own precision of abstract thought. All we can find to say against his book is, that the enormous multitude of facts which he has to tell, notwithstanding the natural poetry of his imagination, prevents him from investing his narrative with the attractiveness which Mr. Massingberd, and Professor Blunt himself in his little book on the Reformation, and Archdeacon Churton in treating of the early English Church, have been able to attain.

CHURCH HISTORY.

THIS is an incomplete book, and one of which the existing portion did not receive the final revision of its lamented author. But it is one which will do no discredit to his memory. Following in the steps of a former Regius Professor of a kindred foundation, Dr. Shirley intended, apparently, to produce a sketch, not indeed of the first three, but of the first century of Church history, which should be brought up to our present standard of knowledge, and should meet and solve modern difficulties and questions. Theories of development, both of doctrine, as well within as since the period embraced by the New Testament itself, and of Church government, old enough in substance, have of later years assumed new forms and acquired fresh prominence. A sketch which finds natural place for the amount of actual fact whereon those theories are built, and gives a rational history providing at once for the phenomena which must have attended the human reception of the truth, and for the unity and permanence of the divinely-given truth itself, is a great help to ordinary students. The plan of Dr. Shirley's work a little too much assumes an intelligent reader already awake to the questions arising out of the narrative. Dr. Shirley implies the answer to most of the questions in the turn given to the narrative itself. Perhaps a little more polemic attitude would have more easily brought out the real value of his history. On the other hand, the book has the special merits of reviewing old theories and renovating an oft-told tale with the freshness imparted by an original and thoughtful mind. The account of the first chapters of the Acts is remarkably good. The adjustment and relations of Apostolic theology is unhappily wanting, save only the few striking remarks which were to serve to introduce it. The formation, again, of the canon of Scripture is hardly reached in any formal sense within the period embraced by the book. And its most elaborate portion is the calm and convincing statement of the evidence for the establishment of Episcopal Church government, and indeed of the gradual evolution and fixing of the idea of the Church itself. As an introductory sketch the volume will be most valuable, and not to beginners only,

* "Some Account of the Church in the Apostolic Age: to which is added, an Essay on Dogmatic Preaching." By the late W. W. Shirley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church. (Clarendon Press.) *Guardian*, April, 1867.

although to them most peculiarly. There is much in its suggestive pages to quiet doubt and intensify conviction, even in more advanced students.

We do not know why Dr. Shirley assumes so unhesitatingly that the power of the Sanhedrim to commission St. Paul to Damascus depended absolutely upon a temporary anarchy until the arrival of Agrippa. Surely Biscoe has produced evidence enough of the accordance of such a power to them by decrees of Roman Emperors. And there may be another little point or two which second cares would have mended.

The Essay on Dogmatic Preaching was read at the Congress last year. It bears the same stamp with Dr. Shirley's other works of well-balanced grasp of principles, advanced solidly and convincingly. And it accordingly carries the reader with it, over ground needing, indeed, to be firmly trodden, to conclusions flowing plainly from clear and thoughtful premisses, and conclusions also most necessary for these times. The subject was in some degree a specialty of Dr. Shirley. He has in it left behind a weighty word of warning, which we trust will not be thrown away.

EARLY COUNCILS ^d.

BISHOP HEFELE is too well known as an original and profound ecclesiastical scholar, and his name has been of late too prominently before the world in connection with the recent Vatican dogma, to need many words to introduce his book to English readers. With one large exception, it is undoubtedly a thorough and a fair compendium, put in the most accessible and intelligible form, and based on a re-examination of the original documents, with all their later additions and rectifications, of the canons and the history of the Church Councils. That exception is, it must be confessed, a natural one, however unjustifiable. It springs from the utter impossibility of reconciling even the theory of Papal supremacy which Hefele held when he wrote his book—much more, of course, what

^d "A History of the Christian Councils, from the Original Documents, to the Close of the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325." By Charles Joseph Hefele, D.D., Bishop of Rottenburg, formerly Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen. Translated from the German and Edited by W. R. Clark, M.A., Oxon., Prebendary of Wells, and Vicar of Taunton. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.) *Guardian*, March, 1871.

Ultramontanes hold now—for what Dr. Hefele himself now holds, or professes, seems to be sadly hard to tell—with plain historical evidence honestly interpreted. And the result is, that even Dr. Hefele is reduced to garbled quotations and glosses of the most impossible sort, and is simply not to be trusted when Papal power is in question. We hardly think that Mr. Clark has dealt adequately with the case, by the mild and general note which he has appended once for all to the earliest instance of the kind. Of course, one would not desire a text making one set of assertions, with a series of notes appended directly contradicting them all. And in many cases, Hefele's own statement of the evidence is so glaringly at variance with his conclusions, as to supply the remedy with the poison, without further trouble. But it is not so always. No doubt, for instance, the canons of Nice and Constantinople so plainly treat the Bishop of Rome as one, although by the later canon in point of precedence the first, of independent Patriarchs, as to make it obvious enough that the Councils were not reserving *in petto* an acknowledged primacy of Rome, distinct in kind from, and superior to, all Patriarchal power, which is the gloss here put upon them. Yet Hefele ventures to give, beyond all this, although only “as a theory,” the wonderfully gratuitous assumption of Dr. Maassen, that “the Bishop of Rome founded the institution of Patriarchates—i.e. he gave to certain Patriarchs a portion of that power over the universal Church which belonged to him.” So far, however, the writer refutes himself.

But what are we to say of the assertion, in another part of the work, that Socrates, in respect to the Nicene Creed and its presidents, gives “the principal members of that Council” in the following order:—“Hosius, Bishop of Cordova; Vitus and Vincentius, Priests of Rome; Alexander, of Alexandria; Eustathius, of Antioch; Macarius, of Jerusalem;” and that, therefore, it is plain that Hosius was a Papal Legate? What, we repeat, are we to say of this detailed statement, when Socrates in real truth says nothing of the kind, but exactly the opposite? He literally says this—*“Αὐτός τε Ἰσπανῶν ὁ πάνυ βοώμενος [viz., Hosius] εἰς ἣν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἅμα συνεδρεύων τῆς δὲ γε βασιλευούσης πόλεως ὁ μὲν προεστὼς διὰ γῆρας ὑστερεῖ, πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτοῦ παρόντες τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐπλήρουν”*—i.e. “And one among the numerous members of the assembly was the far-famed Spaniard himself” (viz. Hosius, of whose previous mission to Alexandria, &c., Socrates had been speaking); “the Bishop, however, of the royal city”

(viz., Rome) "failed to come through old age, but his place was filled by his Presbyters who were present." The historian does not there go on to mention the other Patriarchs; but Sozomen, who does, and who is enumerating the Patriarchs present, not the notable people, puts the other three first, and then adds, last of all, that the Roman Patriarch (whom he, however, misnames) was absent through old age, but that his two Presbyters, Vito and Vincentius, represented him. In short, both historians, as Eusebius had done before them, distinctly limit the office of papal legate (or rather representative, to avoid an anachronism) to the two Presbyters and no one else, and speak of all the four Patriarchs as on a level, and of Hosius as the real leader of the Council. It would have been at least fair, if Hefele had given the actual passages from the earlier historians,—had added the statement of Gelasius of Cyzicum, who *does* make Hosius papal legate, but whose assertion cannot stand in the face of the earlier authorities,—and then left readers to judge for themselves. Let us hope that, in translating the other volumes of the work, Mr. Clark will think it within his sphere as editor to put readers on their guard against like misrepresentations.

THE MONKS OF THE WEST*.

HISTORICAL writing is inevitably, as time goes on, made up largely of the adaptation of old material to modern taste and modes of thought. The external contrast between the double-columned, ponderous, coarse-papered folio and the handy octavo with its smooth, hot-pressed pages, is but an indication of an internal contrast, equally great, between the facts of the one, bristling in endless uniformity and flatness, and the same facts in the other dashed off into a trenchant antithesis or a sparkling "view." And the office of the modern historian is, often, pretty much the doing in substance what Mr. Carlyle did literally, in the least Carlylesque, and therefore the most pleasant, of his writings, when he resuscitated into such a living and moving drama the old diary of the Abbot of St. Edmondsbury. M. de Montalembert has essayed for us a like transformation of the ponderous erudition of Mabillon, Helyot,

* "The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard." By the Count De Montalembert, Member of the French Academy. Authorised Translations. Vols. I. and II. (Blackwood.) *Guardian*, March 5, 1862.

Thomassin. He has striven to clothe their skeleton of facts with the flesh and blood of a living history. Rather, perhaps, he has sought to substitute, for the dry and sceptical rationale of the past generations, a view more in conformity with the imaginative, the religious, and we must add, the Ultramontane and the French, instincts of his own. The identical framework which in Gibbon's pages serves as a vehicle for a sneering and worldly scepticism, glows in those of M. de Montalembert with the warmth and brightness of a zealous though somewhat polemic theology. On the one hand, the facts of the older annalists of monachism are clothed by him in a poetic dress of half-serious, half-legendary narrative. On the other, the topics singled out by the infidel historian as the turning-points of the subject are blazoned by the enthusiastic devotion of the Roman Catholic and the Frenchman, in the brightest and most rhetorically wrought description to which an imaginative and devout zeal can lend point and fervour. The decay of Christian life, after Constantine had poured into the Church the poison of prosperity, is depicted in the darkest colours—may we not say exaggerated?—by both writers. It is summed up by M. de Montalembert in the happy expression, that had the Roman Empire remained unrenovated from without, the Church could have produced in her only a Chinese type of religion; while both alike dwell upon the combination of the rude and natural vigour of barbarian life with the missionary achievements of monachism, as the turning-points of a heartier and more real conversion of the world, than that which consisted in a mere varnishing of the surface of a decaying and effete civilisation. One could hardly recommend a better recipe for entering heartily into the spirit of these volumes, and blinding oneself to their defects, than that the reader should peruse them by contrast with the chapter of Gibbon, which clothes the very same skeleton of facts with so utterly different and so repulsive a dress.

Considered, however, as a history, there are, it must be said, serious faults in the work. There is first of all a considerable intermixture of irrelevant topics, at any rate in the Introduction. One is really in doubt, while reading the preliminary chapters (which form a large part of the first volume), whether their principal purpose is not either the conversion of historical speculation into a vehicle for a political onslaught upon Napoleon III., or a defence of the *Révue des Deux Mondes* against the writers in the *Univers*, quite as much as any account of monachism. The book reads like a French

political or polemical pamphlet—as impassioned, as epigrammatic, as grandiloquently obscure, as such pamphlets commonly are. And such a tone is equally remote from the philosophical, and from the descriptive, ideal of a good history. And even if we pass from the Introduction to the actual narrative, we are met still by a style seriously unhistorical, although for a different reason. We find rather a selection of episodes in monastic life, than broad views of a large department of history; rather a series of romantic anecdotes, than a critical estimate of the real results of monachism; rather a rhetorical, half-poetic tale, hovering between the legendary and the serious, than the calm and thoughtful and well-weighed narrative which alone can aspire to the dignity of history. It is true, M. de Montalembert has not yet reached that period of his subject where legend has fairly emerged into historical certainty. He has to deal with biographies, or like material, written while history was still in its childhood, and which reflect accordingly with exactness the spirit of the time, but rest largely for their facts upon devout imaginations. Yet even here the historian need not leave us in doubt as to his own seriousness. He cannot be more certain than his authorities allow him to be, but he need not lower his own tone to theirs. Because he cannot speak with the grave authority of a Tacitus or a Thucydides, he need not adopt seriously the tone in which Arnold ironically treated the early Roman legends. Still less need he descend to the smartness of a French article-writer, or declaim with the pamphleteering vehemence of an About. Upon one most important point, indeed, M. de Montalembert contrives to express himself with, it must be owned, great ingenuity. He lays down as principles, that the Church has nowhere set the seal of her authority upon the legendary prodigies which attended the early stages of monastic history, but that “serious authors” and “contemporaries” having often recorded them, they are by the Church, nevertheless, “commended to our admiration.” Upon this foundation he proceeds to narrate these prodigies in a poetical and sympathising tone, which leaves the question of their historical credibility on one side, and yet half assumes it. And then, here and there—sometimes in a note, sometimes by quoting the language of others—he adopts either euemerising theories—translating wonders into imaginative versions of plain prosaic facts—or the downright admissions of such as, e.g., Le Maistre, that all these stories are fictions—a mere “Christian mythology,” valuable for their spirit only, and in

which the question of fact or no fact is one purely indifferent. Now, doubtless, it might be inconvenient to one who aims at combining the character of a critical historian and a zealous Roman Catholic, to determine the question of mediæval miracles absolutely in either direction. What we remark in M. de Montalembert is the exceeding skill with which he so frames his narrative as to reap the benefits, while escaping the inconveniences, of determining the question both ways at once.

Unfortunately, we must carry our accusation a little further still. M. de Montalembert is more French in this than in many of his previous writings;—French in the epigrammatic and rhetorical tone of his language, in the melodramatic “situations” into which the history is cast, in the undertone of political polemics above alluded to, and, above all, French in that dexterous manipulation of grandiloquent phrases, so familiar to all readers of French official statements of whatever grade, by which a disagreeable truth is veiled or a desirable error insinuated without the writer committing himself by any tangible words to either process. The course of the history brings M. de Montalembert occasionally across facts upon which a Roman Catholic must needs take a particular view, irrespective of evidence. In all such cases, he shews himself a master of the art of seeming to say much while really saying nothing; and pays, of course, the unavoidable penalty, for his partial successes, of shaking our general confidence in his capacity for speaking truth. Pope Liberius, for instance, condemned, we all know, St. Athanasius. His infallibility is saved, it seems, because, having erred, he retracted the error. While the whole of the untoward business is blurred over by M. de Montalembert under the magnificently unmeaning absurdity of “a shadow and a cloud gliding across the column of light which guides the observations of every Catholic” through “the obscurities of history!” To say nothing of poor Liberius, who extinguished the light if he rekindled it,—what becomes of this bright “column,” we should like to know, during the dark centuries of the Popedom after Gregory the Great, when even their Cardinal annalist is driven to use language respecting a whole line of Popes as fiercely condemnatory as that of even the Homily, and at least as well deserved? Again, St. Hilary of Arles, it appears, “knew how to yield,” when Leo the Great “deprived him of his title of Metropolitan, in order to punish him for certain uncanonical usurpations.” Who would trace in this the *Erigneæ rubes*

parvæ mutationis, the petty concession of form, whatever it was, described as consistent with a maintenance of his rights, and specially with the retention of his metropolitanship, which is all that the scantiness of the remaining evidence can truly allow us to affirm of St. Hilary? Yet again, there has been in France a small controversy respecting St. Columbanus, partly political, partly religious. With the first we are not here concerned. In the other and religious question, one side has claimed him as an opponent of the Papacy, the other has indignantly repudiated the assertion. As to the real fact, probably he as little offered formal resistance to a claim that was not distinctly or consciously made, as assuredly he did *not* assent even to the extent of the claim that was made. But M. de Montalembert contrives to obscure the point by giving us, indeed, a translation of Columbanus's own words (which are conclusive) in his text, although omitting the important clauses in the quotation in the note, while he reads them into his own sense by a magniloquent eulogy of the "generous fervour of the Irish race, justly proud of having never known the yoke of pagan Rome, and of having waited, *before recognising her supremacy*, till she had become the Rome of the Apostles and Martyrs." Unfortunately for this fervid apostrophe, Ireland, in the person of Columbanus, never recognised the supremacy of Rome at all, as the very passage cited in part by M. de Montalembert conclusively shews.

On such points, however, perhaps M. de Montalembert could not help himself. It is a more serious charge against his history, that it is written with so excessive a zeal for monachism, and with so exclusive an attention to its poetical and imaginative aspect. Who can help wondering, that so accomplished a writer, and a thinker so practised, should find no deeper cause for monastic corruption than the practice of the "*Commende*?" or, perhaps, in a less degree, the exemption of the monasteries from episcopal control? Or who, again, but must miss, in the eloquent pages of these volumes, any adequate recognition of the differences, so important in their results, between Eastern and Western monachism? The practical turn taken by the latter, the conversion of anchorets and cœnobites into zealous and active missionaries, the superseding, in fact, of the solitary life, which in the East had developed into morbid contemplation, by a system which made the monasteries not only the missionary, but also the educational colleges, for clergy almost wholly, for laity in large part—all this contributed, in the first in-

stance, to preserve a healthy life in the Western monastic institutions; while, as time went on, the same causes transformed them gradually into an integral portion of the civil polity, into a large (often the largest) body of landholders, into wealthy and luxurious corporations, into a feudal power; and so paved the way for their corruption, though by another channel than that by which decay had crept over those of the East. It is true, this latter stage of the process lies beyond the limit to which these volumes reach. But they do not sufficiently recognise that earlier and important stage which their period does embrace, in which the Western monks, at any rate outside the limits of Southern Italy, accomplished their mission by ignoring the very principle of original monachism, and became transformed from isolated unpractical solitaries into busy combinations of working clergy. In this point of view, too, the historian would have carried a far larger portion of his readers with him in his praises of the monastic life. Setting aside the irrevocable vow, or the excesses to which the rule of discipline was occasionally pushed, the principle of combining bodies of clergy into a collegiate life, subject to a plainly unworldly rule, is one which the present time is learning to adopt, as the one mode of overcoming a civilised barbarism as wild and more depraved than that which roamed among the forests of ancient Gaul, or Germany, or England. It is not the self-denial, or the free choice of an unmarried life for the sake of more unworldly devotion, or the giving of worldly wealth in alms—it is the principle of seeking continual and absolute solitude as a method of self-discipline—on which M. de Montalembert concentrates his eulogy, and which the soberer tone of the Church of England dislikes. And it is precisely this, which circumstances overruled in early Western monachism, and so transformed it, not altogether voluntarily, into the most powerful and the most practical organisation for all departments of all the active work of the Church.

If, however, the work of M. de Montalembert, as a history, is thus open to criticism, as a repertory of poetical legend, and as depicting a phase of Church feeling full of instruction to the student both of theology and of mankind, his book is one of the deepest interest. He has, it is true, selected with true poetic instinct the really beautiful legends, omitting the mass of puerile and stupid inventions which exist along with them. And so far he perhaps conveys an unintentionally erroneous impression. But subject to this

qualification, the reader will find both pathos and fancy of the truest and most beautiful kind in the pages of these volumes, devoted to the early monks of North-Western Europe. If he wishes to speculate upon the origin of myths, or to find additional material for estimating Mr. Grote's able speculations, here it is to his hand, although to be sure sifted from the mass of uninventive and stupid fiction in which it really lies imbedded. Or if again he desires to see what our forefathers really believed, and to read a specimen, though above the average, of what was once read in the Churches of Europe side by side with the Bible, and formed the mental and religious aliment of millions, he will find that also in M. de Montalembert's pages. He will find no sifting of facts, no sobriety of narrative, no well-balanced judgment. But he will find, if it interests him, an ecclesiastical romance enthusiastically and poetically told. He will find also (subject to the remark already made) a very fair account of the great monastic institute of Columbanus, the powerful and at one time prevailing rival of the rule of St. Benedict—an institute of which the failure no doubt was due in part to the British peculiarities that threw it into opposition to the Papacy, although at the same time the worldly wisdom which so largely relaxed the rigidity and asceticism of monastic life in the rule of St. Benedict, contrasted with the extravagant excess of these qualities in its rival, largely contributed to the actual result. We look with curiosity to see how M. de Montalembert will deal with the last and greatest of his heroes, one equally independent with Columbanus in his treatment of the Popes and the Papacy, St. Bernard.

M. de Montalembert, we believe, is dissatisfied with the translation of his work which has appeared in England, and which we have here used. It is obviously, indeed, the work of a man not accustomed to the subject. Even without comparing it with the original, there are plain blunders in it. E.g., in vol. i. p. 122, "*paupercula*" is not a "beggar," and "*de sua inopia*" is not adequately rendered by "in her misery." And such slips as Zozimus, and Sozomenes, and Eustochia, and the perpetual retention of French forms of names, as, e.g., Pacôme, Paterne, &c., shake one's confidence in the translator's capacity.

THE MONKS OF THE WEST, VOLS. IV., V., &c.^f

How far Scotch patriotism may be a stronger feeling than Scotch Protestantism, we cannot pretend to say. And it is possible, therefore, that the bulk of Scotch readers, of the class that do not read great books for knowledge' sake, but only such small ones as fall in with their own peculiar isms, may be induced to purchase the separate Life of St. Columba, published from M. de Montalembert's third volume in a separate and handy form. It is but fair, however, that Messrs. Blackwood should supply also, as they have done, the requisite corrective to the one-sided aspect of the great abbot's portrait as given by M. de Montalembert. And they have published accordingly an article "in another place," but in one identified with their name, which appears to us to suggest indirectly the truest criticism upon both this Life and the companion one of St. Wilfred in the fourth volume. To the article-writer, as to ourselves, St. Columba and Wilfred are respectively an Irishman and an Anglo-Saxon, marked prominently by the characteristics of either race, and retaining a good deal (to say the least) of the earthly element of those characteristics, although accompanied, and to a great extent sanctified, by a true and burning Christian zeal. They are great instruments in God's hands, but they are human instruments still. M. de Montalembert, while he conceals nothing wilfully, but tries indeed to be scrupulously honest about facts, yet sinks the earthly character so much in the heavenly, as to convey (to our minds) a really false impression. In these cases, and indeed throughout the volumes, we are literally cloyed by the profusion of honeyed epithets, and by the heavily-perfumed atmosphere of enthusiastic sentiment, which pervade the whole work. It is essentially a panegyric, not a history. And it strikes us forcibly that a far deeper impression would remain upon the reader's mind, of the marvellous Providence which guided and sustained the Church—not to say also, a more historically correct apprehension of the characters of the individual men and women,—had the special human features of each been allowed their due prominence, instead of being softened off by a halo of glosses and qualifications, and by a mist of high-sounding general words of praise. The impulsive and tender, but

^f "The Monks of the West," &c., Vols. IV., V.

"St. Columba, the Apostle of Caledonia." By the Count de Montalembert. (Blackwood.) *Guardian*, June 3, 1868.

fierce Irishman, and the ambitious and indomitable Anglo-Saxon, for instance, would have stood out from the pages of the book more like historical and actual men, their own veritable selves, and less like the legendary and ideal conceptions of other people. And this, apart from misstatements of a more prosaic kind, into which M. de Montalembert's Romanism has betrayed him in spite of himself, and to which we shall return lower down. Upon the merely general tone of the entire book, we feel that an illusory picture is being presented to us. No doubt M. de Montalembert has searched, as he expressly tells us, carefully, and we are bound to believe diligently, for the dark side of that picture. And the result of his search is characteristic. He actually refers to the facts which should compel him to fill in that side of it, and yet is practically unconscious of their existence, and indeed denies it. The very legends which are his staple authority almost invariably enhance the virtues of their hero by a sharp contrast with a spiteful, or a dishonest, or often a murderous brother monk. And the more substantial evidence of Councils and Penitentials is not to be got rid of summarily, by such an alleged analogy as that the mere mention of a particular crime in the French Code of Laws is no proof of the frequency of that crime in France. If the bulk of a whole series of minute and repeated laws returns over and over again, through many centuries and in all countries, with every variety of phrase, and under every imaginable form of enactment, to the subject of certain acts of wickedness as committed by a special class of men, we fear it is indeed a plain proof that such wickedness not only existed, but was common in that class. In truth, the framers of canons and penitentials must have been destitute of common sense, as well as common decency, if anything save stern necessity drove them to fill their pages with that which forms the staple of their contents. People have abused monks monstrously and absurdly enough in times gone by. And while our debt of gratitude to them is almost inexhaustible, our sternest critical judgment admits gladly that in the midst of a fearfully demoralised state of society monasteries were comparatively places of peaceful industry, of devoted zeal, and of Christian living. But it is only a sentimental re-action from a narrow and contemptible prejudice to depict them (as is here done) as a kind of heaven upon earth.

Our second complaint against M. de Montalembert relates to his avowed canons of historical evidence ; canons upon which his whole

work is constructed, from its inmost meaning and spirit to the most outward fact, unless indeed it be a date. "True history," he tells us, is not a matter simply of dates and facts, but of "the ideas and impressions which fill and sway the souls of contemporaries; translating into facts, anecdotes, and scenes, sentiments of admiration, gratitude, and love," and the like. Now, unhappily, a fair half of M. de Montalembert's history is, unavoidably, not founded on contemporary testimony. Legendary Lives are commonly some centuries later than the dates of their subjects. And an Eddius or even an Adamnan are rare in that kind of literature. But passing this by, M. de Montalembert's canon is a confusion of two things. The subjective views of the legend-writers are good evidence to the historical facts of the prevalence of certain modes of belief and sentiment in the writers themselves or at their period. M. de Montalembert applies them as evidence to the objective facts of the lives of the subjects of the legends. And accordingly he professes "the difficulty of drawing the line of demarcation between history and legend;" and assuredly avails himself to the utmost of the wider limits thus vaguely claimed by him as within the province of the historian. Page after page is filled by him with (commonly poetical and touching, but very marvellous) legends, which are so worded as to leave it literally impossible to say whether M. de Montalembert himself believes them, or whether he wishes us to believe them but from a lingering critical spirit in himself or fear of it in others shrinks from saying so, or whether he means it all for a pleasing tale, calculated to deepen the general impression left by his book, but in itself a fiction. Meanwhile, we protest against a canon of history which bids us "translate ideas into facts," these facts not being the prevalence and nature of the ideas themselves, but the actual contents of the ideal legend assumed to enshrine and convey an historical meaning. Indeed, there are signs of the effect of this canon upon M. de Montalembert's critical judgment in other ways also. For we notice that he actually accepts the ludicrously spurious Council of Ine, whom he also imagines to have conquered Cornwall, which enacted the *connubium* between Celt and Saxon, and which rests upon the very same authority, so to miscall it, that makes King Arthur rule over nearly all Europe.

M. de Montalembert, we are sorry to say, is open; with all this transparent honesty of purpose, to the further charge of being blinded by his (perhaps necessary) Roman Catholic prejudices to

actual prosaic matters of fact. His present volumes complete the early Anglo-Saxon period of his history, taking us first through the life of Wilfred, and next through the short remainder of what has to be told about Anglo-Saxon monastic life prior to its (temporary) annihilation by the Danish invasions. He is brought therefore at once to the first attempt to subject England to Rome—viz., the appeals of Wilfred; and to the first attempt also to enforce Roman canons, not indeed as such, but as representing Catholic practice, upon the English Church—viz., the adoption, first by the Council of Whitby in 664, and then through both Theodore's and Wilfred's subsequent and unwearied exertions, of the Roman Easter; not to add, the practical but no less influential points of the Roman method of chanting and the Benedictine rule. Now, it is no matter of prejudice, but a plain fact, evident on the very surface of the entire history, that in both these matters no Ultramontane notion of the supremacy of St. Peter's chair was dreamed of on either side. The Easter question was carried by a comparison of the little corner of the Britons with, not Rome only or even chiefly, but the whole Church beside. Cummianus in Ireland, some thirty years earlier, and Wilfred at the Council of Whitby itself, are conclusive witnesses to this; their argument being, not—The Pope wills this, therefore by a fundamental principle of the Church it is obligatory—but, The whole Church except ourselves, Alexandria, the East, Rome, and all, keeps Easter by the new cycle, and therefore the presumption is strong against a little corner of the world by itself, which, having no ground save its own tradition, keeps it otherwise. Cummianus's account is indeed amusingly clear on the point. The Irish messengers went to Rome, and found there all manner of Christian people, from all quarters, not Rome only. But alas! their feast, and everybody else's, were a whole month apart. They did not go to ask a decision from the Pope; they went to learn as a fact what the whole Church did, and nothing else. And the King's grotesque reference to St. Peter at the Council of Whitby was (1) scarcely serious, and (2) referred to St. Peter in his own proper person. M. de Montalembert has, we must plainly say, wholly misstated the case.

His account of Wilfred's appeals is still worse. His admiration for one who really was a noble Christian priest blinds him, to begin with, to what was a glaring and indefensible fault—to the sheer love of power, of being first and greatest, which made Wilfred keep

so tenacious a grasp upon a see reaching from Forth to Humber, and for a little while including Lincolnshire as well. But, right or wrong, the Pope decreed one thing, the English Church another, and the latter prevailed. The stubborn facts remain, whatever character we give them; and these facts are not denied by M. de Montalembert. They are simply shelved by him, with a gloss of his own devising, and with the most amusing incapacity even to perceive them. Twice did Wilfred go to Rome. Twice did his self-constituted Judge decide in his favour. And twice the English Kings and Bishops (saints, too, among them, which shews the popular feeling) simply refused compliance with that decision. And Wilfred remained unsuccessful to the end, regaining his see in name but far other in fact than it had been; altered, indeed, exactly as Theodore originally meant to alter it. There was truly, as M. de Montalembert naively says, a remarkable "ignorance," in the very "saints" and Bishops of the English Church, of the "elementary rules of canonical law," as that law is now understood at Rome. But the "strange" thing, really, would have been that these saints and Bishops should have had the power to divine the belief of a long-distant and future day, and should have imagined themselves bound by a law of which they knew nothing.

We notice, too, another assertion of a kindred sort—viz., that "it is now clearly shewn that in the Celtic Church the Deacons and Priests never strayed from the Romish doctrine of celibacy." Who has "clearly shewn" so preposterously untrue a position we do not know. The facts, beyond a doubt, be it a good thing or a bad one, are simply that marriage of Bishops, as well as of Priests and Deacons, was the ordinary rule in Wales down to the twelfth century at least. Three if not four married Bishops sat at Llandaff one after the other, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a father and son among them. And the family of Sulien, of St. David's, fills Welsh records for more than a century about the same time, numbering Bishops and Archdeacons and learned monks among its members. Sons of Bishops and of Priests are continually mentioned, and without a hint of any feeling against them, until almost the day of Giraldus himself. A futile attempt to introduce celibacy is mentioned in the time of Dunstan, but mentioned only to say that it failed. And even to the thirteenth century, or the fourteenth, the laws appended to Howel's Code speak of clerical marriage as of an evil indeed, but one that never will or can be eradicated. M. de Mont-

alembert, it is true, needlessly mentions against himself the phrase used by Bede in speaking of Aldhelm's anti-British writings, where he says that British practices were "*ecclesiasticæ castitati contraria*:" words which refer to Easter and the tonsure simply, and are proved by Aldhelm's own writings to have no reference to morals. But that Aldhelm did not censure the British clergy for marrying, does not prove that the British clergy did not marry, but that the Saxon clergy saw no harm in their marrying.

We have dwelt a little more upon these points, because the period embraced in these volumes leads their gifted author necessarily to write what comes to be nearly the history of the Saxon Church during the period. And it becomes, therefore, important to indicate,—we cannot here do more,—that while drawing a great deal of correct information from later inquirers, M. de Montalembert does yet labour under prejudices which seriously mislead him in plain matters of fact. There are no doubt points in which, while popular English belief is wrong, M. de Montalembert is right. Unhappily they chance also to be points in which he fancies, although without any ground whatever, that he finds pro-Roman arguments. His view of the Easter controversy (why does his translator persist in tormenting our eyes with such a spelling as *Pascal*?) is certainly the true one, in so far as it rejects the dream of a peculiar Greek stream of tradition bringing a Greek Easter into the far corner of the West. Our Easter was indisputably the Roman Easter, save that we had kept to the old *mumpsimus*—the discarded cycle, while Rome, unknown to our remoter region, had changed it for a better. But the inference from this is not that we were subject to Rome, unless indeed Rome was also subject to Alexandria. For Alexandria,—presumed, we suppose, to be the most scientific of Churches,—was to guide Rome to the right day for Easter, and Rome was to transmit the information throughout the West. M. de Montalembert, however, is entitled to the credit, so far, of having discarded the common but utterly groundless idea of a specially Greek origin of the British Church. He has likewise made use of a very varied abundance of modern sources of information, to give life and colour to his descriptions. We enter a protest against much of his history. We decline to believe, if indeed he himself means us to believe, much more still of his legends. But we have to thank him for a generously and poetically written eulogium of monastic life, which sinks, indeed, its

more repulsive features, or else hides them under a veil of noble yet scarcely substantial sentiment, and which therefore is not a trustworthy history of monachism as it historically was, but which at any rate brings out with truth the real and great services rendered by the monasteries to the faith of Christ, and to the salvation of souls, as well as in the less important but still valuable works of promoting agriculture, and learning, and civilisation,—of saving the Western world, indeed, as by a miracle, from becoming a chaos of turbulent rapine and wickedness, wherein every man's hand was against his brother, and neither life nor honour nor property were worth a moment's purchase. And we in England owe further special thanks to M. de Montalembert for the evident fondness with which, in spite of all our religious shortcomings, he regards these islands, and all that belongs to them, and dwells with a lingering delight over English scenes and English ways, delighted all the more whenever he can find also that that which is English was also Papal.

THE CHURCHES OF THE BRITISH CONFESSION §,

Being an Article contributed to the "Christian Remembrancer," vol. xlii. p. 441.

IF British Church history is obscure, and if almost every current belief about it is an error, it is certainly not for want of writers on the subject. It has suffered, indeed, more than any other chapter in ecclesiastical history, from the combination of scanty evidence, with a more than usual amount of polemically useful legend. Celtic patriotism has combined with Protestant zeal to obscure its native sources to an unprecedented extent with spurious documents and uncertified fables. And the few allusions of foreign writers which afford the chief trustworthy evidence of its earlier period, leave

§ 1. "Chronicles of the Ancient British Church previous to the Arrival of St. Augustine." Second Edition. (Wertheim and Mackintosh.)

2. "St. Paul in Britain; or, the Origin of British as opposed to Papal Christianity." By the Rev. R. W. Morgan. (J. H. and J. Parker.)

3. "The Cave in the Hills; or, Cæcilus Viriathus—Wild Scenes among the Celts—The Alleluia Battle; or, Pelagianism in Britain," being Nos. I., V., and XIV. of Messrs. Parker's "Historical Tales."

4. "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon: the History of the early Inhabitants of Britain down to the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity." By T. Wright, M.A., F.S.A. Second Edition. (Hall, Virtue and Co.)

5. "De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus disseruit Carolus Gulielmus Schöll." (Berolini, 1851.)

ample room for uncritical supplementing or for baseless theorizing. Roman Catholic historians, from Parsons and Alford downwards, have done their best to construct a case for Papal supremacy out of legends mainly of foreign origin. And as for home authorities, an intelligent sifting of Welsh ecclesiastical documents, in the spirit with which Mr. Stephens has handled those of a secular character, is still a desideratum. While the præ-Niebuhrrian platitudes of Bishop Burgess still seem to hold their ground in dealing with the classical, or rather the patristic, and other (so-called) testimonies to the fabulous British journey of St. Paul.

The abundant crop of recent publications on the subject afford symptoms of a wiser and more intelligent spirit. It is true that even in this nineteenth century the extremes of credulity and of scepticism still seem to meet. A magnificent but somewhat heterodox creation of a mighty Druidical Christian Church, dating from St. Paul, and located in Britain, the great preserver of primitive truth, the independent source of an anti-Italian orthodoxy, the one intellectual and organized force in the world that could compete with the classical mind, the great co-ordinate element with Greek and Latin civilization ;—such is the vision that possesses the whole Celtic soul of Mr. Morgan^h, to the sad confusion of his critical powers. In the latter part of his volume, again, the Anglican has superseded the Welshman, and our domestic and Protestant feelings are touched by a family picture, worked out into details almost like a novel, even to the name and church of the family clergyman, in which (but upon the rotten foundation, alas! of menologies and martyrologies) a detailed account of St. Paul's mission to Britain, whence he started, and whither he returned, and who helped to further his journey, is set forth to our wondering eyes. On the other hand, the valuable and learned volume of Mr. Wright, turning aside for a moment from his proper subject on which he speaks with

^h We stand aghast at the coolness of many of Mr. Morgan's statements. He tells us, e.g., what happened at the conference of the oak, as if he had been there to see and hear. And throughout he is so very circumstantial, beyond any poor knowledge of ours, that we can only suppose that, in addition to believing literally all he finds in print or in MS. that agrees with his own views, he has also discovered some unknown contemporary historians and biographers. The one merit of his book is his account of Druidical theology, unsatisfactory as telling us nothing of his sources, and so not enabling us to judge when this system existed, and on what authority it rests, but very interesting nevertheless. Historically, his book is ludicrously worthless.

authority, coolly denies the existence of any British Church at all, upon no other grounds than such as (according to the old contrast in Thucydides) would obliterate also Spartan history from that of Greece; the alleged absence, namely, in this nineteenth century of any material traces of Christianity in the existing antiquarian remains of the third and fourth. We pass by, again, the flat pages of Mr. Thackeray, and the bookmaking precipitancy of Dr. Giles, who have treated us to formal histories (so called) of the British Church, to confess that English imagination has for once equalled that of the Welsh. The localizing of King Lucius at Gloucester, as the first and original impersonation of the perfect theory of Church and State, such is the fruit of the Gloucestershire zeal of Mr. Lysons, who has inherited the tastes of his antiquarian ancestor, but with them also the uncritical swallow of the last generation. Nor can Archdeacon Williams, or Mr. Bowles, or Mr. Lysons himself, establish more than a bare possibility for the parallel story of Claudia and Pudens; or bring forward that "almost any proof of it," which still is requisite, according to Butler's shrewd remark, to overcome "the presumption of millions to one against" any supposed individual story imagined to have happened. Nay, two worthy Welsh clergymen have literally been found, of whom one, in 1812, affirmed the island to which St. John the Evangelist was banished, to have been Britain itself, while the other, in this very year of grace, 1861, believes in the Somersetshire voyage of Joseph of Arimathæa. But the marks of a more historical and larger temper may be traced in some of the publications named at the head of this article.

The excellent "*Chronicles of the Ancient British Church*," though both wordy in style and open to historical criticism, and omitting the larger half of their subject, viz., the post-Saxon period, are a decided improvement upon Mr. Williams' "*Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cynry*," which itself is a book to be named with respect. And Messrs. Parker's "*Tales*," Nos. I. and XIV., avoiding, for the most part, the prosy inventiveness of those (from the pen of Archdeacon Evans) which preceded them, depict, with a very large amount of careful and self-controlled historical accuracy, the two eras in the history of the earlier British Church, which are the turning-points of that history, and about which we have most knowledge, or least ignorance. While Mr. Blight has done a humbler but even more useful service, by supplying us with a portion of the facts which lie at the foundation of the case, in an elaborate ac-

count, illustrated by excellent engravings, of the wonderfully copious Christian remains in Cornwallⁱ. The German writers err, no doubt, on the side of scepticism. M. Schöll actually dissolves St. Patrick himself into a myth. Yet his careful and vigorous inquiries have, perhaps, given more real impetus to the study by the fresh spirit they inspire into it, than could be accomplished by any actual enlargement of our knowledge. He has certainly put us upon the right track for the due estimate of our witnesses. Of other foreigners, e.g., of Münter, it is rather matter of surprise that they should know so much, than that want of familiarity with a country not their own should betray them into error. And Münter in particular, where he is in error, has been mainly led into it by trusting to the strangest of all books wherein to find a really learned ecclesiastical inquiry, Toland's "Nazarenus." If the Englishman confounded the twelfth century with the sixth and seventh, and the Irish opponents or correspondents of St. Bernard, or Malachi, or Archbishop Lanfranc, with the immediate followers of St. Patrick, the German may be excused for following his lead. And, after all, the few pages of another German, viz., Lappenberg, on the subject, are more pregnant with solid, accurate, and intelligent knowledge than most of the laboured works of even Englishmen. One native work, however, claims still the pre-eminence. From the entire accumulation of modern writers, we must fall back to this day upon the old and wonderful book of Archbishop Ussher, whose omniscience swept together almost all that was in his days to be found of print or MS. upon the subject in hand, while his shrewdness and deep learning anticipated and avoided pretty nearly all the errors that have misled one or other of his successors^k.

The truth is, that until the labours of such scholars as O'Connor, and more recently, Dr. Reeves (and they have scarcely touched the *foreign* department of the subject), the attention of British writers had been devoted almost exclusively to the præ-Saxon period of British Christianity, and in that period to the legends mainly re-

ⁱ It appears by Mr. Blight's valuable publication, that there are no less than 185 crosses still remaining in Cornwall. The singular chapels in the same locality occupy his attention also. And Mr. Haslam's valuable labours on the same subject should not be forgotten.

^k Dr. Hook could have escaped almost all his many blunders respecting the British Church, had he turned to Ussher. The archbishop's book is the most perfect specimen extant of an exhaustive collection of the whole facts of a case intelligently handled.

specting its origin, and to the attempt to unite or dis sever it from the Christianity of Rome. Credulity seized upon a statement respecting the Apostle of the Gentiles, which is only so far better grounded than a like statement respecting St. Peter himself, in that an Eastern writer of the seventh century is, as an evidence to such a fact, somewhat less absurd than one of the tenth. A superficial knowledge, stumbling over and misapprehending the difference between the Roman and British Easter-cycle, blundered into a more rational-looking conjecture, and traced the genealogy of the British Church, whether through Lyons or not, to St. John and Asia Minor. And the ingenuity of most writers on the subject has been wasted accordingly upon laboured arguments directed to that most impossible of historical tasks, the creation of evidence that does not exist. Meanwhile, the really instructive portion of Celtic Church history—that which follows the Saxon invasion—and the real body of evidence which that portion of it affords, not, indeed, to an opposition to the Papal supremacy—such an anachronism in controversy would defeat itself by implying the existence of the claim to which an opposition was necessary—but to a simple unconsciousness of it;—all this has been almost forgotten, or only cursorily and inaccurately noticed, or, indeed, to most English students simply unknown. A Scot was a name looked up to with reverence throughout the whole north-west continent of Europe, in the sixth and seventh centuries, by Christians of every grade. A Scotch (a term extending to Ireland and Scotland both, not excluding Welsh Bangor either)—a Scotch education was that which was then sought by those who would become learned divines, by Franks and Burgundians, as well as by native Celts, nay, by Anglo-Saxons, and that, too, of the Wilfred school. A national character, and a certain line of thought, and feeling, and a peculiar rule of life, and writers of their own, and abundant other characteristics, are in this period traceable upon sufficient evidence; scanty and fragmentary, indeed, compared with the full daylight of later times, but enough to supply tangible and instructive results. And the Scot or Celtic Churchman becomes an important character, to whom the historian can assign a definite image and form upon his canvas. The history of the Celtic Churches becomes worth studying, because by this time it is a history, and not a mere collection of fragmentary allusions to the bare existence (or little more) of a Church at all. Yet, from this really interesting part of the subject, English writers have

turned away, and idle debates about futile legends have taken the place of a real history of a living and native Church.

To attempt to sketch the subject here indicated would far exceed the limits of the present paper, yet enough may be said to call attention to it. The history of Columbanus has taken M. Montalembert across a portion of the same ground; and foreign Church historians have been led to the foreign part of it, partially and incidentally, by their subjects, as e.g. Mabillon in older times, and more recently Hefele, in his "History of the Introduction of Christianity into South-west Germany;" but abundant materials still remain to be gathered; and it is a pity that it does not engage as a whole the undivided labours of some English student of Church history. The documents on which it is founded would find their appropriate place in any documentary collection relating to the British Church¹. And many, no doubt, still lie concealed in German or Swiss, or other foreign libraries. It would be a task that would repay the enquirer, to divert his attention from the proverbially legendary matter that constitutes at present Welsh and Irish history (so called), whether secular or ecclesiastical, and to collect and digest the real history of the Celtic Churches, both at home and abroad, when in their prime.

We distinguish, then, in tracing the *origines* of our native Church, two sharply-contrasted periods. Up to the time of the departure of the Romans, such Christianity as existed among us, weak at best, and scantily spread, appears to have been confined mainly, if not exclusively, to Roman settlements and Romanized natives, and to have struck, in consequence, but feeble roots in the land. It was foreign, not native; it was confined to the Roman provinces of Britain itself; it had no strength or character of its own, but was a feeble reflection of its Gallic sister across the channel, from whom almost certainly it was derived. Its history is confined almost to the mere fact of its existence, or is, at best, a skeleton of dates,

¹ The British portion of Wilkins' "Concilia" is among the most crude and incomplete of any part of the work. It would be a great improvement to any future edition of the book merely to recast this portion of it. It would be a still greater, if practicable, to add such documents as illustrate the history of the later Celtic Churches. A large collection was made of foreign evidence upon the subject, from the Vatican, and from St. Gall, among other places, for the use of the Record Commission, which is still lying unused in London. Pity that materials, so inaccessible in general in the libraries where they lie hid, should have been laboriously collected, simply to lie idle.

filled up almost by negatives. It was a Church, up to this period, which had produced no one known writer except Pelagius and the semi-Pelagian Fastidius; and of these the first certainly, and almost certainly the second, lived and wrote abroad;—a Church which had contributed nothing beyond a silent vote to any ecclesiastical movement whatever, and had lain open to the subtle machinations of the metaphysical Easterns, through the simplicity of her ignorance;—a Church, the first utterance of whose voice, when she found one, was in the form of the fiercest possible denunciations of her own shortcomings and of those of her people, in the well-known complaint of Gildas;—a Church that had hitherto sent no missions; for even Palladius, Patrick, Ninian, who date also at the very close of the period, were sent by St. Martin of Tours, and by the Bishop of Rome;—a Church which, when assailed by heresy, was compelled to send to her neighbours for a fit champion of the truth;—a Church that looked to Gaul for the saints whom she should follow and reverence, and by whose names she should call her sacred buildings, Hilary, Martin, Germanus, and whose own almost single saint was only a convert and a martyr in the same day, if his story indeed can be trusted at all—a Church that has left a trace indeed (we affirm it against Mr. Wright), but the very faintest trace of her two centuries and a half of existence, in brick or stone, in sculpture or in inscription:—a Church too poor to endow even her own bishops;—a Church which, so far (it was different afterwards), had no traceable customs or ritual peculiar to herself^m; a Church which, in a perhaps happy obscurity, on the one hand, escaped persecutions with but one probably small exceptionⁿ; but on the other

^m The special customs traceable at a later time, the peculiar Latin translation of parts of the Bible of which the existence is discernible through Gildas' quotations, and those of the Confession, &c., of St. Patrick, and the well-known though perpetually mistaken peculiarities respecting Easter and the tonsure, are all referable solely to the natural effect of isolation from other Churches—that is to say, there is nothing, or next to nothing, in them bearing internal evidence of being derived from other Churches. With respect to the Easter Cycle and the tonsure, this is demonstrable. It seems to be the case with the other points also, although the Bible translation, singularly enough, contains passages seemingly agreeing with a translation used by Lucifer of Cagliari. One is at a loss to see any possibility of connexion between Britain and Sardinia.

ⁿ The evidence of the life of Germanus, written before 500, and of Gildas and Venantius Fortunatus about two-thirds of a century afterwards, appear sufficient to establish the fact of the martyrdom of St. Alban, probably about 303. The extent of the persecution in England is exaggerated by Gildas, merely by his unauthorized

(omitting, indeed, the heretic Pelagius), formed no school, threw no new light on the truth, supplied no commentaries on Scripture, devised no religious or charitable institute, added nothing of any kind to the common stock;—such is the view which a reasonable criticism gives us of the Church of Britain up to the Saxon invasion of her shores. Small trace, so far, either of a special offshoot of the peculiar Asiatic school with which St. John's name is associated, or of a Church lighted up with a blaze of light through contact (as Mr. Morgan will have it) with the one Western centre of the primal faith, more impregnated with truth than the Jewish faith itself, with Druidism! Far more consistent is it with historical indications to suppose, that the British Churches were simply offshoots of the neighbour Churches of Gaul, and that they had not, up to this date, spread largely among the native population, but had been confined mainly to the poorer class of that mixed race of immigrants which clustered round the chief Roman colonies.

A very different picture meets the inquirer in the subsequent period. Turn to the pages of Gildas, and we find there plain traces first of a National Church. The inconstancy, the headlong impulse, the hasty outbursts of frantic wickedness which he imputes so roundly, are the faults of a Celtic people. One could not desire a better proof of the genuineness of Gildas (assailed, like that of his Church itself, by Mr. Wright) than the agreement between the society which he depicts and that which Welsh legends and history, e.g. the *Liber Landavensis*, describe in details. And that Church, again, is one spread over the whole nation, organised, endowed, having churches and altars, the three orders of the ministry, monastic institutions, embracing the people of all ranks and classes. It had spread, moreover, into Ireland and Scotland, and into Brittany. It was also a learned Church. It had its own version of the Bible—its own ritual. Its learned men even knew Greek, so far at any rate as to make bad Latin worse by a sprinkling of Greek words. Look again yet further than Gildas, and the Celtic Churches have taken a more distinct and a far nobler position still. They have become in the sixth and seventh centuries not only the Church of the people and land of all the British isles, including gradually within the sphere of their influence almost the whole of

transfer of the language of Eusebius unchanged to his own pages. The position of Constantius, and the evidence of Sozomen, sufficiently establish the fact that in England there was hardly any persecution at all.

Saxon as well as Celtic England; but they are now the leading Churches of northern Europe, the great centre of learning, the prolific hive of missions, and the focus of devotional feeling for all Christians north of the Alps, except where Italy still kept an opening for herself through the southern portion of France, and by the help of the Catholic Franks. They have assumed, from the outward tonsure to the inward spirit, a substantive and vigorous character of their own. It is dangerous to speculate upon the issues of contingencies that have not happened. Yet Church historians cannot be far wrong in saying that a mere turn of the scale, humanly speaking, prevented the establishment, in the seventh century, of an aggregate of Churches in North-western Europe, looking for their centre to the Irish and British Churches, and as entirely independent of the Papacy as are the English-speaking Churches of the present day. The Celtic skull and the Celtic temperament, we are told by naturalistic ethnologists, are perforce Romanist. We commend the fact to notice, that the largest and most powerful combination of European orthodox Churches not paying obedience to the Roman See at any period anterior to the Reformation, consisted of the entire aggregate of the Celtic Churches existing at the time, with the addition of a body of Celtic missions among Teutonic tribes.

A few words will sketch, though very imperfectly, the outline of the important part then played by the Churches (as they have been called) of the British Confession. From the middle of the fifth to the middle of the ninth centuries (c. 450—850), a combination of Churches arose, culminated, and finally melted into the Communion of their opponents, differing from the then Roman Church in ritual, but not in doctrine; having drifted, indeed, by mere lapse of time into such divergences as inevitably result from discontinuance of intercourse, but nothing more: having their own Liturgy, their own (in part at least) Latin translation of the Bible, their own mode of chanting, their own monastic rule, their own missions, their own succession of bishops, lastly, their own old-fashioned but erroneous cycle for observing Easter; unconscious, at the time of the severance, of any submission due to the bishops of Rome, and unhesita-

* The statement of Giraldus Cambrensis, that the synods of Llandewi Brefi and of Victory, which, according to the common story, suppressed Pelagianism in Wales in the sixth century, were confirmed by the authority of the Roman Church, is relied upon (e.g. by Kunstmann) as proving the submission of the British Church to

tingly repudiating it when circumstances brought it before them^p; and (as their legendary lives of saints shew,) gazing fondly back to that which had formed the cynosure of Christian eyes at the time when Barbarian conquest first cut them off from southern Christendom, viz. to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, rather than to (although not to the exclusion of) the apostolic threshold of Papal Rome. The great break-up of Roman Gaul in the middle of the fifth century, which thrust a barrier of savage Paganism between the general community of Christendom and the British Isles, and, as a part of the same movement, the Saxon invasion of Britain itself, mark the commencement, as they formed the causes of the ecclesiastical phase of which we speak. The great Irish monasteries, and the triple catalogue of Irish saints upon which Ussher comments, and St. Columba and the Culdees of Icolmkill, with, in a less degree, the half-wasted Churches of Wales and Cornwall, constituted its heart, and the centres of the Christian life which radiated from it. The mission of Columbanus (c. 590), and shortly after of St. Gall, and of many other Scotch missionaries, to Lorraine, Franche Comté, and Switzerland, and the all but complete absorption of Anglo-Saxon Christianity into the Scoto-Irish Church, prior to the Conference at Whitby in 664, were its culminating points. The colonization of Brittany (c. 450), the foundation of

the Pope in that century. It simply proves that the Britons looked up to Rome in the days of Rhyddmerch in the tenth century, whose "Life of St. David" is Giraldus' sole authority, the latter having done no more than translated Rhyddmerch's bad Latin into (as he conceived) an elegant style—a style, by the way, about as much superior to Rhyddmerch's as would just constitute the difference between being rejected or not at an Oxford examination of the present day. But in Rhyddmerch's time, Bishops of St. David's had come to look for consecration to the Saxon Archbishops of Canterbury, and of course looked up to the see of Rome as much as they did. And, beyond doubt, the anti-papal attitude of the Britons, A.D. 600, which rests upon Bede and other indubitable testimony, is quite enough to shew that the two words on the subject in Rhyddmerch ("Romana auctoritate") represent his own feeling and no more. Indeed, his "Life of St. David" is a pure legend throughout, and is historical evidence, therefore, in respect to the writer, but not in respect to his subject.

^p Columbanus professes respect to Rome as "Caput Ecclesiarum," but "salva loci Dominicæ Resurrectionis singulari prærogativa." In other words, he places his relation to Rome in the same category with his relation to Jerusalem, and reckons both to be simply entitled to reverence, not to canonical obedience; and even so, Jerusalem first and Rome second. And no one can read Columbanus' letters without perceiving that the idea of the papal supremacy in the modern sense had never entered his head.

the Irish monastery of Bobbio, near Pavia, among the Arian Lombards by Columbanus (c. 600), the Scotch monasteries at Ratisbon and Vienna,—the brave missions of holy men, unnamed on earth, to Faroe and to Iceland—and the establishment of a British colony and a British bishopric, occupied by Mailoc, in Spanish Galicia (c. 570), a kind of Gibraltar geographically, though in no other sense, to the British Churches,—point to its furthest local extent. And while the names of Wilfred and of Theodore mark its decadence in Britain, and that of Boniface its more violent suppression in Germany and Switzerland; yet traces of Irish feeling linger on in Brittany, and in France generally, until at least the beginning of the ninth century, if not later⁹, while in Ireland the fusion of the Churches was not complete until the Norman Conquest of the country by Henry II., some four hundred years later. Externally measured, the extent of the non-Roman Communion thus described well-nigh balanced that which remained on the Roman side. For Ostrogoth and Lombard Arians in succession overran Italy itself during nearly the whole of the sixth and seventh centuries, and Arian Visigoths occupied Gaul first, and then Spain, for a considerable portion of the same period; leaving the Catholics in Italy and Spain, and the Churches of the Frank kingdom and of the now (after 517) Catholicised Burgundians, and later still (597), the Anglo-Saxon mission, and we suppose we must throw in Illyricum, to form the entire Papal Communion in Europe. But the internal by no means corresponds to the external parallel with modern divi-

⁹ The decree of Louis le Debonnaire respecting the Breton Abbey of Landerenec in the beginning of the ninth century, marks the date of the absorption of Scotch or British monastic rule and tonsure into the Benedictine in Brittany. But in southern France the white robe of Columbanus is usually but erroneously said to have given way to the black robe of the Benedictines, and with the garb all other peculiarities likewise, at an earlier date still. Mabillon, indeed, dates their disappearance in Columbanus' own (Italian) Abbey of Bobbio, as early as 628, but upon evidence that does not by any means bear out the inference he draws from it. As regards France, Lappenberg cites a respectful mention by the French bishops of the *Hospitalia Scottorum* in 846. And Joannes Scotus, at the end of that century, is a proof in his own person both of the respect paid to Scottish learning still, and of Scottish claims to that respect. (We cannot forbear transcribing, by the way, for our readers' amusement, the account of Scotus given in a recent compendium of English history:—"He resided in the court of Charles the Bold. He was afterwards made by Alfred head of Brasenose, and was at last assassinated by robbers in Malmesbury Abbey.") Single immersion in baptism, which is conjectured to have been a Scotch or British practice, lingered on in Brittany until the seventeenth century—so Martene informs us.

sions of the European Churches, above suggested. The absence at that time of any doctrinal or essential difference, and the externality of those differences which existed—the weight of superior civilization in both arts and literature thrown wholly into the scale of Rome,—imperial as well as ecclesiastical associations, attaching themselves to the same side—the power of centralization belonging to the Papacy, but wanting to its rivals,—all combined with the course of political events (as e.g. the rise of Anglo-Saxon and of French power on the two sides respectively of the Channel), to give a different issue of the contest from that, which a different chain of conditions prognosticates, we hope, for its modern reproduction. But the value, ecclesiastically speaking, of the position which these Churches occupied, does not depend upon the success with which they maintained it. The fact still retains its force, that they had been simply unconscious of Papal claims at the period of their isolation. And, like the unburied sculptures of some Ninevite mound, the attitude in which they are found upon their renewed contact with the world without, affords unimpeachable evidence of their real ecclesiastical position at the time when they were first shrouded in the obscurity of their northern tomb from the eyes of southern Europe.

Various theories have been devised to account for the position thus occupied by the British Churches. M. Schöll, out of his own head, supposes a substitution, in the fifth century, in the place of the older British Church, how accomplished he does not say, of a new Christianity derived from the East. The general current of writers, except Roman Catholics, encouraged by supposed polemical reasons, push back this alleged oriental foundation to the earliest original of any British Church at all; and mainly through a pure blunder respecting the British Easter controversy, conjecture a mission to our shores from Asia Minor. And while writers like Parsons and Alford, or even Lingard and Kunstmann, try to make polemical capital out of the apocryphal story of Pope Eleutherus and King Lucius, those of an opposite school, in the supposed interests of Protestantism, have clutched at the equally baseless story of St. Paul's visit to Britain. And now comes Mr. Morgan, though largely ignorant of the actual facts of Celtic Church history, but with, as far as we know, an original theory, to claim for the Druidical element the credit of this non-Roman independence. Unfortunately, not one of these hypotheses accounts for the facts

of the case, and not even the least wild among them rests upon reliable evidence, or is consistent with the evidence that exists. Neither an Eastern, nor a Papal, nor a Pauline, nor a Druidical origin will account for the phenomena of a Church, that had no Eastern customs, knew of no canonical subjection due to the Pope, differed in no way doctrinally, or in the first instance ritually, from European Christendom in general, was singularly free from metaphysical speculations, and though given rather to those practical views which developed into Pelagianism, yet originated no special doctrinal views of her own, true or false, upon any subject whatever. While of evidence to support these several theories we must affirm that there is simply none.

A fair survey of what is really known, will shew, we believe, that the more natural supposition of the simple spread of the Gospel from the Gallic Churches to their British neighbours, modified as time went on by the successive historical conditions of the British people, is the only reasonable result, and a perfectly adequate explanation, of the whole of the facts.

We turn, then, to the earlier portion of the history we are considering, with the purpose of reviewing concisely the real amount of that evidence upon which our modern writers dilate at such full length, and build such airy palaces. If a review of British Church *history* would take us rather to the far more interesting field we have above indicated, a review of British Church *historians* must call back our attention to the duller and more disputed period of which we first made mention.

The earliest reliable testimony to the existence of a British Church at all, is to be found in the words of Tertullian, c. A.D. 208; rhetorical, no doubt, but sufficiently precise to shew the writer's belief, as in a well-known fact, that there were then Christians in Britain. The passage, however, was probably written at a time when the Emperor Severus was engaged, but had not yet succeeded, in quelling a British revolt. And the phrase, *Romanis inaccessa loca*, therefore, does not affirm the existence of Christianity external to what had been, and shortly was again, the Roman province, but simply that Christian missionaries had succeeded, where Roman soldiers, at that moment, had failed. Some twenty years subsequent to Tertullian, Origen repeats a like testimony more than once. But it is at the same time stated, in a homily attributed to Origen, and at least not of earlier date, that the Gospel

at that time had not even been preached to the greater part of the Britons—*plurimi* (among the Britons, as well as other nations, such as the Moors) *nondum audiverunt evangelii verbum*. From the time of Constantius Chlorus and the year 300, it becomes superfluous to dwell upon testimony to so indisputable a fact as that of the existence of a British Church, of some extent or other. Even if Mr. Wright persists in requiring the literal bricks and stones of Christian churches or monuments, we trust to satisfy him before we have done. But for more reasonable inquirers, the list of authorities in the note^r will amply suffice. We rather hasten to reply to the less preposterous question, how we come to deny the existence of evidence to such a Church earlier than Tertullian?

The absence of evidence is, in itself, a sufficient ground for withholding assent from any historical theory. In the present case there appears to exist, also, counter evidence to disprove that theory. Of course, no one would take upon him to affirm, that no single Christian man found his way to Britain before the year 200. The legitimate conclusion from the evidence is simply, that there was no formed Church there before some date close upon that year. Now there are one or two statements of good authors which appear to prove this. Irenæus, for instance, about A.D. 176, enumerating the several Churches of Christendom, and dwelling with some particularity upon his own neighbours, knows of Churches in northern and western Europe only among the Germans (the *Germaniæ* of the Roman Empire), the Iberians, and the Celts. And the latter term in Irenæus, as in Cæsar, means indisputably, not the Britons, but exclusively and properly *Gallia Cellica*, Irenæus' own locality, and the known seat, at that time, of many Churches; though (if we may trust the traditions respecting the Lyonnese persecutions, which are not likely to fall short of the truth) of none, at that time,

^r Act. Concil. Arelat., A.D. 314, ap. Labb. I. 1430; Constantini Epist. ad Eccles. ap. Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 17, 19; Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. iii. 5; S. Athanas. ad Jovian. Imperat. (Op. II. 761), Apol. c. Arian. (I. 123), Hist. Arian. ad Monach. (I. 360); S. Hilar. Pietav. de Synodis, in Prolog.; Sulp. Severus, Hist. Sac. II. 55; S. Chrysost., c. Judæos (Op. I. 575, Montf.); Serm. de Util. Lect. Script., in Epist. ad Cor. II. Hom. XXVIII., Serm. in Pentecost. (possibly apurios); S. Jerom., Ad Evangelium (Op. IV. ii. 803), Ad Heliodorum (ib. 267), Orthod. et Lucif. Dial. (ib. 298), Ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelag. xliii. (ib. 481), Ad Paulam (ib. 551), Ad Paulinum (ib. 564), Ad Oceanum (ib. 662); Palladius. Hist. Lausiac., cxviii.; Theodoret, Philoth. xxvi., De Legg. ix.; Prudentius, *Περὶ Στεφανῶν*, xiii. 103. We might enlarge the list considerably from writers further on in the fifth century.

further north than Langres. Sulpicius Severus, again, a late authority (A.D. 400), but of some weight respecting Gallic history, asserting the well-known Lyonnese martyrs of what he calls the fifth persecution (166—179) to have been the first martyrs in Gaul, explains his statement by the remark—"serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta." And if not "across the Alps," then much less across the British Channel. The best evidence, indeed, postpones the entire Christianizing of even Gaul to the middle of the third century. On the other hand, the obscure words of Gildas, assigning the introduction of the Gospel into Britain to the reign of Tiberius, upon which so much ingenious criticism has been wasted, and which are repeated, *usque ad nauseam*, by every compendium writer of English Church history, are simply (as Ussher hints, and M. Schöll proves,) an extension of certain words of Eusebius, unwarranted by the original, so as to include Britain within their scope. Gildas himself, writing in the sixth century, avowedly knows nothing of the early history of the Church of his own country, beyond what he had found, or fancied he found, in foreign writers, and mainly in the Latin translation of Eusebius; for the simple reason assigned by himself, that all native documents had perished in the Saxon troubles. And as the water cannot rise above the fountain-head, so the silence of Eusebius, when we look to his own words, cuts away the ground altogether from his copyist's mistaken amplification of them.

But if general statements thus fail those who would ante-date British Christianity, still less can they rely upon circumstantial legends respecting individuals. We can scarcely hope, indeed, to lay the ghosts that have so long troubled the minds and disturbed the imaginations of patriotic and controversial historians; yet an attempt at really sifting evidence may effect something for truth in the present critical days. During the first two centuries of the Christian era, then,—1. Apostles, or apostolic men, are represented as preaching in Britain, and specially St. Paul. 2. British Christians are spoken of as in Britain itself. And, 3. either in Rome, or at different places in Gaul, or even Italy, conjecture, or mistake, or legend, has localized Christian Britons. We would fain hope, in spite of symptoms to the contrary, that the historical spirit has been so far cultivated among us, as at least to allay the storm of indignant moral reprobation which the denial of each and all of these stories is too likely to conjure up.

1. A patriarch of Jerusalem, in the year 629, Sophronius, brings St. Paul to the shores of Britain. There is literally no earlier real authority for the story. A poet, Venantius Fortunatus, about 580, alleges that the Apostle's *pen* came thither, not himself*; evidence which would prove St. Cyprian, also, to have been a British missionary, for his pen, likewise, according to another Christian poet†, “Gallos foveat, imbuat Britannos.” The vague rhetoric of Theodoret (in one passage of his writings) and of Eusebius, of whom one specifies the Apostle, but not the country, and the other names the country, but not the Apostle—a second passage, in which Theodoret speaks of St. Paul preaching in certain islands in the sea, meaning obviously Crete—the purely rhetorical verbiage of St. Jerome and St. Basil—prove simply nothing. And the well-known phrase of St. Clement, read by the light of St. Paul's expressed intention of journeying to Spain, would never have been quoted to prove a visit to Britain, except in the interest of a foregone conclusion. Those who maintain such a visit must, of course, find room for it in their chronology of St. Paul's life. To ourselves, who believe that there is simply no evidence for the story, it is superfluous to enter into chronological difficulties. Neither need we stop to argue its improbability upon other grounds; as, for instance, the absence of any traces of St. Paul's presence in the intervening Churches of Gaul, where in truth none existed for a full century after the supposed journey. The story must first of all have feet to stand upon, before it can be needful to waste time in knocking it down.

The visits of other Apostles to our shores (and there are no less than six, including St. Paul, for whom a claim has been put in) are equally destitute of any real ground to rest upon. The best authorities for them are such writings as the spurious *Synopsis Dorothei*, where we find, by way of measure of its historical value, one “Cæsar, Bishop of Dyrrachium,” included among the “seventy-two disciples,” on the authority of St. Paul, in Philipp. iv. 22; or the veracious Simcon Metaphrastes, or the Greek Menologies; sufficiently heavy weights, in point both of date and of internal credibility, to drown any statement respecting the early times we are now considering, to which their names alone are attached. A like fatal interval between the alleged fact, and the date of the witness, de-

* So Lingard.

† Prudentius.

stroys the possibility of accepting Aristobulus, Celticized into Arwystli, as among the apostles of Wales. The authorities are the so-called Dorotheus above mentioned (and we have seen what that book is worth) and the Triads; the latter, by the very locality which they assign to him, as well as upon other grounds, belonging of necessity to a period considerably after Britons had become Welshmen in the modern sense of the name, and, therefore, at the very least, four centuries and a-half after date, and probably two or three centuries later still. We trust Mr. Morgan will forgive us, if we leave him, undisturbed by obtrusive argument, to his pleasant dream about Joseph of Arimathea.

2. But what of that first of Christian kings, Lucius, or Lles, or Lleurwg, or Lleuer mawr, the premier patron of an Established Church, the great transformer of Flamens and Archflamens into Bishops and Archbishops, the prototype of the genuine Erastian form of regal supremacy, or, on the other side of the question, the correspondent and convert of the Pope, and the dutiful son of Rome? Shall we be forgiven, if, forced by the stern canons of evidence, we pronounce him a mere Roman invention of the fourth or fifth century, first dressed up into shape in Wales, in the eighth or ninth? The earliest traceable mention of such a personage is in the short biographies of the Popes, known as the *Catalogus Pontificum*. In the earliest form, indeed, of this *Catalogus*, coming down to 353, there is not a word on the subject. But in the next edition, so to call it, coming down to 527, one line is interpolated about it into the life of Pope Eleutherus, expressed in language so thoroughly of the mint of Roman writers of the beginning of the fifth century, as to betray its origin at once. Compare it, e.g. with Prosper's account, about the same date, of the missions by the Popes of Germanus and of Palladius, to England and Ireland respectively. And the peculiar phraseology employed enables us to trace the course of the story, as well as its birthplace. Bede first of all, learning it probably from his ordinary sources of Roman information, introduced it into England; his usual authority for British Church history, Gildas, being ignorant of the tale altogether. About a century or so afterwards, the so-called Nennius blunderingly repeats it—the first native authority that does so, unless the Triads preceded him, as possibly (accepting Mr. Stephens' verdict) the earliest of them may precede him by a few years. Thenceforward, legend is busy with the hitherto bare statement.

And in the *Liber Landavensis*, and in the monkish stories with which William of Malmesbury adorned his "Glastonbury Antiquities," and still more in the vivacious pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it comes out at length in full bloom. It yet remained for a later and, if possible, clumsier forger to concoct the letter of Pope Eleutherus, and to thrust it, of all the odd places in the world (among, however, other purely legendary matter relating to Wales and its connexion with Saxon neighbours), into a kind of Appendix to the Laws of Edward the Confessor. Yet the impudence of the fiction finds really a shadow of excuse in the credulity which, even in this present year wherein we are writing, repeats the myth of King Lucius' butler, and at least appears to believe as possible the veracity of the brass tablet, which, before the Great Fire, chronicled the hoar antiquity of St. Peter's, Cornhill. We need not go on to consider whether it be best, with Stillingfleet, to localize our imaginary king in wild and un-Romanized Sussex, or with most authors, agreeing with Welsh legends, in Glamorganshire, or with some romance writers of our own time, in Gloucester. Time enough, too, to adduce the analogies of Herod and Mithridates, or, nearer home, of Cogidunus, and other tributary kings, allowed to cling under the shadow of Rome to a precarious independence, when it is first shewn that there is a tittle of reason for believing that our particular British tributary ever existed at all. Assuredly a fancy, or a blunder, or a fiction, picked up at Rome sometime during the fifth century, and translated into the language which seemed to a Roman biographer of Popes to be appropriate to his own ecclesiastical views, is not evidence on which to ground an historical statement, relating to an event in remote Britain, dated three centuries and a-half before.

Of yet earlier candidates for the prerogative of premier Christian of Britain, such as Bran the Blessed and his family, we are equally constrained to pronounce a verdict of not proven. Traditions of the sixth or seventh centuries at the earliest, and probably of later date still (we refer ourselves to Mr. Stephens for the assertion) cannot establish as historical facts family histories of from five to six hundred years previous. It cannot, indeed, be pronounced impossible, that there could have been an isolated British Christian in the first century. We simply say, that there is no proof of the existence of such a one, while there is ample probability of the origination of fictions of the kind during the centuries from the fifth

forwards, so prolific, among the Welsh, of ecclesiastical, as indeed also of other legend.

3. Turning our eyes across the Channel to continental and Southern Europe, we are met first of all by a family tale so touching, that it is cruel to disenchant the inventor from his dream by the cold chill of criticism. The family of Pudens and of Claudia, the Roman noble and the British princess, united in their grand Roman palace by the ties both of earthly marriage and of spiritual brotherhood,—their sons and daughters by name and history, each in turn martyrs for the faith—their very parish church by name, and their parish clergyman by name, all complete—opening their hospitable doors to St. Paul, and forming a starting-point for his mission to the lady's native land,—pity that so fair a tale should lack the one element necessary to convert a romance into a history. We turn to facts, and certainly a Pudens and a Claudia are coupled by St. Paul, and a Pudens and a British lady Claudia are at a later date coupled together as husband and wife by Martial in certain epigrams: and though a less interval by a couple of generations would have made the identification easier, it is yet possible, by help of various suppositions, that the two pairs may be one and the same. It is true, further, that Pompina Græcina, the wife of an ex-governor of Britain, was accused and acquitted, A.D. 57 (Tac. Ann. xiii. 32), of a "*peregrina superstitio*," which there is nothing to hinder, and nothing to prove, to have been Christianity; and that her husband, who had something to do with the Rufi, seems possibly to have borne some distant relationship to Claudia Rufina. It is true, also, that an inscription found at Chichester records the donation of the site of a heathen temple by the son of one Pudentinus, four letters alone of the donor's own name remaining, viz. "*ente*," conjectured by antiquarians, e.g. Horsley, to stand for Pudente; and that Cogidunus, the British prince, who assumed in honour of the emperor the name of Claudius, and is therefore supposed to have something to do with Claudia, occurs in the inscription also, as the dedicatory of the temple. So far, we stand upon a few fragmentary facts. The connecting of these facts together, and the building out of them of a single story, is simply guess or legend—the unauthorized conversion of what physically might have been, into what actually has been, or the downright invention of a credulous age. Later martyrologies, in which the strangest blunders are mixed up with uncertified stories, form the sole direct testimony to any part of it.

But if classical writers yield a scanty return to our search, there is an abundant harvest derivable from untrustworthy compilers of the sixteenth century, if quantity could compensate for worthless quality. Unfortunately the four or five Britons traditionally claimed as founders, or bishops, of as many continental cloisters or churches in the first or second centuries, whom the omniscient diligence of Ussher has raked together—Beatus, the founder of Unterseven, on the Lake of Thun, Mansuetus, Bishop of Toul, Marcellus, first Bishop of Tongres and then of Trèves, Cataldus, the founder of Tarentine Christianity—to whom we may add Mello, Bishop of Rouen in the third century—rest upon no reliable authority; are, in the first four instances, dated at a time long preceding the possible existence of Christianity at all at the places assigned; and are, in a word, so entirely imaginary, that we should not have mentioned them, had not Mr. Morgan raised, upon the assumption of their reality, one of his airy and pretentious superstructures of so-called history. Mello, too, the one among such shadowy possibilities who has the best evidence for his existence, is precisely the one about whom Mr. Morgan says nothing.

Sweeping away, then, the whole of the confused heap of legends which have thus overgrown the true history, we are limited by the scanty existing evidence to the end of the second century as the earliest date of a British Church at all. A few lines, to fill in the picture, and render it a little, though not much, more than a bare skeleton, are all that the remaining fragments of evidence will allow.

I. First, it seems to be undeniable, that the British Christians, until towards the departure of the Romans, were to be found in Roman settlements, and were drawn from Roman settlers, or from the population connected with them. There are only scanty traces of Celtic Christians, and none at all (of a trustworthy sort) of a Celtic Church beyond the Roman limits, until the close of that period. The British bishoprics, when named (as in 314), belong to the capitals of the Roman provinces: to York and London certainly, and almost certainly, also, to Caerleon—*Colonia Legionensium*^a. British martyrs, so far as the accounts are trustworthy,

^a *Colonia Londinensium*, as the original text now stands, is not seemingly more different from *Col. Legionensium*, than from *Col. Lind.*, or *Lindicolinum*, i.e. *Lincoln*; and the external evidence, from the unbroken tradition which names Caerleon, the capital of the then third Roman Province, as the third British archiepiscopal see, in conjunction with York and London, seems conclusive for Caerleon.

belong to the same Caerleon and to Verulamium; and their names, Albanus, Julius, Aaron, are certainly not Celtic. The few other names preserved, however, include some of Celtic nationality, as Eborius, for instance, the somewhat suspicious name assigned to the Bishop of York in 314. Of his colleagues on that occasion, Restitutus and Adelfius, the latter may possibly be identical with Cadfrawd, as Rees supposes ('Welsh Saints'), just as Pelagius is supposed to be a translation of Morgan. But other and common Greek names occur in the Martyrologies, e.g. Socrates; and are just those we should expect to meet with, if the Christian ranks were recruited most largely (as is probable) from Roman slaves and freed men. Celtic names, indeed, occur, mixed with Latin ones, on Cornish tombstones; but these are mostly of a date when the British Church had become undoubtedly the Church of the native Britons. It is a much stronger fact than the scanty evidence of a few names, that we find all the antiquarian remains of British Christianity, as the churches or crosses, for instance, at Canterbury, Dover, Richborough, Lyminge, Porchester, connected distinctly and exclusively with Roman stations, and almost wholly clustered in the original Roman corner of the country². It is to be noticed, also, that Lappenberg has been misled by Ussher into his assertion of the existence of British translations of the Bible. There is no evidence for such translations in the alleged passage of St. Chrysostom³. And a Latin translation, in many parts peculiar to Britain, was current in the time of Gildas. We assume, then, the original British Church to have been distinctly connected with Roman domination in Britain; and in estimating the importance of this fact, we must remember, upon the undeniable evidence of language, how little real hold Roman occupation had upon Britain, and in what comparatively scanty numbers Roman occupants settled or sojourned there.

II. And the British Church, accordingly, at this period was plainly of limited extent and narrow means. Wherever Roman settlements in Britain lasted for any length of time, there Roman remains occur, and usually in no small abundance. It has been remarked long since, with surprise, that while heathen inscriptions,

² The few other existing remains are connected with Roman localities.

³ He speaks of Britons not as reading the Scriptures themselves, but as discoursing upon their contents—τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς φιλοσοφούντων—in their native tongue.

and altars, and statues, and tombs, occur by hundreds, traces of Christianity are of the rarest possible kind. Along the whole line of the great Roman Wall from the Tyne to the Solway, one altar, out of many hundreds of different kinds of heathen remains, has been supposed, and erroneously supposed, to be Christian. At Bath, the second great repertory of Roman antiquities, the question has not even been raised. At Cirencester, a couple of coins of two Christian emperors prove nothing. Putting aside Cornwall, where, among abundant Christian British remains of later date, there occur also a Christian tombstone or two, probably of Roman times; setting aside also Wales, where we believe there are no Christian antiquities of earlier date than the sixth century, unless a questionable Roman tombstone, half-Pagan, half-Christian, discovered lately at Caerleon, be allowed as an exception; we are reduced to the remains of the churches above mentioned², to a pair of dubious mosaics—at Horkstow, in Lincolnshire, and Frampton, in Dorsetshire—Pagan far more than Christian, to an inscription on a tombstone now in Lincoln, which also was originally Pagan, and to a few miscellaneous articles found in Yorkshire and Northumberland. The existence of any of such remains is enough to disprove Mr. Wright's universal negative. The existence of so few is enough to prove conclusively, that the Church of Britain in Roman times was not the Church of the rich or the noble, or even the Church of the people, but was scanty in numbers and poor in wealth. The acceptance of the imperial allowance, at Ariminum, by three British bishops alone, out of the entire body assembled, points to a like conclusion. Nor need we stop to notice the alleged multitude of British martyrs in the Diocletian persecution, when the real question on the evidence is, whether that persecution affected Britain at all.

III. If we turn from its secular to its ecclesiastical position, this poor and feeble, and not yet naturalized, Church, appears in history as simply following the lead of the Western Church in general, and specially of the Gallic. The Gospel, in the first instance, appears to have come in contact here (we are sorry to differ *toto celo* from

* With respect to British churches, the frail and transitory nature of their material should be borne in mind. Those of which any remains are preserved to the present time, were of Roman building. The stone church of Candida Casa, and the other of Paulinus, at Lincoln, and the glass, and lead, and architectural ornaments of Wilfred, were a double step in advance of the original British buildings. The wooden edifices of the later British and first Saxon churches were durable, compared to the wattle-and-mud walls of their first edifices.

Mr. Morgan's Druidical dreams) with no special school of philosophy, with no profound or intelligent faith external to itself, and introducing new ideas into the Christian mind, with no great mental powers of any kind. Under the term of "the Gauls," we find Britain sometimes politically included with its opposite neighbours; and ecclesiastical ideas of its importance seem to have followed a similar line. Setting aside altogether the Arianism imputed to the Church of Britain by Gildas, as supported by no other evidence (as usual) than a misapplication of Eusebius, while it is conclusively negatived by express testimonies of St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, Jerome, Sozomen, down to the synodical letter of the Council of Aquileia in 381,—we find British bishops silently counting as units in all the acts and fortunes of the Western Church; assenting to the Paschal among the other decrees of the Council of Arles in 314; assenting expressly (though probably not present) to both the faith and the Paschal decree of the Council of Nice; joining in the acquittal of St. Athanasius, at Sardica, in 347; ranked as orthodox, in 358, by St. Hilary of Poitiers, whose devoted admirers they were, in common with their Gallic neighbours; yet hesitating for a time, with the rest of the unmetaphysical Westerns, over the term *ὁμοούσιον*; beguiled into unintentional Arianism, perhaps at the Council of Milan in 355, but certainly at that of Ariminum in 359; yet unhesitatingly adhering again to St. Athanasius and to orthodoxy in 362. We would gladly believe them to have been at Nice, were it probable. But although the existing lists are corrupt, and therefore not conclusive, yet the universality of Constantine's invitation, extending, according to Eusebius, to all bishops everywhere, is obviously too weak a premiss to prove the actual presence of the bishops of a particular country, even though that country be one in which Constantine had a special interest; especially as Eusebius, in the same passage, evidently contemplates Gaul, not Britain, as forming with Persia the Dan and Beersheba respectively of the Churches of the time. While Gelasius of Cyzicum raises a strong counter-presumption, if he can be trusted, by telling us that, whereas copies of the Nicene decree were carried usually to their respective countries by the bishops of those countries, the copies for Britain, among the other Western Churches, were borne by Vitus and Vincent, the Roman presbyters, under the direction of Hosius. The like undistinguished course continues onward into the fifth century. The very mention of Britons usually arises from the geographical or

rhetorical motive of singling out one of the extremest limits of the Church. And thence alone it is, that we find them specified, for instance, in St. Jerome, or Palladius, or Theodoret, as meeting their ecclesiastical antipodes, the Persians, not at Rome only, but at the then common centre of Christian patriotism, at Jerusalem—visiting the holy places, sharing with others the hospitalities there dispensed by the bounteous Lady Melania, or gazing with awe, as they traversed the neighbouring Syria, upon Simeon on his lofty pillar.

The evident dependence of the early British upon the Gallic Church, leads to a like conclusion respecting the original insignificance of the former, and its lack of individual character. That dependence is evidenced in many ways. The leading Gallic bishops, from the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the fifth century, Hilary of Poitiers, Martin of Tours, Germain of Auxerre, successively sway the British Church as absolutely as their own. We have seen how Britain looked to St. Hilary's guidance in Arian times. In the Pelagian controversy they had the like recourse to Germain and his brother bishops, Lupus and Severus. And the dedication to St. Martin of churches at Canterbury and at Whithorne^a, the only two known British dedications of Roman date, and the express testimony of Venantius Fortunatus, and the watching of St. Columbanus for five nights, and afterwards of St. Senanus, at the tomb of St. Martin, and the keeping of St. Martin's *Dies Natalis* in Ireland, and numberless other facts of a like kind, which may be found in Dr. O'Connor's pages, prove how enduring and deep the feeling was with respect to him. The mission of St. Keby to Wales by Hilary, that of Ninian to Whithorne, and of St. Patrick to Ireland, in connexion with St. Martin, shew that even British missionary zeal, up to the fifth century, needed to be kindled and instructed from Gallic sources. And to this must be added the fact, that the erroneous Easter cycle of the subsequent British Churches was precisely the cycle of the Gallic Sulpicius Severus, drawn up about 410, and retained by them in the isolation which shortly afterwards cut them off from Southern Europe, while Rome

^a The numerous dedications to St. Martin of existing English churches—there is a St. Martin's church in every one of the older cathedral towns in England south of (and inclusive of) York, if we except Rochester, and accept Leicester in lieu of Lichfield, besides very many others, from St. Martin's Isle among the islands of Scilly, to Martindale in Westmoreland—are of course, at the earliest, of Saxon origin.

gradually amended her own cycle from time to time, beginning with Victor of Aquitaine, about 457, in order to bring it into harmony with that of Alexandria. The Gallic psalter, again, was that used in Ireland, as Ussher tells us, on evidence drawn from Sedulius, a writer of the end of the fifth century; although, on the other hand, it is evident, from Gildas, that the Roman psalter was current in Britain some half-century later. That the British liturgy was borrowed from the Gallic, is simply an inference, although a probable one, from the connexion between the Churches, and cannot therefore be alleged in proof of that connexion; while the peculiar customs common to both, which are commonly alleged (the anointing of the *hands* of presbyters, for instance, at their ordination, mentioned by Gildas), appear rather to have been borrowed by the Gallic, through the Saxon, from the British liturgy itself, at a much later period. But the fact needs no aid from doubtful sources. If anything is certain of the older British Church, it is its relation of dependence on the leadership of that of Gaul.

IV. The revolution wrought in the British Churches in the fifth and sixth centuries is palpable. Its nature and its cause afford the only ground for dispute. One might assume the probability of an extension of the Gospel to the native population by the fifth century. It is certain that the British Church was that of the nation in the sixth. The impossibility of tracing any bishopric in England at all, except the two at London and York, or any Welsh bishopric except Caerleon, to an earlier date than the first half of the sixth century, and the complete identification of all British ecclesiastical tradition with Wales exclusively, save in the two cases where Saxon Christianity preserved or restored it, viz. Glastonbury and St. Alban's, fall in with other evidence to prove, that the identification of the Christian Church with the nation dated but a short time before the period of Saxon inroads. On the other hand, the language of Gildas is a full proof of that Church's nationality in the midst of this period. During the generation or two preceding that historian (so to call him), i.e. at the close of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century, the Church of Britain manifestly had become Celtic in its character, and pretty well co-extensive with at least a large portion of the island south of Tweed. And the language of Constantius in his *Life of Germanus* carries up both statements to the yet earlier date of the beginning of the fifth century, while Saxons were as yet merely foreign robbers and not settled in the land. Its

extension to Ireland and Scotland, the introduction and wide spread of monachism within it, its reputation for learning, its band of saints, the foundations, in a word, of its subsequent greatness, date roughly from the same period. And if the existence of controversy and the conflicts of the truth with heresy are a proof of life, that proof also is to be found in the tenacity with which Pelagianism, although Britain was not its birthplace, nor a Briton its originator^b, yet clung to these islands after it had been crushed elsewhere. The disputed question is, whence this change arose. Was it the result of an Eastern connexion, original or subsequent? or of Druidism? or simply of the natural growth of a Church, thrown upon its own resources, purified by suffering, vitalized by its own missionary efforts, marked indeed (as time went on) by peculiarities arising from isolation, but otherwise deriving strength and character from having become the Church of a wide-spread race, which was destined, it is true, to succumb before the more practical sturdiness of the Teuton, but was full, nevertheless, of a vigorous and characteristic life of its own? We have no hesitation in closing with this last supposition. That Druidism coloured the later Welsh Christianity, is both probable, and is indeed shewn by such semi-pagan productions as Taliessin's to have been the fact. And it is quite possible that the Pelagian doctrines may have derived some additional strength from kindred Druidical tenets. On the other hand, it is very hard to say how much of what passes for Druidism was really borrowed and distorted from Christianity itself. As one element, however, in Celtic belief, we have no desire to dispute the possible truth of Mr. Morgan's assertion of its influence upon the British Church. All we affirm is, that, except in a few fragments of semi-pagan Welsh poetry, and perhaps in its possible affinity to Pelagianism, such influence is untraceable.

The Eastern theory boasts of more and greater names in its support. Yet no theory ever was more baseless. In one sense, indeed, every Church in the world is Eastern. Even in a more precise sense, the Western Churches, including Rome, were Eastern. They were, in the first instance, Greek in character and speech, and two centuries, at least, elapsed, before "the Latin tongue became Chris-

^b Pelagianism found, no doubt, a heresiarch and a name in a British monk, and that heresiarch a coadjutor (probably) in an Irishman. But neither Pelagius nor Celestius originated the heresy. It was imparted to Pelagius by Rufinus, a Syrian, and not in Britain, but in Rome.

tian." It is true also that the Church of Lyons, to which geographical considerations attach the probable origin of that of these islands, derived its origin from an Eastern source different from that equally Eastern source whence was derived the Church of Rome. But the British Eastern theory, if it means anything, means that the British Church stands distinguished from all other Western Churches by some peculiar and independent Eastern origin—connected with Jerusalem by some, by others with more shadow of reason with Asia Minor and St. John,—sufficient to account for alleged peculiarities in that British Church itself. It rests upon no ancient evidence*. It is simply a modern conjecture. It is a theory devised to account for those peculiarities. And if every one of these turns out to be the product of home-growth, and to be widely different from the ways of any Eastern Church whatever, the theory falls to the ground at once. Now such is undoubtedly the case. The British Easter cycle is the main support assumed for the theory. That Easter cycle, if we look to the facts, simply followed the cycle employed by the Western Church, and specially by the Church of Rome, even in its errors, up to the beginning of the fifth century, and then remained stationary in the erroneous form which Rome had at that time adopted, while Rome herself learned better things and accommodated herself gradually to the greater astronomical wisdom of Alexandria. It is a proof, then, of connexion with Rome, not of the contrary. And it agreed neither with the Quatodeciman view of the earlier Asiatics of Asia Minor, nor with the Alexandrine rule which governed the Eastern Church in general after the Council of Nice. The British mode of tonsure, which is a second point, leads to a precisely similar conclusion. It was as different from the Eastern as it was from the Roman tonsure, and obviously grew up among the Celtic Christians without any copying of other Churches, Eastern or Western. The Eastern tonsure, indeed, never came to British shores at all. And if St. Patrick did really introduce the Roman fashion into Ireland, it was, at all events, speedily supplanted by the Irish. The peculiar and inde-

* Bishop Colman, of Whitby, in 664, did not claim an Eastern origin for the Scotch or British Church. He merely asserted, and that incorrectly, that the Scotch kept Easter in the same way as St. John had done. Macpherson is the earliest writer in whom we at this moment remember to have noticed the conjecture. It is put forward by him as a conjecture, and upon the ground of the usual blunder about the British Easter.

pendent monastic rule of Columbanus was equally of home growth, so far as any monastic rule was so in the West.

Monastic institutions altogether were originally from the East; and Eastern rules were introduced into the West; and St. Basil's rule, which some have fancied the source of that of Columbanus, penetrated, among numberless others, into Gaul, and as far north as, e.g. Limoges, although in conjunction there with the rule of Cassian, and was common enough in Italy, we are told, after its appearance in a Latin translation. Up to the time of Benedict, there was, in fact, a multiplicity of rules in Western monachism, mainly derived from Eastern sources, but modified by Western founders of monasteries. The Scotch or Irish rule, or rules, may well have been drawn, as were those of Gaul, from Eastern sources, in combination with Western alterations; as, indeed, is expressly asserted of the rule introduced by St. Patrick into Ireland. But there is not a shadow of evidence for any connexion with the East in the matter, peculiar to Britain or to Ireland. Pelagianism, again, has been connected, even by such an historian as Neander, with this alleged Eastern character of British Christendom. Yet surely Pelagianism was distinctly the heresy of the practical common sense of the Western Church, as much as the metaphysical and unpractical subtleties of Arianism belonged to the Eastern. The præ-Augustine and Eastern fathers Pelagianized, if they did so, only as writers might who wrote before the question was broached. The Western Church, and that alone, embraced and retained and was divided by the heresy, as by one akin to its habits of thought.

The Greek crosses found in Cornwall^d may be accounted for by the general intercourse of the Church as a whole. And distinctive British peculiarities of ritual are so vaguely known, as to afford no ground for saying more than that, at any rate, nothing peculiarly Eastern appears in them^e. But if the ground thus breaks away from all the alleged proofs of this Eastern origin—*cadit quæstio*—there is no more need of argument to disprove that origin. The theory was invented to account for the facts; and if the facts not

^d That found in 1829, in St. Cuthbert's grave at Durham, was *not* there when the tomb was opened in 1104, and is conjectured by Lingard to have been placed there for safety at the time of the Reformation.

^e We do not know on what authority Döllinger affirms the British Church *to* have used unleavened wafers at the Eucharist, while the Church of Rome used *leavened* bread.

only do not harmonize, but hopelessly disagree with it, there is an end of the matter. We will only add, in conclusion, that the independent position occupied by the British Churches with respect to Rome, and maintained by them when Rome had advanced her pretensions, and strove to interfere with it, presents a much stronger argument against the Papal supremacy, if held to proceed from a Church simply Western, and differing in no way in point of origin from the Gallic Church or the Spanish, than if, in order to its validity, we deem it necessary to characterise the claimant of it as a Church of another order, and springing from an independent source.

ORIGINAL MS. OF THE LIBER LANDAVENSIS.

(From the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*" for July, 1868.)

It may interest the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* to have some account of the history and contents of the original MS. of the "Book of Llandaff." When this MS. was sought for by Mr. Rees, in order to print it for the Welsh MSS. Society, in 1840, the search was a fruitless one; although, singular to say, Mr. Rees, in his preface, actually mentions the then and present owner of it by name, in order to say that he did not possess it. Mr. Rees could hardly have applied to him for information on the subject. In consequence of his imperfect inquiries, the work was printed mainly from a facsimile copy made in 1660 by Mr. R. Vaughan of Hengwrt; a very beautiful MS., according to description; but, unfortunately, in Mr. Rees's transcript from it (but not, I am informed, in Mr. Vaughan's copy itself) there exists a very considerable number of small discrepancies from the original.

I. The history of the later fortunes of the original MS. appears to have been as follows: Bishop Godwin, of course, consulted it at Llandaff itself, of which see he was bishop, 1601—18. If we except a previous temporary loan of it to Archbishop Parker, from whose notes Wharton's extracts were taken, and who must have duly returned it,—and possibly a second loan to Dr. James, returned with a like honesty,—Bishop Field, of Llandaff (1619—27), is responsible for its first departure from its lawful owners. He lent it to Selden between the years just mentioned. While in Selden's possession, it appears to have been consulted and used by Usher, Spelman, and Dugdale also, and by the Rev. Bryan Twyne;

and either at the beginning of that period, or earlier, as above intimated, by Dr. James, the Bodleian Librarian (1598—1620); the extracts made by the last named of whom were in part taken from the original *Liber Landavensis* itself, as Mr. Rees would have seen had he inspected them; and from the additions to that original MS., of which Mr. Rees, of course, knew nothing; as well as from another and totally different MS., likewise belonging to Llandaff. Ussher and Spelman speak of the MS. as belonging to Llandaff; but their words do not afford reason for believing that Selden had actually returned the MS. to its cathedral home at the time when they were making use of it. On the contrary, upon Selden's death in 1654, the MS. is still found in his possession, and is mentioned by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Vaughan of Trawscoed, one of his executors, in a letter dated Sept. 24, 1659, as then belonging to the Public Library of the University of Oxford, to which Selden's MSS. were given by his executors in that very month and year. The Llandaff MS., however, if it really did go to Oxford at all with the rest of the collection (which probably it did not), could only have been there for a few days. A negotiation had been in progress since 1655, on the part of Mr. Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, for the purpose of procuring the MS. from Sir J. Vaughan (its possessor, as one of Selden's executors, from 1654-9), in order to make a copy of it; and in the letter above referred to, Sir J. Vaughan speaks of the MS. as at that time (Sept., 1659) belonging to the University of Oxford, and states that he had "procured" it for Mr. R. Vaughan's use, and requires a bond for its restitution. Mr. R. Vaughan's copy, of which he made but one, although originally intending to make two, was written (according to the MS. Hengwrt catalogue now at Peniarth) in 1660; between which year and his own death, in 1667, he obviously returned the MS. to Sir John, according to his bond. The latter, however, who had ignored all through the original ownership of the Llandaff Chapter, appears now to have ignored also the gift of Selden's MSS. (this one inclusive) by himself and his co-executors to the Bodleian Library; for the next account we have of the MS. finds it, in 1696, in the possession of Robert Davies, Esq., of Llanerch and Gwysaney, two estates close together, in the counties respectively of Denbigh and Flint; whose wife, Letitia, was the granddaughter of Sir John Vaughan, and to whom it must have passed either by gift of Sir John, or upon his death in 1674.

The cover of the MS. had suffered in the course of its travels; and in 1696 Mr. Davies, a learned and careful antiquary, while preserving the leaf of the cover, on which was, and is still, the curious figure in relief to be hereafter mentioned, supplied the MS. with a new leaf (of thick board, made to resemble the old one) on the other side, upon which he caused the following inscription to be placed in small brass nails: "Librum hunc temporis injurias passum novantiquo tegmine munire curavit R. D. 1696."

In the old catalogue of the Llanerch MSS., which is now at Owston, co. York, the MS. occurs as No. 22; and Mr. E. Lhuys, in his *Archæologia*, mentions it, in 1707, as at Gwysaney, in the possession of Mr. Davies, who died in 1710. From Mr. Robert Davies the MS. descended to the successive owners of his estates, and finally to Mr. John Davies, his great-grandson, who died without issue in 1785. It is mentioned, during the interval, by Bishop Tanner, who died in 1735, as at that time in the possession of Robert Davies, Esq., of Llanerch; and likewise by the Rev. Evan Evans in 1760, to whose extracts Mr. Rees refers as among the MSS. of Lewis Morris in the Welsh School Library in London, and who also mentions Llanerch. In 1792 the Welsh estates of the Davies family were divided by act of Parliament between the two sisters of Mr. John Davies, and the MSS. were divided at the same time. The *Liber Landavensis*, among others, went (with Gwysaney) to Mary, who married Philip Puleston, of Hafod-y-Wern, co. Denbigh, Esq.; of which marriage the sole issue was a daughter, Frances, who married Bryan Cooke, Esq., of Owston, co. York, M.P. for Malton; whose grandson and heir, Philip Bryan Davies Cooke, Esq., of Owston, is accordingly the present most careful and courteous owner of the never really missing MS. Even so late as 1815, it appears that Archdeacon Davies, of Brecon, and in 1811 Bishop Burgess, then of St. David's, were aware that the MS. had passed into the hands of Mr. Bryan Cooke, and that it was in his library; although they do not actually speak of Owston by name, and may have fancied that it still remained at Gwysaney.

It must be said on behalf of Selden and of his executors, that for the time, or most of it, during which he kept the MS. (1627—54), its proper owners, the Bishop and Chapter of Llandaff, were abolished,—so far as the law of the land could abolish them,—and that they continued so in 1659, when the gift was made to the Bodleian Library. Sir John Vaughan is apparently the greater culprit, who,

in 1660—67, when the MS. came again into his hands, returned it neither to Llandaff nor to Oxford.

Looking back to the period preceding Parker, Mr. Rees has printed an extract from a Llandaff chronicle in the Cotton MSS. (Titus D. xxii. 1), dated 1439, which cites charters, &c., as "in Graffo Sancti Thelyai;" and the entries in the end of the MS. itself, as will be seen below, amply prove its continued domicile at Llandaff (unless perchance it, or more probably the documents themselves which were copied into it, went to Rome and back in 1128 or 1129) from the date of its compilation, shortly before 1134, to the episcopate of Bishop Field in 1619. That its compiler and scribe was Galfridus, brother of Bishop Urban, rests upon an inference from Cotton MSS. Vesp. A. xiv., which contains a life of St. Teilo, ascribed there to this Galfridus, and identical with the life contained in the Llandaff MS. The identity of Galfridus with the Esni mentioned in the MS. itself (p. 81, Rees) as Dean of Llandaff, rests only on the fact that this Esni was also Urban's brother^f.

II. From the history of the MS. let us turn next to the MS. itself; and, to begin with its outside, one leaf of the cover, as mentioned above, was supplied by Mr. Davies in 1696; the other is part of the original cover—i.e. of the cover which the book had before it first left Llandaff. This is a thick oak board, once overlaid with gold and silver, and partially jewelled. Some of the small pins which fixed the metal-work to the oak still remain. The gold and silver and the jewel-work have disappeared. Some traces of precious metal still continue around a bronze figure, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, in full relief, formerly gilt, and still partially so, which occupies the centre of the cover, and which represents (not St. Teilo, as the Hengwrt Catalogue wrongly says, and Mr. Rees repeats, but) our Lord Himself standing on a crescent, and uplifting His hand in the act of blessing. The figure is far from despicable as a work of art, although the body is disproportionately small for the head.

The MS. itself consists in its original portion of 108 large folio vellum leaves (nearly thirteen inches by nine) beautifully written in double columns, and in excellent preservation. Its contents shew

^f The authorities for the above statements are either to be found referred to in Rees' preface to his edition in 1840, or are derived from the MS. Hengwrt Catalogue, from information supplied by Mr. P. Davies Cooke, or from the MS. itself. See also Short's *Hist. of Church of England*, c. i. p. 3.

it to have been written throughout (with certain small exceptions to be hereafter mentioned) at the same period, although not consecutively, viz. during the Episcopate of Urban, 1107—34, and during the latter part of that Episcopate. It begins with the Gospel of St. Matthew, in Latin, 47 pp. (the 48th is blank); Vulgate text, but with a trace here and there that the transcriber was familiar with the old Latin (e.g. the words *ventura* and *omnes* are interlined respectively at c. iii. v. 7, and c. vii. v. 23). The body of the MS., beginning at p. 49, contained, in the first instance, the legends of Elgar and Sampson, now on pp. 49—63 (there is no pagination, however, in the MS. itself); which were written consecutively, and probably (as the relics of Elgar with those of Dubricius were removed from Bardsey to Urban's new Cathedral in May, 1120, and as Elgar had no previous connection whatever with Llandaff) shortly after the May of 1120. At the same period were entered, but after an interval of twenty-four pages, viz. upon pp. 87—98, the legend of Dubricius (headed "*De Primo Statu Landavensis Ecclesiæ et Vita Archiepiscopi Dubricii*"), followed by an Indulgence of Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, towards the re-building of the cathedral in 1120; and on pp. 98—103, letters of Pope Calixtus II. in 1119, relating to Urban's first appeal in that year to the Pope at Rheims in his suit with the Bishops of St. David's and Hereford. Consecutively with these, follow the legends of St. Teilo and St. Oudoceus, pp. 104—141, and copies of charters and other entries from Teilo down to the consecration of Bishop Urban in 1107 (pp. 141—216); all, except two interpolations mentioned below, and a blank or two near the end for entries after all not made, written consecutively, and apparently 1120-4. The MS. breaks off in the middle of a sentence, after mentioning Urban's consecration, either for lack of vellum, or because the following page or pages have been lost. Subsequently to these entries, we find entered in paler ink upon p. 64, which had been left blank, certain statements about the city of Rome and Pope Eleutherius (on pp. 26, 27, of Rees); and upon pp. 65, 66, a concordat between Bishop Urban and Robert, Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Glamorgan, in 1126, written in a different character, but at the same period with the remainder; upon the right-hand column of p. 66, not filled by the concordat, two documents, out of their place, of Pope Honorius II., dated 1128-9 (p. 30 of Rees), of which the contents will shew why they were at first omitted; and upon

pp. 67—76 other letters and bulls of Honorius, of 1128-9, relating to Urban's second and third appeals against the Bishops of St. David's and Hereford; and upon pp. 77-9 an Indulgence of the Legate John of Crema, and the well-known summons of the Bishop of Llandaff to a Council of London, to be held by the Papal Legate, by permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury,—“*legis ordinatione nostraque conniventia*,”—both dated in 1125; and, lastly, summaries of two journeys, and no more, of Urban to Rome; all of which were, therefore, written into the volume before 1133, in which year he undertook his third journey. On a half page (p. 79), left blank at the end of these summaries, are entered, out of their place, two letters of Pope Honorius (pp. 51, 52, Rees), one of which is a repetition of one of the two previously mis-entered, as above said. Finally, the volume was completed by filling the leaves from p. 80 to p. 86 (both inclusive) with bulls and letters of Pope Innocent II., 1130-2, relating to Urban's final appeal in those years; which he attempted to renew in 1133-4, but was hindered from prosecuting by his death in the last-named year. These last entries break off at the bottom of the last column of p. 86, in the middle of a document and of a sentence, either because some pages were lost before the book was bound (of which, however, there is no trace), or because the life of St. Teilo was already written upon pp. 87—89. These documents of Innocent are the latest entries in the book itself in point of date, except the two interpolations above mentioned, which are (1) a note on a blank space following the Welsh version of the *Privilegium* of St. Teilo (p. 114, Rees), setting forth that this solemn sentence was promulgated in Llandaff Cathedral, 1410, with the effect of driving certain wicked transgressors of it mad; and (2.) a document, purporting to be copied into the volume, because the original (which refers to a transaction dated in 958) was perishing with age, inserted, however, pretty well into its place in point of date (pp. 237, 8, Rees), but on a space originally blank, and containing an agreement made at the bidding of Eadgar of England as suzerain, between Owen, King of South Wales, and Morgan, King of Morganwg; the scribe of which, possibly the original scribe, possibly the later one, has written throughout the better-known name of Howel for that of Owen, his son, who was the person really concerned in the transaction. There are also copious marks and short marginal notes (fifteenth century probably) throughout the volume, written by an

enthusiastic Llandaff Churchman, and calling attention triumphantly to every emphatic sentence in Papal bulls, or in the old charters, exalting the dignity or maintaining the privileges of Llandaff. The whole of the above matter, which is, in fact, the whole of the contents of the original MS., the Gospel of St. Matthew and the brief marginal notes excepted (which Mr. Vaughan omitted), has been printed by Rees from the Hengwrt copy, collated with other MSS., which were taken in truth from that copy. Unfortunately, there are considerable discrepancies of text between Mr. Rees's printed edition and the original; which, however, as I am informed, are due to Mr. Rees or his copyist, and not to the Hengwrt copy. Mr. Rees has obviously added to the number out of his own ingenuity—as, e.g. in the Concordat of 1126 between Robert of Gloucester and Bishop Urban, where he has invented for us, not only an “Oinus, Bishop of Eureux,” but, worse still, a “John, Bishop of Richmond,” with a various reading of “Oxford.” It would have been surely better to have confessed ignorance, if he had (very excusably) failed to guess, for the latter—what the original MS. actually has—“Johannes Luxoniensis,” meant obviously for John, Bishop of Lisieux, instead of which Mr. Rees has written “Ricomienensis.” But one might have hoped that the other well-known name and see would have been correctly translated.

In addition, however, to the original matter, the Owston MS. contains additions peculiar to itself, and belonging to dates subsequent to Urban's Episcopate: in one place, indeed, coming down as late as to Bishop Field in 1619. These occur at the end of the volume, and consist of (1) six vellum leaves of the size of the original, which contain—

Upon p. 1 (1.) a *Postcommunio* from a *Missa S. Teilavi*, written at the top left-hand corner, apparently fourteenth century, as follows:—

“Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, Qui de beato corpore Seti Thelyni confessoris tui atque pontificis tria corpora consecrasti, et per illud miraculum pacem et concordiam inter inimicos reformasti, concede propitius per eius suffragia pietatis Tue veniam consequamur: per Dominum nostrum. Amen.”

II. A statement of the duties of the Archdeacon of Llandaff, and of the payments to which he is entitled from each church in the diocese, written on the same page, but a little earlier than No. I., to make room for which the first words of this have been erased, beginning thus:—

"... Landavens, in tantum quoad potest, semel in anno quando voluerit, per se vel suum deputatum discretum et ecclesiasticum visitare, ac de criminibus et excessibus clericorum et laicorum ad ecclesiastici fori cognitionem spectantibus inquirere, necnon criminosos et in minoribus criminibus delinquentes, viz., pro non reparatione ecclesiarum et ornamentorum, pro fornicatione ac adulterio, cum his similibus, debite corrigere et punire; et inductiones concedere, et facere; testamenta probare, administrationes committere de bonis intestatorem; et in causis matrimonialibus, causis divortii, et diffamationis, procedere; ac easdem fine debita terminare. Majora tamen crimina ac causas, viz., causam hereseos mendacii (?) periurii, causam deputationis, institutionis, et destitutionis, cum talibus causis majorem jurisdictionem requirentibus, Episcopo debet referre; quia dicitur oculus Episcopi. Cuius quidam jurisdictionis et visitationis ratione dictus Archidiaconus Landavensis de consuetudine postscript; debet annates habere et percipere de qualibet ecclesiarum infra dictarum dioc. nomine visitationis; et etiam summas ratione expensarum impensas... perpetuis hujus libri infra... jurisdictionis nomine solidos x., ... et quatuor denarios."

The vellum is torn off at the edge of the last three lines, which are followed by a list of the churches and of their several payments.

Upon p. 2 (iii.), left-hand top, a list of donations to the see of Llandaff by Henry, who was Bishop of the see 1193—1219; and,

(iv.), right-hand top, a list of Kings of Kent, &c., and England, from Ethelbert to Richard I.; both of them thirteenth century; and,

(v.), on the rest of the page, a considerably later entry of the taxations of churches in the deanery of "Bargenney."

Upon pp. 3, 4 (vi.) are copies of documents of Innocent II.; and, (vii.), of the statement about Eleutherius and Lucius; all merely repeated from the earlier and proper MS.; and,

(viii.), upon p. 4, a record of a claim of services in the Cathedral of Llandaff, made Dec. 26, 1332, by William Mayloc and his wife, and of the diplomatic answer of Nicolas the treasurer, which led to the abandonment of the claim.

Pp. 5, 6 contain a list of Bishops of Llandaff, from Dubricius onwards to Bishop John Paschal (1344—61), made up to that date in the fourteenth century. The list, however, is continued in different hands and dates to the consecration of Bishop Field, Oct. 1619. This list, which is repeated further on (as will be seen below) as far as Bishop Wells (1425—41), is as follows:—

"Sanctus Dubricius Ar'ep'us.—Sanctus Thelyaus.—Sanctus Oudocheus.—Ubelinus.—Aidanus.—Elfystil.—Lunapeius.—Comergwynus*.—Argwystyl

* Comergwjus in second list.

Goruannus.—Gwydlonius.—Edylbinus.—Grecielis.—Berthgwynus.—Trichanus.—Eluogus.—Cathgwareth.—Cerenhir.—Nobis.—Pater.—Gulfridus.—Nuth.—Cymelliauth.—Libye^b.—Gowganus.—Marchlyud.—Blethery.—Joseph.—Herwaldus.—Urbanus.—Uicthredus.—Nicholaus.—Will'mus de Salso Marisco.—Henricus Prior de Bergeueny.—Will'mus Prior de Goldclivia, 1218.—Elyas de Radnore, 1230.—Will'mus de Burgo, 1245.—Joh'nes de la Ware, Abbas de Margan, 1254.—Will'mus de Radnore, 1256.—Will'mus de Brewys, 1265.—Joh'nes de Monemuta, 1296.—F. Joh'nes de Eglesclif, predicator, 1323.—F. Joh'nes Paschal, Carmelita, 1344.—Frat' Rog'us Credoc, Minor¹.—Frat' Thomas Busshonk², predicator, sa. theol. doctor.—Frat' Will'mus Botesham, ordinis predicatorum, sa. theol. doctor.—Frat' Edmundus de Burgo, monachus mon. de Burg¹, sa. theol. doctor.—Tidemannus, Abbas de Bello Loco.—Magister Andreas Baret, utriusque juris doctor.—Frat' Joh'es Borchul³, predicator.—Frat' Thom's Peuerel, Carmelita.—Frat' Joh'es la Zouche, sacre theol. doctor, ordinis minor.—Frat' Joh'es Wellys, ord. minor, sacre theol. doctor.—Nicholaus Assheby, quondam Prior Mon. Westmon.; cons. 1441.—Johannes Houden, predicator, sacre theologie doctor.—Johannes Smith, doctor theologie.—Johannes⁴ Marshall, doctor theologie, quondam socius Collegii de Merton, Oxon⁵.—Joh'es Yngylby, ordinis Carth'siensis ac quondam Prior de Sheyn.—Milo Salley, ordinis S'ti Benedicti, quondam elemosunarius monasterii Abendon⁶ et ibidem professor, et postea Abbas de Eynesham.—Georgius de Atequá, professor theologie et ordinis Predicatorum.—Robertus Holgate, doctor sacre theologie, ac magister ordinis Sancti Gilbertin⁷, et postea Presidens Consilii Regii in plaga boreali Anglie, installatus fuit in ecc'a Landavensi in vigilia Sanctæ⁸. . . . an⁹ mccccxxxvii.—Anthonius Keebyn, sacre theologie doctor, ac quondam de Eynesham Abbas, possessionem dictæ sedis adeptus est in vigilia S'c'te Trinitatis anno D'ni 1545 in persona Jo. Apharii legis doctoris Cancellarii sui, &c.—Hugo Johnes, in legibus Bacc¹⁰.—Will'mus Blethyn, in legibus Bacc¹¹.—Arthurus Brechon, Ep'm Laneluensis. qui p. Will'm Thomas avunc'lum suum in eadem, 29^o Aprilis anno D'ni 1575, regnique regine n'ri Elizabethæ 17^o, installatus est.—Geruasius Babington, theologie doctor.—Will'mus Morganus, theol. doctor; consecratus 20^o Julii 1595.—Franciscus Godwyn, s. theol. doctor; cons. Nov. 22, 1601.—Georgius Carleton, s. theologie doctor, cons. . . .—Theophilus Field, s. theologie doctor, cons. Octob. 7^o 1619."

The dates in the earlier portion of the above list, several of which are one year too early, are added in one of the later hands. The list itself down to Urban is evidently constructed by simply entering

^b In second list Libiauth.

¹ The writing changes here.

² Rusthook in second list.

³ "De abb'ie S'c'ti Edm'di," 2nd list.

⁴ The writing again changes here.

⁵ The hand changes here again,

and what follows is in many different hands.

⁶ "Consecrated an^o d'ni 1479" is added in the latest hand of all.

⁷ A hole in the vellum. The remaining letters look something like "Julii vii."; but Holgate was consecrated March 25.

the names in the order in which they occur in the charters contained in the *Liber Landavensis* itself. But these charters, independently of other evidence, are inconsistent in themselves with the assumption that they were placed in exact chronological sequence; e.g. Berthgwyn is expressly said in one of them (p. 173, Rees) to have succeeded Oudoceus immediately, while ten names are inserted between them in the list; and in another (p. 175), Greicielis appears, not as immediately preceding, but as succeeding, Berthgwyn, and that "post longum tempus." The second list inverts (wrongly) the order of Bishops Tidemannus and Baret, placing the latter first. Otherwise the two lists agree, except in a few insignificant matters, so far as the second extends, viz. to Bishop Wellys. These lists also agree with Godwyn, as, indeed, they were the authorities on which he relied; except that he has transferred Marchlwyd and Pater (in that order) from their places in the list, and has inserted them between Libiau and Gwgan, no doubt owing to the dates assigned to them in the Welsh chronicles and in the laws of Howel Dda. Bishop Paschal's consecration recurs again at greater length further on in another document. The only other point requiring notice is the entry following the name of W. Blethyn. It really concerns Bishop Blethyn himself, who was consecrated April 27, 1575, and doubtless installed on the 29th. He was Archdeacon of Brecon, so that "Arthurus" is probably a miswriting for "Archidiaconus," and the scribe must have fancied Brecon to have been in the diocese of St. Asaph.

Pp. 7, 8, contain (x.) statutes of Bishop John of Monmouth (1296—1323), and of Bishop John of Eglesclif (1323—40), and

(xi.) of Bishop John Paschal (1344—61); all relating to residence and duties of canons of the Cathedral, and entered in this place at the same time, but in the fourteenth century.

Upon p. 9 are three grants in different hands—

(xii.) of William de Burgo, Bishop (1245—54) to the Monastery of Goldclive.

(xiii.) of William, the Bishop, and of the Chapter of Llandaff, but which William does not appear.

(xiv.) of the Chapter of Llandaff to John de Hybernia, lands in Llandaff, 1328.

At the top of p. 10 is (xv.) a record of a suit between the King (Hen.) and John, Bishop of Llandaff, respecting the right of presentation to a church, claimed by the bishop as having been grant

by Edward I. to Bishop William de Brewys: from the Rolls of "Mich. 32, Rot. vi." Which John, however, it is not easy to decide. From 1408—1500 six bishops out of seven were named John; but, unfortunately, the third in order of the seven, who was named Nicholas, is the one in whose Episcopate falls the thirty-second year of Henry VI.

On the remainder of the page, there follows (xvi.) an entry of money duly paid to the executor of his creditor by the same John, Bishop of Llandaff, in the year following the previous entry:

And (xvii.) an entry, mis-copied by the scribe, of the four bishops, who were consecrated with Bishop Urban, viz., upon August 11, 1107, sc. "In Vill. Wintoniens. Will'us Exoniens. Remelius Herfordens. Rogierius Salesberiens., consecrati fuerunt in Ep'os." The copyist ought to have written "Will. Wintoniens." William, Bishop of Winchester, was one of the five then consecrated, and they were not consecrated at Winchester, but at Canterbury.

Next come (xviii.), in the same page, the forms for admission of a Bishop of Llandaff (Nicholas the Bishop) being probably Nicholas Ashby, Bishop (1441—58), as follows:—

"Nos auctoritate Archidiaconi Cantuarie nobis in hac parte commissa vos venerandum Præsulem Dominum Nicholaum in præsentî eccl'ia Landavensi in Ep'm admittimus.

"Et vos etiam prefatum Presulem eadem auctoritate installamus et locum in Choro assignamus.

"Vos etiam prenomiatum presulem presentis eccl'ie diocesanus intro-
nizamus.

"Et vos etiam prefatum presulem in domo nostra capitulari in fratrem et canonicum admittimus, et vobis principalem locum assignamus."

It will be remembered that the Bishop of Llandaff was *ex-officio* canon of the chapter, and filled the office of its dean.

Lastly, pp. 11, 12, contain (xix.) the oaths of Bishop (N. standing for the initial letter of his name), and canons on admission, viz.:—

"Forma Juramenti Epi' Landau' die Intronizationis suæ, quod quidem iuramentum præstabit in primo ingressu suo antequam ingreditur cimiterium: vz. ad oram sacelle occidentalis, sub hac forma verborum.

"Forma iuramenti Epi' quod faciet in Domo Capitulari quum admittitur in canonicum et in fratrem: fiet hoc modo.

"Forma iuramenti obedientie quam faciet canonicus Ep'o quando per Ep'm in Canonicum admissus est."

There is nothing remarkable in the form of the oaths. They are followed by statutes respecting canons, &c., made in the episcopates of W. de Breuse in 1275, of Joh. de Monemuta in 1318, and of Joh. de Eglesclif in 1326, the entries breaking off in the middle of a sentence at the foot of the page. One enactment is, that each canon, on admission, shall give either "a choral cope" worth five marks, or the same sum in money towards the fabric of the Cathedral.

2. Eight vellum leaves follow, of smaller size; the second interpolated between the first and third, which are consecutive. Their contents appear to have been written about the same time, viz. in the fifteenth century, but a note about Henry of Abergavenny is written in at the foot of two of the pages in a different hand.

They contain, pp. 13, 14, and 17, 18 (xx.), the list of bishops already given, repeated down to Bishop Wells (1425—41), but the last two names (after Peverel, 1397-8) are added to the list as it first stood. It is entitled, "*Noi'a Ep'or: qui fuerunt in Ecc'ia Cath. Land. a p'ma fundatione eiusdem, et sequit. successive.*" After the title and before the names is thrust into a blank space a statute about residence of canons. The list itself has been already spoken of. It differs only in trifling particulars from that given above, which, indeed, seems to have been copied from it; but at the end of it is added a further and important statement respecting the rights of the Lords of Glamorgan to the temporalities of the see during a vacancy, which were actually enjoyed by them down to the time of Edward I., although by grant of the Crown from the time of Henry III., a fact which the document fails to mention. It does not appear, however, that any claim was ever advanced by them to nominate also to the see itself; and such claim is expressly repudiated in the suit between them and the Crown in 1241. This statement sets forth—the earlier portion of it in Norman French—that between Bishops Herwald and Urban (i.e. 1104-7) the temporalities were held by Robert of Gloucester in right of his wife, daughter of Robert Fitzhamon (a confusion of dates, however; for Fitzhamon died in 1107, and Robert of Gloucester did not marry his daughter until 1109); that the same Robert held them between Urban and Uchtred (1134—40); that William, son of Robert, held them between Uchtred and Nicholas (1148), and again on the death of Nicholas in 1183, in which same year William himself also died (but William of Saltmarsh, the next bishop, was not consecrated

until 1186, and the record omits to state whether this, with other rights of the lordship of Glamorgan, had then already passed or not to John [i.e. afterwards King John], who married Earl William's youngest daughter, and had his earldoms): that between William of Saltmarsh and Henry of Abergavenny (1191-3) they were held by John "de Morteyn," in right of his wife Isabella, daughter of William of Gloucester (as just said): between Henry, who "fist les xiiij. provendres" (prebends), and William of Goldelive (1218-9), and again on the death of William in February, 1230, they were held by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who inherited the earldom and lordship through William's second daughter, and who himself died in 1230; that Richard de Clare, Gilbert's son, a minor and ward of King Henry, then succeeded to them, until Elias de Radnore had the see in 1230; that Gilbert le Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, as guardian of Earl Richard, held them between Elias de Radnore, who died "24 Hen. III., 1240, on the morrow of St. John ante portam Latinam," and Will. de Burgh (consecrated 1245); and Richard de Clare in his own right, between W. de Burgh, who died "37 H. III., on St. Barnabas' Day, 1253," and John de la Ware (consecrated 1254); and again between John de la Ware, who died "40 H. III., on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1256," and Will. de Radnor (consecrated 1257): that Gilbert de Clare, Richard's son and heir, had them between Will. de Radnor, who died "49 H. III., Friday before Epiphany, 1265," and Will. de Breuse (consecrated 1266), and again between Will. de Breuse, who died "the Tuesday before the Annunciation in 1287," and John of Monmouth (consecrated 1297).

This statement omits to mention, that in 1241 Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, was summoned by Henry III. to shew cause why he and not the king should enjoy these temporalities; that he pleaded in his own case a personal grant (a purchase, indeed, from the Crown of the wardship of R. de Clare, and of this particular right inclusive); that inquiry into the general question of right was then directed to be made; and that upon W. de Breuse's death in 1287, Edward I. actually claimed and had the right thenceforth; save, indeed, a like personal grant, which reverted to the Crown temp. Edward II., who thereupon constituted the chapter perpetual lessees of the Crown in respect to such temporalities.

The MS. continues in Latin:—

Postea Joh'nes de Monemuta consecratus fuit in Ep'm Landav. apud Can-

tuar. iiij. idus Februarii anno D'ni 1296, et obiit apud Landaf feria v. post octav. Pasche ann. D'ni 1323.

"Postea Frater Johannes de Eglesclif de ordine predicatorum, consecratus in curia Romana, venit ad dyoc. suam Landav. octavis S'te Trinitatis anno D'ni 1323, et obiit apud Lancadwaladur, viz. ii^o. die mensis Januarii anno D'ni 1306, et sepultus est in ecc'ia fratrum predicatorum de Kerdyf.

"Postea Frat. Joh'nes Paschell de ordine montis S'te Marie de Carmela, consecratus in Ep'm in cur. Romana^a vj. anno D'ni 1344, cassataque electione facta de d'no Joh'ne de Coventrie archid'no Landav. per reservationem factam in curia Romana de Ep'atu Landav., vacante per mortem supradicti fratris Joh'is de Eglesclif. Prenominatus frater Joh'nes Paschal Ep'us Landav. veniens de curia Romana in Angliam admissus est ab Archiep'o Cant. viz. iij. non. Jun. anno D'ni 1347; et obiit apud Landaf, et sepultus est in capella Beate Mariæ ibid. . . .^r lapide marmoreo."

Across the foot of pp. 14, 17, is written the following memorandum:—

"Iste Henricus de Bergaueny constituit xiiij. prebendas in S'to Cathed. Land.; et tot adhuc deberent^a esse: quarum xiiij. prebendarum secundum statuta nostra octo defungi debent per uicarios sacerdotes, quatuor vero per uicarios diaconos: et alie due prebende defungi debent per uicarios subdiaconos: qui faciunt xiiij. vicarios respondentes xiiij. prebendis seu xiiij. canonibus prebendariis: ut premissum est."

Upon pp. 15, 16, which is the interpolated leaf, are contained (xxi.) the oaths already mentioned as in No. xix., but with J. de l. (John de la Zouch, Bishop 1408—25) inserted instead of the N. of the already mentioned copy. The present copy, therefore, is the earlier of the two.

Lastly, upon pp. 19—28 follow entries:—(xxii.) 1. "De Procuracionibus annuis debitis Ep'o Landav. pro Ep'atu suo." 2. A list of the patronage of the see. 3. An assessment of tenths upon each parish of the diocese. It only remains to add, that four leaves at the beginning of the volume, and one at the end, which have no connection whatever with the MS. itself, or with Llandaff, have been bound up with it, apparently by the original maker of the magnificent cover: those at the beginning professing to come from the "Quodlib. S. de Lan.;" that at the end belonging to some treatise of canon or civil law.

It may be said, in conclusion, without lengthening unduly this already lengthy account, that the MS., as originally written in

^a One word illegible.

^r One word of two letters illegible.

^s So in MS.

Urban's Episcopate bears no other marks of untrustworthiness, than that the scribe was evidently destitute of either the will or the power to sift his materials, and of the knowledge requisite to enable him to arrange them correctly, and in accordance with historical accuracy. He obviously had before him documents of various dates, which he did not invent, but copied; although these documents themselves were not contemporary (save the later ones) with the transactions recorded in them, and were memoranda drawn up by interested parties, with no one to check their inventiveness. And whenever he ventures upon a date, or upon an historical fact that can be tested, he (or the document he copies) is almost invariably wrong. Plainly he had very little, if anything, beyond the documents themselves, to guide him in the chronological arrangement of the Bishops before Urban.

ESGOBAETH LLANELWY[†].

ST. DAVID's has been fortunate enough to find historians in two writers, unconnected with the actual place, and both of them of note otherwise, literary or ecclesiastical. St. Asaph, after attracting the special attention of no less an antiquarian than Wharton, besides, of course, coming within the scope of Browne Willis's omnivorous labours, has now found, if we may judge by the First Part of his work, a thoroughly good historian in one of its own diocesan clergy, who, if he cannot indeed rival such writers as Archdeacon Jones and Mr. Freeman in a literary point of view, has at any rate so treated his subject as to bring it ably to bear upon present and pressing Church questions. The part of the work already issued relates to the general history of the diocese. Beginning with a brief sketch of the history of the early Welsh Church as a whole, the narrative is limited to that of the special see of St. Asaph from the date at which that see first emerges into clear light—i.e. from the consecration of Bishop Gilbert in the early part of the twelfth century. Perhaps too little is said of earlier traces of its existence, as, e.g. of the Llanelwy Bishop in Hywel Dda's Laws. But in all

[†] "Esgobaeth Llanelwy: a History of the Diocese of St. Asaph." With an Ecclesiastical Account of its several Parishes. With Illustrations. By D. R. Thomas, M.A., Rector of St. Mary's, Cefn. (Jas. Parker and Co.) Part I. *Guardian*, April 13, 1870.

these earlier chapters there is a sensible and a reasonably critical spirit, such as has begun to distinguish antiquarian researches, and above all Welsh antiquarian researches, only within a comparatively recent period. And we read Mr. Thomas's pages with the comfortable sense of having to deal with a writer who carefully investigates and impartially weighs the actual evidence, and who seeks to produce an instructive narrative of really interesting facts. We desiderate, however, such helps to exactness as, e.g. a precise and detailed list of the Bishops. The settlement of the Welsh Church at the Reformation is carefully told so far as the particular diocese is concerned in it. And the mischief done in later periods by English Bishops, who were guilty of nepotism, as well as of (in some cases) non-residence, follows in its order, but is narrated without suppression, yet with a marked charity and fairness.

The last part of the volume, however, (for it is so thick a pamphlet as to be in effect a volume), is that which bears closest upon present questions. A kindly written account of the rise of Welsh Dissent, and of its causes, brings out the very important difference between that and English Nonconformity. It points out plainly that in Wales, at any rate in North Wales, the body which constitutes the bulk of Welsh Nonconformists arose from within the Church herself upon no doctrinal or even disciplinary grounds, but almost solely through the neglect of the Church herself to provide for cure of souls. It cannot be, say in effect its originators, that men should be bound to starve their souls and to undergo a famine of prayer and religious communion, because their legitimate pastors will not feed them. Of course, length of time has stereotyped and intensified a division, which originally sprang from a kind of necessity, and was, so to say, involuntary. And much as with our English Wesleyans, a schism has arisen, not the less marked because originally unintended. Yet in the circumstances here detailed may perhaps be found a better hope of recalling men to a living and active Church, whose forefathers only left that Church because it was then dead and inert.

The last of Mr. Thomas's chapters relates the improvements of the present century. And here, again, the prospect has many cheering elements. And in addition to those which Mr. Thomas enumerates, we must take leave to mention the prevalence of so broad and charitable and yet earnest and Church-like a spirit as that which Mr. Thomas's own book evinces, and which we trust and

believe is a specimen of a growing spirit among the Welsh clergy generally. And, on the lay side, from certainly more than one quarter in Wales, come indications that her people are estranged from the Church, where they are so, more by ignorance than by antipathy, and that a zealous clergy have before them the prospect of a great success.

THE DEAN OF LISMORE'S BOOK *.

THE traveller is to be congratulated who has passed the end of Lismore in fine weather, as he steamed from Oban to the Sound of Mull, and has measured under equally favourable circumstances the length of the island, on his way to Ballachulish, Loch Levin, and Glencoe. He could then think at his ease of Ossian, as he looked at the Great Island lying between the districts of Lorn and Morvern; or might remember (if indeed he happened ever to have known it) that Lismore was the Episcopal seat of the Bishops of Argyll some hundreds of years before the munificence of an individual found the bishopric another island home at Cumbrae. In 1514 Sir James Macgregor was Dean of Lismore. His great-grandfather had in troublous times, when the revenues of the Church were passing into the hands of laymen, secured for himself the vicarage of Fortingall and a lease of the Church lands. To this circumstance Sir James Macgregor owed one of his several names; for Mac-Gewykar means "the son of a vicar." The Dean was, we fear, generally non-resident. His family had a strong hold on Lismore, for long after his death the Chancellor of Lismore was his natural son, Dougal Macgregor, who had received letters of legitimation. But Sir James and his descendants seem to have clung still more closely to Fortingall or Fothergill, of which place he was lay-vicar, as well as firmarius, or farmer of the Church lands. There, in the heart of the Highlands, not far from the north of Loch Tay, lived the Dean and his brother Duncan. The ecclesiastic had clerkly tastes, and loved the poetry of the Western Highlands, which from his high position in the Church of Argyll he had peculiar facilities for collecting. His brother was himself a poet, and acted as the Dean's secretary and amanuensis.

* "The Dean of Lismore's Book." Edited with a Translation and Notes by the Rev. Thomas M'Lauchlan, and an Introduction and Additional Notes by W. F. Skene, Esq. (Edmonston and Douglas.) *Guardian*, May 14, 1862.

The two brothers obtained Gaelic poetry from all quarters, and transcribed it into a commonplace-book. This has been preserved, and is "The Dean of Lismore's Book."

This venerable document does not now make its first appearance on the stage of literature. The Highland Society of Scotland referred to it in their well-known report, in which they defended (so far as it was capable of defence) the genuineness of Macpherson's Ossian. No one, probably, at the present day, wishes to revive the Ossianic controversy. The question then at issue has resolved itself into one of degree. Every one now admits that Macpherson, having traditional material at his disposal, by no means confined himself to it, but was a free inventor as well as a free translator. Looking back at the man and his times, we see how cleverly he played his part. He was wrongly accused on some points, and became most judiciously angry. His anger made him taciturn, and he wrapped himself in it as a cloak. But the Celtic nationality was roused, and it fought for him when he would not defend himself. Chatterton died by poison or starvation; the Shakspeare forgeries hastened the death of Ireland; but James Macpherson, an obscure private tutor, flourished under persecution, exchanged angry letters with Dr. Johnson, translated Homer atrociously, and died a member of Parliament.

The dispute in those days was joined upon a wrong issue. Dr. Johnson was entirely mistaken when he declared that in an unwritten speech nothing that is not very short is transmitted from one generation to another. The book of the Dean of Lismore would have proved him wrong in asserting that the Erse was never a written language; that there was not in the world an Erse manuscript a hundred years old; and that the sounds of the Highlanders were never expressed by letters till some little books of piety were translated, and a metrical version of the Psalms was made by the Synod of Argyll. Neither party, however, would have been satisfied by the production of manuscripts. Very few persons could have read them; and if one side had declared that they contained the original poems of Ossian, the other would have protested that they were only Irish genealogies. If the truth had come out, it would have been generally unpleasant. It would have appeared that Erse was really a written language, but that what was written in it was not Macpherson's Ossian.

The controversy has since assumed another form, in which it is

not wholly concluded. Celt has engaged in dispute with Celt about Ossian. Irish authorities have stepped forward to claim for Ireland all that is genuine and valuable in Macpherson. The argument has been carried on eagerly rather than wisely. The transactions of the Royal Irish Academy are as strong on behalf of Ossian as the report of the Highland Society; but it is for an Irish Ossian. They endeavour to place Macpherson in the position of a witness, who breaks down irreparably on the points to which he is summoned to testify, but who reveals important truths when rigidly cross-examined. Macpherson is treated as an impostor, and Ossian as almost a nonentity, so far as Scotland is concerned; but, when the suit is carried across the Irish Channel, Macpherson becomes a skilful plagiarist, and Ossian a poetical reality. The reader will perceive that this line of argument, unless conducted with uncommon skill, may easily terminate in that *reductio ad absurdum* which is commonly called an Irish bull. It is hard to destroy an authority for one purpose and to preserve it for another.

The Dean of Lismore, of course, confutes Dr. Johnson positively and Macpherson negatively. He wrote Erse three hundred years ago; but his manuscript contains nothing like Temora. It is not so easy to ascertain the bearing of these ancient Gaelic poems on the controversy between Scotland and Ireland. Few persons would be competent to sit in judgment on the accuracy of Mr. M'Lauchlan's transcription and translation, or the soundness of the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Skene in his learned Preface. Mr. Skene allows that the poems in the form of a Dialogue between St. Patrick and Ossian (like that with which Sir Walter Scott amuses his readers in the "Antiquary,") are, directly or indirectly, of Irish origin. The Irish poems, it appears, correctly describe St. Patrick as MacCalphurn, or the son of Calphurnius; the Highlanders, to whom St. Patrick's history was strange, and the Irish epithet unintelligible, have changed the parentage of the saint, and styled him Patrick MacAlpine. There is no doubt, unhappily, that Scotchmen in a more learned and reflective age have mutilated some of the poems so as to suppress St. Patrick entirely, with a view to establish their purely Scottish origin. Mr. M'Lauchlan, while disdaining so dishonest a course, is anxious to retain, if possible, some of these poems as genuine compositions of Ossian, and suggests that the references to the saint may be of more recent introduction.

The reader who is neither able nor willing to investigate the details of Fenian history or the peculiarities of Erse orthography, may yet, if he has a genuine relish for antiquity, find much to interest him in this readable form of the Dean of Lismore's Book. It contains the literature of a rude and not highly poetical people. Its battles are bloody, its heroes valiant, its wild boars terrific, its women not always chaste, its religion technical and desponding, its descriptions richer in stock incident and epithet than in genuine imagination. The Welsh legends are by comparison peaceful, cultivated, sustained, and poetical. Indeed, this is not to be wondered at; for they are seldom wholly forgetful of the Roman civilization. But Irish learning and religion made no deep and permanent impression on the western islands; nor could the Norwegians claim to be a civilizing race. After reading these poems, we are not surprised to reflect that the rudest form of Celtic life within the British islands is to be found in the western isles and remoter Highlands of Scotland.

SCOTS ON THE CONTINENT*.

A Scot has not been an unimportant character upon the stage of the world from the earliest time of his entrance upon it. We may draw a veil over the rudeness of St. Jerome, shrinking in horror from the Attacottian cannibals whom he encountered, far from their homes, in Gaul, and of whom he speaks much as one might speak now of Bushmen made a show of in London; and whose descendants, strange to say, within two centuries, singled out himself

* 1. "Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums im Südwestlichem Deutschland, besonders in Württemberg." Von C. J. Hefele. (Tübingen, 1837.)

2. "La Civilization Chrétienne chez les Francs: Recherches sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Politique, et Littéraire des Temps Mérovingiens, et sur le Règne de Charlemagne." Par A. F. Ozanam, Professeur de Littérature Étrangère à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. (Paris, 1849.)

3. "The Monks of the West, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard." By the Count de Montalembert. Book VII. S. Columbanus. English Translation. (Edinburgh, 1861.)

4. "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, from the first Introduction of Christianity among the Irish to the beginning of the Thirteenth Century." By the Rev. J. Lanigan, D.D. Second Edition. (Dublin, 1829.) 4 vols.

5. "History of the Ancient Church in Ireland." By the Rev. W. G. Todd, A.B. (London, 1845.) 1 vol. 12mo. *Christian Remembrancer*.

above all other Fathers as the object of a special and hyper-papal veneration. Yet even among St. Jerome's denunciations of these poor creatures, and of the immoral Scots proper of his own day under their own name, occurs indirect evidence of an earlier Christianity in Ireland (the original Scotland) than that of St. Palladius' or St. Patrick's planting—of a Christianity there, contemporary with Jerome himself. For the heretic Scot Cœlestius, who found words in which to express the heretical thoughts of Pelagius, implies at the same time Scots that were Christians and not heretics, just as a shadow implies light. From the sixth century, however, down to the seventeenth, the continental reputation of "Scotsmen" was of a far different, and though strange in its contrasts, yet of a far more exalted kind; and during the first five centuries of that period we do not know that any national character in the then world stood higher. The name, indeed, is an equivocal one. And the Scots of modern geography, as they ousted their Irish progenitors both from the name itself, and, by virtue of the equivocation, from pecuniary foundations abroad, which were restricted to Scotsmen, so also supplanted the original Scottish reputation by one of a very different complexion. The Scots of modern Scotland, whom, during the great French wars, down to the close of them in the days of the Quentin Durwards, political reasons brought to fight their home battles with their home enemies upon a foreign shore and under a foreign banner,—or the Dalgetties again, who were not the least formidable of the formidable soldiers of the great Gustavus,—rivalled at best the far-famed Irish brigade, who under like circumstances helped to win Fontenoy for the French. And Irish Scots of later date, such as Marshal MacMahon, still preserve a kind of lingering echo of the like fame, somewhat tarnished indeed of late by the Pope's Own at the catastrophe of Spoleto. But the continental reputation of a Scot during the earlier centuries we have named was of a nobler strain than any that warlike glory or even political fidelity can give. It was marked for bravery, but it was bravery in a heavenly, not an earthly cause. It was marked, too, by other characteristics equally Irish, with courage,—by a ready wit, and an intensity and depth of feeling; by an affectionate temper, a restless moveability, an enthusiastic and excessive rather than a steady zeal, an occasionally blundering impetuosity; by great and not always judicious efforts, not well organized or long sustained; by a lively though wild imagination, by hasty speech, by independence of thought. But all these

qualities were ennobled and quickened by a fervour of religious life, and by a vigour and extent of Christian learning, which made the Scot of those days the missionary and the teacher *par excellence* of the northern Europe of the time. The traveller of the world, his travels were sanctified into pilgrimages; the great civilizer of northern Europe, his colonies were monasteries, which served at once as permanent fortresses to secure the advances of Christendom, and as the kernels of cities which in time converted forests into gardens and fields, and tamed barbarian hordes into Christian peoples.

The extreme limit of the West poured back with interest the gifts of civilization and of the Gospel upon the Roman empire, to which it had stood but shortly before as the very symbol of remotest barbarism. The scarcely planted appendage of the Gallic Churches repaid its founders by becoming in its turn the strength and life of Continental Christendom. And beyond their own task, it was the Celts, and mainly the Scots, who handed on in time to their Anglo-Saxon fellow-labourers and pupils the office of furthering and consolidating, by a more practical and less imaginative zeal, the great work of Christianizing and instructing the barbarian world, which Celtic enthusiasm so largely began. Developing with the greater freedom according to their own peculiar bent, because a barrier of Arianism, as well as the physical barrier of the Alps, shut them off, after their first planting, from Roman influence, the Scotch Churches of St. Patrick and St. Columba grew the more vigorously, because they looked to no foreign guide and leant on no foreign support. And first by armies of monastic missionaries, and next by learned teachers—first, by attracting pupils to Irish schools from all Christian Europe north of the Alps and the Pyrenees, and next, by sending forth men to become the founders of schools, or monasteries, or churches abroad, they stand out, from the sixth century forward, as the most energetic centres of religious life and knowledge in Europe—the main restorers of Christianity in paganized England and Roman Germany—the reformers and main founders of monastic life in northern France—the opponents of Arianism, even in Italy itself—the originators in the West of the well-meant, however mistaken, system of the Penitentials—the leading preservers, in the eighth and ninth centuries (though under strange guise), of theological and classical culture, Greek as well as Latin—the scribes, both at home and abroad, of many a precious Bible text—the teachers of psalmody

—the schoolmasters of the great monastic schools—the parents, in great part, as well as the forerunners, of Anglo-Saxon learning and missionary zeal—the senders forth of not the least bright stars among the galaxy of talent gathered by Charlemagne from all quarters to instruct his degenerate Franks—the founders of the schoolmen—the originators, it must be confessed (to add a dark touch to the picture), of metaphysical free-thinking and pantheistic tendencies in modern Europe, yet (we must maintain) not open as a Church to the charge of Pelagianizing so commonly laid against them—the hive, lastly, whence, long after Charlemagne, Germany and Switzerland drew a never-failing supply of zealous and learned monks, driven from home probably by Danish ravages and intestine brawls, down to the very time of the Normanizing of the Celtic Churches in the entire British Isles in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In a word, between the Roman and the Teuton there was, historically and morally, a gap, which (as M. Ozanam truly says) the Celtic races filled, and so preserved the chain of Christian civilization unbroken, not only by keeping decrepit Roman culture alive until the vigorous life of Teutonic manhood was ready to receive it, but by supplying elements also of enthusiasm, imagination, and affectionateness, which were needed to soften Teutonic barbarism.

Fortune has played a perverse trick, by flaunting in the face of modern Irish Romanism a theory of an Irish as well as a British Protestant Church (of all countries in the world), during the period thus described, which only a turn of the scale, humanly speaking, hindered from anticipating the Reformation itself. How far this was so, will partly appear by the sketch we propose to make of the foreign aspect of the Scotch Churchman of the period. M. de Montalembert has partially brought the question before a wider range of readers than are usually interested in Church history, by the account of Columbanus in his recent unfinished “History of Western Monachism.” We refer to the work of M. Ozanam, as supplying a learned and graphic outline both of the missions and of the schools of the Irish of the period in question, and so bringing the facts of the whole subject together, although as a part only of a much larger subject, and regarded from a Roman Catholic point of view. In modern histories of the Irish Church the question has been treated both from the anti-Roman (by Mr. W. G. Todd) and from the Roman side, with surpassing learning (by Dr.

Lanigan). The assumption, indeed, of a British and Scotch Church independent of Rome, has established itself among historians generally, with the exception, of course, of Roman Catholics. It is assumed, for instance, by secular historians like Lappenberg. While native controversialists have sometimes carried it to the suicidal extent of actually implying Roman doctrine through the alleged existence of "formal protests against that doctrine, or have mixed up real historical facts with groundless theories of a Greek or an Eastern Church in Britain. We propose at present to call attention to the part played by Britons and Scots externally to their own home, during this period, treating the controversial question incidentally, but bent rather on sketching a comparatively neglected portion of our own Church history, which yet appears to our minds by-no-means its least creditable or its least characteristic portion.

1. A reflex Celtic wave was thrown back upon the Continent by the mere onward progress of the tide of Teutonic-Saxon conquest, and broke with greater or less force and permanence upon each projecting headland thrust out by Europe into the Atlantic. Not as missionaries, but as fugitives, British Christians not only fled from Saxon invasion to kindred and neighbouring Ireland, but appear also upon the British (and Christian) rocks and wilds of Armorica—the shore whence the dead were ferried across the sea, according to the Byzantine historian Procopius—the scene where classic poets (Claudian) had by this time come to localize the visit of Ulysses to the shades,—and the cradle, in plain fact, of many a half-paganized Christian legend,—but already, before this great immigration, possessed (notwithstanding M. de Montalembert's erroneous statement) of an organized and learned Christian British Church. They appear, also, even further from home, near that other more distant Cape Finisterre, in Galicia; to say nothing of the conjectural trace of British immigration at Brittenberg, near the mouth of the Rhine, which sounds apocryphal. A see of Bretoña (near Lugo in Galicia) from 569 onwards, an unmistakeable Welsh bishop there, named Mailoc, perchance the brother of the well-known Gildas (572), and a tonsure of the peculiar British cut (Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, can. xli.), present evidence of a back current of Britons, not, indeed, from Ireland, but from Wales, upon Spain in the sixth century, a little more solid, at any rate, than that for the better-known legend of later date, which bears the imaginary Madoc across the Atlantic to a more distant west;—a current, however, speedily absorbed in

the surrounding Gotho-Spanish Church, and annihilated altogether at no long time after (c. 830) by Moorish invasion. The Breton nationality in Armorica, it need hardly be said, was of a more permanent kind. Yet neither at home nor abroad can the patriotic pride, whether of *Breton Bretonnant* or of Welshman, legitimately claim a favourable verdict for their respective ancestors, however much disposed to do so. At home, the picture drawn by Gildas is reflected and continued in all its painful traits by the unintentional evidence of the cathedral records of Llandaff (the *Liber Llandavensis*), and by the unimpeachable and still severer testimony of the Laws of King Howel, to say nothing of the *De Illudabilibus Walliæ* of the prejudiced Giraldus; while Bede's well-known accusation, answered perhaps as well as accounted for by the acerbities of a perpetual border warfare, is confirmed by the actual fact, that among the many Scots mentioned in connexion with the preaching of the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons occurs not one Briton. The son of Urien, who, in the uncritical pages of the so-called Nennius, plays almost the precise part in the conversion of Northumbria that is assigned by Bede's more historical evidence to Paulinus, is probably a mere instance of the law of inversion common in legendary history. Omitting the Wessex and Cornwall Churches, which appear usually on friendly terms, the common character of Welsh incursions into Saxon England rather resembled, we must fear, that of St. Guthlac's nocturnal visitors, mentioned by Palgrave, of whom he was relieved to discover, in the morning, that they had been demons and not Welsh. Across the seas we have only a second Wales, a like continuity of murdered princes and disputed successions, of lax morality and wild superstition, of frantic insult to both Church and Gospel, bought off by gifts of gold and land to monasteries—a second and continental Wales, with (strange to say) hostile Saxon, as well as other neighbours, to fight against, and under a like alternation of submission or hostility towards a foreign suzerain, but, in its Church aspect, of as little appreciable influence for good as the Celtic Church of the greater Britain. As in the case of the latter, the only known British missions, of St. Nyniau to Gallo-way and St. Patrick to Ireland, drew their life, if not their existence, from Gallic saints and bishops; so, abroad, the great movement organized by St. Columbanus numbers scarcely one Briton among the armies of its Irish promoters. The Breton Church remains, with

but scanty exceptions^v, isolated and unexpansive. And the one Breton Church writer whose name and works survive, Faustus of Lerins (and he, too, accused of inclining towards Pelagianism), both lived in southern France, and belonged to the period antecedent to the great British immigration of the middle of the sixth century. The monasteries alone of Brittany itself appear to date their importance from that immigration; and among others the Glastonbury of Brittany was then founded—that great monastery, the final resting-place of the monastic exiles, who grew old but could not die in the wild paradise of their first settlement, and which also (to turn from legend to history) held fast its Scoto-British customs until the ninth century, Landevenech. Only one name appears, that of Maclovius (561—627), himself by a rare instance a Columban monk from Luxeuil, to rival, in a humble way, the Welsh St. David. And only one transaction of interest varies the uncomfortable record of Breton Church history, the vigorous and independent proceedings of that Breton rival of Henry VIII., King Nominœ, who, in the middle of the ninth century, placed and displaced bishops, and created bishoprics, in total disregard of the outspoken wrath of Pope Leo IV. Before another century was out, the Bretons still looked indeed for sympathy and support across the waves of the channel, but had transferred their affections from their Welsh kinsmen to him who had now become the suzerain of Wales itself, the Anglo-Saxon Athelstane.

But if Britons did little more for the spread of the Gospel than arose undesignedly from compulsory emigration, the case was widely different with the Scots. It is recorded by chroniclers, as one might chronicle a good harvest, that A.D. 674, "Ireland was full of saints." St. Columba, the apostle of the Albanian Scots and northern Picts; St. Aidan, the apostle of the Northumbrian Saxons; St. Columbanus, the apostle of the Burgundians of the Vosges district of Alsace; St. Gall, the apostle of north-eastern Switzerland and A...

^v Mansuetus, a regionary bishop (Episcopus Britannorum, possibly of Malmesbury), was at a Council of Tours in 461; Paternus was consecrated to the See of Vannes at a Council there in 465; Modestus, also Bishop of Vannes, was at the Council of Orleans in 511; and see also the Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris. As for the great immigration of Bretons from Britain, dated by chroniclers in 513, Sampson and Paternus, who were connected with both sides of the channel, and were Bishops probably of Avranches and of Dol respectively, were at a Council of Paris in 555.

mannia; St. Kilian, the apostle and martyr of Thuringia; Virgilius, the apostle of Carinthia, are the leading names among those who sought to sow abroad the seed of a still larger harvest of the like grain. These laid the foundation of Christian labours, which carried back the sway of the Gospel to the limits to which the Christianized Roman empire had formerly borne it, but which had since been effaced and overpassed by heathen Teutonic conquest. It is remarkable that "Scottish" labours hardly reached or took no firm root beyond those limits. Neither did "Scottish" zeal retain or propagate the impress of peculiar Scottish customs beyond a space of time singularly short when compared with its original fervour. And thus, although continual reinforcements from home perpetuated the national feeling, the remark seems true, that the work of mastering heathenism, unless among their own kindred, or where traces remained of past Roman civilization and Christianity, and of founding permanent churches, was left rather to Anglo-Saxon or French successors of Irish zeal—to men who were less of hermits and more of monks, who had adopted a rule of life less exactly ascetic, and who handled their converts not with greater zeal or affectionateness, but with a greater power of practical organization and a more judicious estimate of human nature. Yet, even thus limited, the missionary work of the Scot was, for these days, of singular extent. Between the latter years of the sixth and the early ones of the eighth centuries, it stretched along the borders of then existing Christendom, from the Orkneys to the Thames, and from the sources of the Rhine and the Danube downwards to the shores of the Channel, from Seine to Scheldt; while at Bobbio, near the river Trebia in Italy, was planted a Catholic Irish colony (c. 612) in the midst of Arian Lombards; and unknown but not less zealous missionaries bore the Gospel northwards, over stormy and icy seas, even to the Faroe Isles (725) and the shores of Iceland (795). And as Christianity pushed its frontiers forward, with the lapse of years, so did "Scottish" zeal keep pace with that advance. The "patron of Austria," though he did little to earn the title, Colman, canonized at Melch on the Danube in 1025—and John the Scot, bishop of Mecklenburgh, martyred by the heathen Slavonians in 1065—and the cluster of Scotch monasteries dependent on St. James of Ratisbon, the foundation of Conor-o-Bryan, king of Munster, and pushing eastwards as far as Vienna, during the twelfth century—carry us still onward to the ever-receding frontiers of

heathendom, at the later as at the earlier period. And "Scottish" bishops, the subjects of epic poems and triumphal commemorations, whose existence, at least, may be believed if transferred to centuries when Scotch bishops in Europe were not only possible but common—Cataldus of Tarentum, not, indeed, in the second century, but in the eighth; his brother Donatus, of Lupiæ or Lecce; another greater Donatus a century and a half later, at Fiesole; a Frigidian, at Lucca—add to the Scottish wreath the yet further glory of supplying prelates to the very home itself (in earlier days) of letters, to Italy. We need not extend the limits of Irishism, with M. Ozanam, to the dubious locality of that one among the triple Sedulii, the numerous family of Shiels, of the fifth, the eighth, and the ninth centuries, who appears to have been Bishop of Oretó in Spain; or settle which of the many Shiels was the poet and which the commentator. We need not insist upon the possible Irishism of Er-nulph and Buó founding a church in Norwegian Iceland in 874, in honour of the name of their great native saint, distorted by a strangely suggestive jingle of sounds into Columbus. With every allowance for legend—itself no small evidence of the celebrity of that nation which it finds everywhere, and to which it attributes everything—enough was undoubtedly achieved by Scots for the faith and for the Christian learning of the time, during the period from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, to gain them an undying fame in the Church of Christ.

We must strive to be brief in our enumeration of labours, so numerous as almost to compel us to a bare catalogue. Open the pages of Bede, and we find, on our own side of the Channel, extorting ungrudging praises from the honest but prejudiced Saxon monk, Scotch missionaries everywhere, either converting idolaters *ab initio*, or renewing effectively abortive attempts from Canterbury. The island of Hy, the centre of the Culdee movement for Albanian Scotch Christianity, is repeated, for Anglo-Saxon Northumbria in Lindisfarne; both of them monasteries under the rule of abbot from which, as from Luxeuil afterwards, issued hosts of Episcopians as well as other missionaries, looking with reverence to the parent monastery, but who would have stood aghast at the modern Presbyterian caricature which, as regards Hy, has imagined—nay, which still imagines—in the filial relation a parity of order. Further south, Scotch monks or Scotch bishops recover the lost ground of defeated Canterbury missions, and plant Churches in the wilds of Suffolk and

on the coast of Essex, and at Tilbury and at London itself, with nothing but the Thames to sever them from the narrow limits of the Kentish sees. The midland of England is converted wholly from Scotland, or by Scotch-taught Angles. A Scotch-taught bishop, though a Frank by race, presides over Wessex; and the great Wessex monastery of Malmesbury originated with a Scotch monk. If a learned *scholasticus* is mentioned, he is of course a Scot. If a prince, with a name by an appropriate prolepsis, little differing from that of Alfred, is of a studious turn, he seeks instruction, especially in the Scriptures, in Ireland. From Ireland the first Anglo-Saxon missionaries derive the impulse which sends them forth. Young Anglo-Saxons seek theological instruction, where it not only abounds, but is dispensed with unusual generosity, to pupils kept in free quarters, in Ireland. If Aldhelm has a learned friend, that friend has been studying in Ireland. If the erudite Anglo-Saxon Abbot of Malmesbury has to plead against wrong done to his abbey lands, he writes plainly and briefly in the simplest of Latin; but the flowers of his eloquence—language that, for enigmatic erudition and artificial rhetoric, rivals Armado and Holofernes, or Euphues—are reserved for Irish friends or Irish pupils. So in later times Alcuin, debarred from intercourse for a time by the Emperor Charles's politics, comforts himself by a correspondence with his Irish master, Colcu. So, later still, when Danes had overthrown the prosperity of the great Western university of the England of those days, of Glastonbury, it is Irish doctors under whom it is restored, and among the first fruits of whose labours is Archbishop Dunstan. Nor need we wonder, when the Anglo-Saxon deigned thus to borrow learning from a stranger, that Celtic Wales still, in the tenth century, chose Bishops of St. David's from Irish-taught monks. Even that which has been regarded as the special creation in the West of Anglo-Saxon prelates, the Penitential system, seems, in truth, to have been of Irish origin. That great but mistaken instrument for Christianizing barbarian tempers was devised by the overstrained and indiscreet zeal of Cummian and Columbanus, following probably the model of that which is attributed to St. Jerome, whom the West, according to the latter, so highly revered. And in foreign penitential collections, borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon, occurs accordingly the strange combination of Theodore and of Adamnan, of Egbert and of Cummian, all amicably appealed to as of like authority. Nay, St. David himself, if we

may trust some rather questionable fragments in a MS. of the tenth century², led the way for them all at a still earlier date. And the councils which figure in Welsh legend as the scenes of that prelate's stentorian triumphs over Pelagianism, where the metropolitanship, not of Wales, but of the "whole British island," was won by the loudness of his voice, and was duly confirmed at Rome, turn out most probably to have been busied in prosaic legislation respecting the appointment of penitential punishments, which looked for authorities no further than their own libraries, and had nothing to do with Rome, or with doctrine, or with metropolitan arrangements, at all.

Cross the Channel, and in the same seventh and later centuries "Scotsmen" play a still grander part of the same kind. "Armies of Scots"—"almost all Ireland," crowded to the Continent: the "whole nation had turned pilgrims or travellers" (*peregrinus* had not yet acquired its restricted sense)—such are the expressions used by contemporaries. And among these armies of pilgrims, in whom by a strange resemblance and as strange an unlikeness to the modern swarms of English travellers, the *mos peregrinandi* had become a second nature, were men who founded monastic orders and contended with popes, who held their own against a St. Gregory and a Benedict; who came like the sophists of old, but with a loftier temper and a nobler material, to proclaim their vocation to teach; who became apostles and founders of new Churches, embracing whole nations; who revived both zeal and learning among Frank and Gallic and English clergy, by contact with their own loftiness of soul and activity of mind; who led the van in the conversion of the Teutonic peoples, while they were within a turn of the scale of appropriating the honour of being the first to preach to the Slavonian family of nations as well. The foremost figure in this noble group is that of St. Columbanus. Yet there are faint traces of earlier Scottish missionaries before him. It is observable that intercourse between Ireland and France at this time was commonly through either the ports at the mouth of the Loire, or England and the harbours of Flanders and Picardy; while Britain appears very rarely as opening an inlet into France for the mission.

² See the fragments of canons in Martene and Durand, purporting to be the work of a *Synodus Aquilonalis Britannicæ*, and of a second *Synod Luci Victorienæ*, and, lastly, to be taken *ex Libro Davidis*; and compare Ricemarch's legendary Life of St. David.

sions of its kinsmen. And of the first two localities, Tours, the city of St. Martin, and Poitiers, the city of St. Hilary, were additional attractions in favour of the former. From thence the nearest frontier of heathendom was to be found on the borders of the kingdom of Burgundy and Austrasia, from the Vosges mountains along the Rhine to the Lake of Constance, or in the Jura. Accordingly it is there that we first hear of foreign Scottish missionaries. Thither came from Ireland St. Fridolin, the pioneer of the future host. From Poitiers, his first halting-place, he passed by the Moselle and Strasburg, founding churches dedicated to St. Hilary, first to Glarus, which still retains in its name the trace of his presence, and finally to Seckingen, near Basle. A circle of churches in that neighbourhood, dedicated to St. Hilary or to St. Fridolin himself, seems proof of the reality of his history. The patronage of a Frank monarch, Clovis, including what was afterwards Austrasia within his dominions, and therefore the first of the name, marks his date, if one can trust the allusions of a legend, as not later than 511.

We must pass onward to the end of the same century, before this isolated effort (if it be rightly dated) was renewed on a grander scale. Banished from his first foundation, Luxeuil (founded c. 590), through the hatred of Queen Brunehaut (the subject of Pope Gregory's flattery) against so stern and uncompromising a monitor, Columbanus had been transported to the mouth of the Loire in order to be sent across the seas to Ireland, had escaped his persecutors, and passed by a long circuit through Neustria and Austrasia, beyond the scene of Fridolin's labours, to the banks of the Lake of Constance (c. 610). Banished again from thence by political changes and local enmities, he crossed the Alps and the Po, to found at Bobbio (c. 612) another Luxeuil, destined to outlast its parent and endure to this present century (to 1803), and to preserve in its copious and valuable library, not classical texts only (as that of Cicero's *De Republicâ*), but others of more interest to our present purpose, an Irish Antiphonarium of (probably) the eighth century (so Schöll), and a Missal, written by Irish monks, commemorating Irish saints, enriched by Irish hymns, but containing a ritual like to that of Luxeuil; and besides these, Penitentials differing from, but based upon, the celebrated *Regula* itself of the founder. And here his memory still survives in the town of St. Columbano, near Lodi.

Leaving, however, for the present the mighty work of Luxeuil itself and its countless colonies in France, and that also of Scottish labours in Italy, let us trace first the fruits of that last journey of the great Irish missionary in the labours of those whom he left behind in its course, and of their successors. Columbanus must have passed up the Rhine by the Via Mala, or over to the St. Gothard, a strange precursor of the insular travellers who now crowd through the Alpine passes with no higher motive than love of amusement or search of health. At Disentis, at the very head of the western source of the Rhine, above the old Roman bishopric of Coire, Sigisbert, banished with his master from Luxeuil as an Irishman, founded a monastery, destined also to last. Lower down, on the shores of the Lake of Constance, a greater Irish disciple of the same master, St. Gall or Callech, revived the dying embers of the Gospel in the ancient and then still-existing see of Constance, and extended its sway (with his disciples, mainly Irish) far across the Black Forest into Alemannia or Württemberg, leaving his name also to a monastery, which in after days was to be still an Irish school, and the rival in fame of Fulda itself. Lower still, and at a later date (640—645), overleaping the double monastery (Irish fashion, of men and of women) of Fridolin, another Irishman (his name, however, throwing doubt upon his alleged Hibernianism), the anchorite St. Trudpert,—and something later, another, Landelin,—and possibly also one Offo, a Briton, strangely confounded in after days with the Anglo-Saxon Offa,—became founders of monastic colonies near Freyburg in Baden, and at Ettenheimmünster and Schuttern, near Offenburg, in the same neighbourhood. Pirminius, another (probable) Scot, at the beginning of the eighth century (c. 724—30), the founder of Reichenau, the great twin abbey of that neighbourhood with St. Gall, and founder or restorer of fourteen or fifteen others in a circle, from Pfeffers between Glarus and Coire, by Gmund, to Weissenburg and the strangely-named *Mauri Monasterium* in Alsace, and even, by a daring advance, at Upper and Lower Altagh, on the Danube, as low as its confluence with the Isar, and at Monsee, near Salzburg, restored and consolidated what the earlier Scots had begun. The more advanced inroads into heathen Germany made by the immediately subsequent preaching of the Anglo-Saxons under Boniface, left Alemannia thenceforward an inland and secure province of the great Christian Commonwealth. Yet as teachers and as monks, though not as missionaries, the connexion

between Ireland and the abbeys of Reichenau, but above all St. Gall, was still maintained by fresh supplies of Irish pilgrims. The hermit Findan, who found his way by St. Martin's shrine at Tours, after many wanderings, to Rheinau, (near Schaffhausen), about (probably) the year 800, was an Irishman. The *Codex Augiensis* (i.e. of Reichenau), a Greek MS. of St. Paul's Epistles, containing also a Latin translation, "which is a mixture of the old Latin and St. Jerome's," according to the best authority (Scrivener, confirming Davidson), is a member of the same Irish family of Scripture MSS. with the equally celebrated Codex of St. Gall, and the *Codex Boernerianus*^a. And at St. Gall, the Irish names that fill its necrology in the ninth century—the MSS. of the eighth and of the ninth centuries, brought from Ireland or written at St. Gall by Irishmen, of which so many still remain^b—the Scot, Eusebius, who visited St. Gall in 841, and whose little *Monasterium Scotorum*, at Mount St. Victor, in the Vorarlberg, was absorbed by charter of Charles the Fat in St. Gall itself, on its founder's death, in 883—the chance stranger who, of course, was a Scot, who found a refuge in St. Gall, when his company left him behind them sick, in the time of Walafrid Strabo, then Dean of St. Gall, and who suggests to that writer the remark (in *Vita S. Galli*) that all Ireland was wont to travel, about the same year, 841—the Irish bishop, Mark, who, with his sister's son, Moengal, came to St. Gall also in 841, the latter to become there a schoolmaster, celebrated for his pupils, for the artistic skill of Tutilo, for the liturgical and theological knowledge of St. Notker, for the learning of Ratpert—the Greek school flourishing at St. Gall, under Irish auspices, in the ninth and tenth centuries, when no other Greek school could (probably) be found in Germany, save for a brief space and under an Irish master

^a Among other proofs of British and Scottish practical isolation and independence, the use among them of a Latin version of the Bible differing from the Vulgate, and also in some parts (judging by Gildas), from the other known ante-Hieronymian Latin versions also, is a curious one. Gildas in 560 knew the Vulgate, for he employs it in some books of Scripture. Yet "Scottish" monks long after, and abroad, e.g. St. Kilian, and the writers of the *Codex Augiensis*, and of the *Codex Boernerianus* (which is now known to be the second volume, so to say, of that of St. Gall), employ a version *not* the Vulgate, although supposed in one case to have been partially corrected by it.

^b The best account of these is in recent numbers of the Zurich Antiquarian Transactions. See also Rettig's facsimile of the *Codex San Gallensis* of the Gospels, Zurich, 1836.

at Utrecht—combine to prove at once the continued “Scotticism” of the great Swiss monastery, and the abundant learning and reputation which that circumstance brought to it. Happily, abroad as well as at home, national antipathies also had died away; and the last link of connexion between St. Gall and these islands, with which we are acquainted, is in the curious brotherhood for funeral masses in the tenth century, of which the abbots of St. Gall and Reichenau were the heads, and in the roll of the members of which occur the names of Germans and Franks, of emperors, kings, and bishops, as well as of the monks of St. Gall and Reichenau themselves; and besides them those of Anglo-Saxon thanes and bishops, and of the great Anglo-Saxon monarch, King Athelstane.

But Irish zeal ventured beyond these half-Roman limits, even in the seventh century, and grappled, though with partial success, with purely heathen Teutonism. First, converting by their way the still heathen Varasques on the river Doubs on their own side of the Jura, Eustasius and Agilus, two members of the Irish Luxeuil, though the latter was himself a Frank, were formally sent forth by a Gallic Council (c. 620), and laid the foundation of a Church in Bavaria; to be revived and extended after an interval by Bishop Rupert of Worms, and then of Salzburg (c. 696), whose Hibernianism, however, is as questionable as his brother Trudpert’s already mentioned, and for a like reason,—and by Pirminius above mentioned, and then still more solidly by an undoubted Irishman, by the opponent of Boniface, the believer in the Antipodes, the intelligent and earnest Virgilius of Salzburg (c. 756); and to be carried subsequently by the latter yet further still, into the wilds of Carinthia. Yet, so far, these earlier missionaries encountered traces of an older Christianity, although one debased by various forms of Eastern heresy; and clung throughout to the outskirts of the old Roman Churches, while almost pushing far enough to meet Eastern missionaries advancing in the opposite direction.

A more daring effort, about the later part of the century (687), carried St. Kilian^c, with his priest Colman, and his deacon Totnam, all Irish, to contend with outright heathenism in the heart of Thuringia, and, like another John Baptist before the wrath of another Herodias, to die a martyr at Wurzburg through a refusal to baptize the Thuringian Duke unless he put away his brother’s wife—a not

^c Arnval, an Irish disciple of St. Kilian, appears to have been left behind in France, where he flourished, according to Sigibert’s Chronicle, A.D. 694.

uncommon kind of stumbling-block in the path of missionaries to the Teutonic tribes (though it was commonly the father's widow whom the son was held bound to marry), and one which the Irishman Clement soon after met in Bavaria (like some modern missionaries in kindred cases) by concession. The Wurzburg Gospels, a MS. of an ante-Hieronymian Latin version, dating in the seventh century, preserve the memory, and indicate the Irish learning, of St. Kilian, by whom it is alleged that the MS. was brought to Wurzburg. And the Greek knowledge of Dobda, surnamed the Greek (unless, indeed, we adopt the not improbable supposition that the epithet is only a corruption of the real name, Dobdagreus), who established a school at Chiempsee in Bavaria—the unusually independent speculations of Virgilius, skilled in Martianus Capella, that quaint text-book of the Irish schools, and therefore, of course, believing in men on the other side of the world beneath our feet, to the horror of the somewhat narrow-minded Boniface—and even the heretical-looking notions of Boniface's other Irish opponents, Samson, Sidonius, Clement—point to a school of Irish learning,—as the ascetic zeal of Alto, the Irish founder of Altenmünster, near Freisingen, and of the more celebrated brothers, also Irishmen, SS. Erard and Albert of Ratisbon, and perhaps also of St. Hildulf, once Bishop of Treves, and conjectured to have been yet a third brother, and certainly St. Erard's companion, to whom may be added the name of yet another Irish hermit near Freisingen at the same period, viz. Declan, point to a school of Irish monasticism,—in Bavaria also. Anglo-Saxon vigour completed and confirmed what Irish zeal had thus begun. And the efforts of St. Boniface, although they evidently failed either to eject or even to discredit Virgilius, who outlived the great Anglo-Saxon and was promoted to the see of Salzburg after his death, seem to have given a different turn for a while to the tide of Irishism.

The Bishops of Bavaria and Alemannia, indeed, evidently did not pay attention to the exhortation extracted by Boniface from Pope Gregory III. (731—741), and which bade them reject not only "*gentilitatis ritum et doctrinam*," but those also "*venientium Britonum*," as well as of other "false priests and heretics;" if at least such rejection was to be interpreted into a refusal to admit of Celtic fellow-clergymen. Possibly the terms were meant to refer precisely to "Britons," the Welsh Britons at that time alone retaining the British Easter. More probably it was a mere blundering result of

St. Boniface's party zeal, which practically fell to the ground. At any rate, no characteristically Irish views make themselves visible among the Bavarian Scotch missionaries, although much that can be traced to Irish teaching. Virgilius' belief in Antipodes, which, however, was evidently so explained as not to interfere with the descent of all men from Adam, and so not with the doctrine of original sin, plainly came from those curious speculations of Martianus Capella, which almost anticipated Copernicus. Clement, the Scot, in 745, in addition to his defence (already mentioned) of marriage with a deceased brother's widow, held some Origenizing theories respecting the salvation of all, believers and unbelievers alike, at the descent of Christ into hell; and Samson, another Scot, in 747, is spoken of as holding that confirmation by the Bishop superseded the necessity of baptism: but neither of these heresies had any special connexion with Ireland, except as indicating the study of Greek theology, and the general intellectual activity, of which that country was now the centre. The occurrence of a married Irish Bishop was not so singular, and therefore not so characteristic, or so significant, in the eighth century, as it was in the twelfth. Boniface, indeed, did not even (apparently) reject the assistance of an Irish coadjutor himself, if Wittan or Albinus, made by him Bishop of Buraburg near Fritzlar in Hesse (741), is truly assigned to that nation. At the same time, the current of Irish zeal seems, in fact, to have been diverted, from the time of St. Boniface, into other localities than those where the Anglo-Saxon had reaped his own greatest successes; nor did it return to Bavaria, until the eleventh century saw the foundation there of that goodly cluster of *monasteria Scotorum*, which looked as to a centre to the abbey of St. James of Ratisbon.

Turn now further west, to the different but equally numerous offspring of the first and great work of Columbanus; to the white-robed monks of Luxeuil, to its uncompromising and stern, yet not superstitious or narrow-minded rule, to its almost countless colonies—colonies, not of missionaries among avowed heathen, but of bishops and of monasteries among degenerate or half-converted Christians.

On the inner and western side of the Vosges Mountains, on the northern limit of what has since been called Franche Comté, but was then (590) the northern frontier of the Burgundian kingdom towards Austrasia, founded in the midst of forests upon the relics of wasted Roman civilization, between its dependencies (the first

known priories) Anegray and Fontaines, stood the mighty renovator and second parent of Gallic monasticism, powerful at once as a seminary of bishops and as a school for the young^d, the first great work of the ascetic, impetuous, affectionate Irish missionary, Columbanus, the Abbey of Luxeuil. Not far across the border into Austrasia, arose, after a few years, one of its earliest and greatest offshoots, the double monastery (for men and for women) of Remiremont, separated from its parent by the hills that form the watershed between the Saône and the Moselle, and which then were a political as well as a physical boundary. The foundation of Lure by Desle, or Deicolus, an Irish disciple of Columbanus, formed a humbler sister-monastery to that of Luxeuil, on its own side of the hills. That of Dichiull, or St. Diè, also an Irishman, seems to have stood in like relation to Remiremont on the other side. From this central cluster, southwards to the Lake of Geneva, and northwards and north-westwards to the Channel and the North Sea from Seine to Scheldt, clearing and cultivating forests and marshes, and civilizing and confirming the scarcely less rude and but half-Christianized people, monasteries arose thenceforward in profusion, not always or chiefly peopled by men of Irish birth, but holding (though not for long) to the Irish rule, although speedily combining it with the Benedictine, and looking to Luxeuil in the spirit in which, on this side the Channel, Scots and Britons looked to Hy or Lindisfarne, or beyond St. George's Channel, to the Irish Bangor; while fresh troops of "Scots" flocked continually across the sea to reinforce their countrymen. First, along the plains on either side of the Saône and the Doubs in Burgundy itself, the foundations at Besançon, Romain-Moutier, Bèze, Brezille, Cusance, and that of Ursicinus the Scot at St. Ursanne, where the Doubs doubles to the south near Basle, and of Germanus the Frank in the Val Moutier (618—670), with the missionary labours, above mentioned, of Eustasius and Agilus, went near to unite the southern constellation of Luxeuil colonies with the older and Benedictine abbey of Condat in the south of the district, and with St. Gall's Alemannian labours in the east. Pass next from the Upper Saône over to the plains of Champagne, and follow the Marne downwards to the dis-

^d It seems like a link between the past and the present, to find Columbanus (and others) relaxing from cares and serious thoughts into Latin verse. Familiarity with Latin classics, as well as with Fathers both Greek and Latin, shews itself in all the "Scottish" writers.

trict of La Brie. There, close upon Paris, a second cluster of Columban monasteries was speedily formed. Jouarre, Reuil, Rebais, Faremontier, the works respectively of three brothers, and of their cousin, "the Burgundian Lady" (Burgundofara), in each of whom, when children, a single visit of Columbanus to their parental castles had left an impression such as the busiest of active lives could not efface; contemporary Luxeuil bishops, their kinsmen, at Laon and Meaux—another powerful instrument for spreading the Luxeuil influence; the nunnery of St. Maur-les-Fosses, near Paris; the Irish hermit, St. Fiacre, the first cultivator of the forest between Meaux and Jouarre; the abbey of Lagny, founded by Furseus, the Irish apostle of the East Anglians;—here grew up a second good store of "Irishism," close to the future capital. And between La Brie and the parent Luxeuil, there lay yet another line of like foundations, linking the two together, from Montier-la-Celle, near Troyes, by Epernay (near which lay other Columban monasteries, Hautvillers and Montier-en-Der), to the nunnery of St. Salaberga, and the monastery of Baresy, near Laon; while monasteries of greater name still, in the same neighbourhood, as, e.g. that of Corbie, either combined the Columban rule with the Benedictine, or sought Luxeuil abbots. A third cluster still, and this time of two stars only, but those of greater magnitude, was constituted at Fontenelle and Jumièges, on the Lower Seine, under the fostering care of St. Ouen, the youngest of the three brothers already mentioned, and now bishop of Rouen; through whom the Irishman, Sidonius, also founded in the same neighbourhood a smaller monastery, near St. Saens.

So far, however, the Irish character of these foundations was of a very transitory kind—singularly so, indeed, if compared with the enthusiasm of the originators of the movement. Not only did Franks and Anglo-Saxons, and men of yet other races, speedily fill these monasteries, but Irish customs, which rested on no moral or doctrinal grounds, and the Irish rule, which was impossibly austere, dropped out of sight almost within the century. Pass, however, to the north of the line we have just drawn across France, along the countries bordering upon the Channel, where idolatry still retained its hold more and more as the frontier was approached of the Frank empire; and both "Scots" themselves occur in greater numbers, though not exclusively, and foundations specially for their benefit become numerous. At St. Valery, on the mouth of the

Somme, a Luxeuil monk of that name; at Centule, near Abbeville, the noble Frank, Riquier, on the suggestion of two Scots, Cadoc and Frichor; at St. Bertin, afterwards St. Omer*, at the request of the Luxeuil Bishop of Terouenne, three of his monastic brethren, one with the British tonsure (St. Mommolin), and one with the Roman (St. Bertin), working harmoniously together; extended the Columban influence over what was afterwards Ponthieu and Picardy (594—667). About the like period, the Scot Roding established himself at Beaulieu, in the forest of Argonne; St. Judoc, at Quentavic; Ultan and Foillan, two brothers of St. Furseus, the latter at Fosse in the diocese of Cambray, the former at Peronne on the Somme (c. 690) and at St. Quentin; and St. Wiro of Ruremond, at Odilieberg, near Liège (after 680). And the still better known Livinus—if we may trust a legendary life (written, too, by the Anglo-Saxon, Boniface), which makes a Scotch saint god-child to St. Augustine of Canterbury—passed over the sea to Ghent, in the latter half of the century, to preach the Gospel and meet his martyrdom in Brabant.

Besides these greater names, preserved commonly through the greatness of their several foundations, the nameless crowd of like missionary wanderers was so numerous, that richer Scots founded throughout northern France special *Hospitalia Scotorum*, wealthy enough to require canons and capitulars†, before a second century had passed, in order to recover them from the spoiler to their proper use. Scots, too, were the fashionable teachers in Psalm-singing, as well as in divinity; as at Nivelles, where the widow (with her daughters) of Pepin of Landen founded a double monastery, and ruled as abbess over men as well as women. This double system was itself a “Scottish” custom, originating at Kildare, copied in northern England, and repeated at Remiremont, already mentioned, and at Maubeuge, as well as Nivelles, in Flanders; yet one, we fear, more likely to lead to other not so creditable results than to the peculiar combination of chivalry and politeness in the French

* The Breton, St. Winnoc, who belonged to this celebrated monastery (so strangely different in the nature of its relations to these islands in the seventeenth century), deserves mention as an instance of a Breton saint connected with a monastery out of Brittany.

† Capitul. Caroli II. No. 40. Pertz iii. 390; being one of these canons of the Episcopal Councils of Meaux and Paris in 846, which the Emperor sanctioned at Epernay in the same year. See also the canons of Chiersy (Syn. Carisiaca) in 858.

character which M. Ozanam attributes to it. The Scot, Dysibodius, founding a monastery (c. 674) near Spanheim, in the diocese of Mentz; the Scotch bishops at Strasburg, Arbogastus (also in 674), and his successor, Florentius, brought thither by Dagobert of Austrasia, who had himself, in his youth, found a refuge and a school in Ireland, and the Scotch monastery of St. Thomas, founded before 687 by Florentius at the same place; and, a little later, the Scotch monastery of St. Martin, at Cologne, founded by Pepin d'Heristal and Queen Plectrude—stretch out a hand in either direction, to link the north and the south, the tributaries of the Lower Rhine with the Alps and forests round its upper course, those Scotch *hospitalia* and monasteries of north-eastern France and of the Netherlands with the Scotch martyrs of Wurzburg and the Scotch anchorites of the Black Forest and of Switzerland. Nor did Irish zeal cease to find room for its labours in these regions, or find itself unable to co-operate, as with the Franks, St. Amand and St. Eloy, so with the Anglo-Saxon missionaries also, who, with the advancing Frankish empire, found their way both to Frisia and to their own mother land, further east. St. Rumold, the Scotch bishop, the apostle of Malines, and murdered there in 775, and the see of Verden in Lorraine, founded in 786, of which the first bishop was an Englishman, Suitbert, while his two successors were the Scotch abbots of the Scotch monastery of Amarbaric, close by, are instances, not of Irish missionaries only, but, in the latter case, of Irishmen in conjunction with Anglo-Saxons, which take us on to the days of Charlemagne.

One more offshoot remains to be mentioned, striking out to the south-west of that mass of Luxeuil monasteries which we have traced from the Lake of Geneva to the mouth of the Seine. A treacherous friend, converted into a bitter enemy, by name Agrestius, assailed the rule of Luxeuil, was heard, and was condemned, at a Council of Maçon in 624. His grounds of attack were much like those of modern English attacks upon Churchmanship. Having no doctrinal grounds which it was convenient or possible to put forward, and the Easter question having been apparently given up even at that early date by Columbanus' successor at Luxeuil, the assailant went off upon popular topics of ritual and habits. The Luxeuil monks crossed themselves too much to please their quondam brother. They could not lick a spoon without that ceremony. And the rule of Columbanus betrays the fact

that the founder's stern cruelty punished each omission by six stripes, often, doubtless, suffered by the indignant Agrestius. Moreover, they could not enter or leave the refectory without a formal blessing. And they had too many collects. The Lord Ebury of the day would have been wearied out by their lengthy prayers. Nor did they conform precisely to the Gallic ritual. And they cut their hair in the British and Scotch fashion, that which embittered Anglo-Saxon adversaries had called the fashion of Simon Magus. Happily, the Gallic bishops held such charges cheap, both in themselves, and as set against missionary and revival work hardly to be equalled. And the greatest of those bishops, St. Eloy, gave a practical answer to the defeated malice of the assailant, by adopting at once the Columban rule for his new monastery of Solignac near Limoges; while five others also, in Berry and the Nivernois, carried the same rule, in conjunction, however, with that of St. Benedict, into Aquitaine. Into the north-west corner of France, although occupied by their own kinsmen, and retaining till the ninth century (the time of Louis le Debonnaire), what were called "Scotch," but were really British customs, strange to say, Columbanus's influence scarcely extended. A few scanty traces of it are said to be discoverable in Brittany; the greatest of Breton bishops, for instance, Maclovius, was of Luxeuil; but, as a general statement, it is as true as it is singular, that Britons and Irish had already so far diverged in national character, and in the zeal and energy of their respective Churches, as to make the former sterile in that combination of religious and imaginative enthusiasm with restlessness of body and mind, which planted the Continent with the missions of the latter.

The time of Charlemagne brings us to another phase of the continental reputation of the early medieval Scot. We have considered him hitherto chiefly as a missionary, who had, indeed, some untenable fashion of reckoning Easter, and who cut his hair after a fashion unknown south of the Channel, and who took upon him occasionally (as in the case of Columbanus) to lecture collective Gallic Councils and to rebuke Popes, as well as to defy the abnormal profligacy and savage cruelty of Frank or Burgundian courts and nobles, with a spirit of unwonted independence; but who, nevertheless, though with somewhat of a penchant for the wildest forest he could find, yet won barbarian hearts to the Gospel by a mingled affectionateness and loftiness of soul, by a combination of

manly honesty with a rugged and sublime austerity, such as the Celtic race perhaps could alone at that time produce. But missionary work had by this time accomplished its task among the lingering remains of Paganism in France and Italy, and had passed into other hands on the Saxon or eastern borders of Charlemagne's far-reaching empire. And "Scots," in his reign, stand forward rather as among the great intellectual leaders of that empire, the era of educational as well as political greatness for the countries within its sweep. We have no space to speak here of Irish learning generally, curiously interesting as the subject is:—of that oddest of books, Martianus Capella, "*De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiæ*," transplanted from its African home to become the text-book, the Aldrich, not of one but of all sciences, to remote Irish monastic schools^g, and to be copied and re-copied, and commented by Irish monks in foreign Irish convents—a work commencing with two books of stilted narrative, stuffed with classic mythology, and resembling Sir P. Sydney's "*Arcadia*," respecting the loves and marriage of Mercury and Philology, and then plunging outright into the commonest elements of A B C, and of logic, and dialectic, of arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, music—in short, of the Trivium and Quadrivium—in a fashion which, for bald metaphysics and bad Latin, equals Aldrich himself^h; or again, of that style so suited to this artificial matter, which Ireland borrowed from the schools of Toulouse, and of which the echoes may be heard in the letters of Anselm, a style invented by that mockery of a great name, by one Virgilius Maro, of which the mildest form consisted in affected Græcismsⁱ, and almost unconstruable efforts at alliteration, while its mightiest effort was the creation of no less than twelve artificial vocabularies, twelve Latinities, unintelligible to the uninitiated layman. But our present subject must confine us to the theological side of Irish learning, and to the part taken by Scots, as independent thinkers in divinity during that era, both as school teachers, and as supplying leaders, though not always on the right side, in the great controversies of the time; as in that respecting image-

^g Although, with all respect to M. Ozanam, not exactly among the snows and glaciers which he fancies abound in Ireland, and to which he attributes the attractiveness of Alpine scenery to the Irish hermits.

^h The logic is curiously like Aldrich, both in its language, and in the second or third hand metaphysics, which are crudely thrust into it.

ⁱ The Græcizing habit is palpable in British writers as well as in Irish or Saxon, from Gildas down to Ricemarch.

worship, and in the profounder, yet not less important, dispute respecting Predestinarianism. Hear how the chronicler, himself very probably an Irishman, and at least a monk of a Scot-loving monastery, describes in Herodotean style the advent of the new sophists of a true wisdom, dropping as it were from the clouds upon the benighted Continent. Modern writers, indeed, moved (as in the case of Tiraboschi) by patriotic wrath at the contemptuous allusion to the then degeneracy of Italian schools among others, have unreasonably denied the substantial veracity of the story, as they might well deny the accuracy of the quaint colouring which the monk's simplicity, and perhaps national feeling, have given to it. But it is the statement of a writer of barely above a century subsequent to the event itself, and it harmonizes in its substance with all we know of the persons and localities spoken of. And we cannot but think, therefore, that both M. Ozanam and Dr. Lanigan are right in accepting the kernel of the tale as true. We give then the flourish of trumpets (following chiefly Dr. Lanigan) with which our Irish sophists are brought upon the scene:—

“When he [the illustrious Karolus] began to reign alone in the western parts of the world, and literature was everywhere almost forgotten, and the worship of the true Godhead was accordingly feeble, it happened that two Scots of Ireland came over with some British merchants to the shores of France, men incomparably skilled in human learning and in the Holy Scriptures. As they produced no merchandize for sale, they used to proclaim to the crowds flocking to purchase, ‘If any one is desirous of wisdom, let him come to us and receive it; for we have it to sell.’ Their reason for saying that they had it for sale was, that, perceiving the people inclined to deal in saleable articles, and not to take anything gratuitously, they might by this means either rouse them to the purchase of wisdom, as well as of other things; or, as the sequel shews, might by speaking in that manner excite their wonder and astonishment. They repeated this declaration so often, that an account of them was conveyed, either by their admirers, or by those who thought them insane, to the King Charles, who, being a lover and very desirous of wisdom, had them conducted with all expedition before him, and asked them if they truly possessed wisdom, as it was reported to him. They answered that they did, and were ready in the name of the Lord to communicate it to such as would seek for it worthily. On his inquiring of them what compensation they would expect for it, they replied that they required nothing more than convenient situations, ingenious minds, and, as being in a foreign country, to be supplied with food and raiment. Charles, having heard their proposals, and filled with great joy, at first kept both of them with himself for a short time. After some interval, when obliged to proceed on a military expedition, he ordered one of them, whose name was Clemens, to remain in France, intrusting

to his care a great number of boys, not only of the highest noblesse, but likewise of the middling and lower ranks of society, who were by his orders provided with victuals and suitable habitations. The other, by name Albinus, he directed to Italy, and assigned to him the monastery of St. Augustin's, near Pavia, that such persons as chose to do so might there resort to him for instruction¹."

And what wisdom did these wise men bring from their distant isle, in the year of grace 772? We must look for the answer, mainly, to what is known of Irish learning, from other sources. Of these two teachers of it, little more than the bare facts of their personal history are recorded. Clemens, apparently, became teacher in the Palace School of Charlemagne, where competitive examinations seem to have flourished, as stimulants to aristocratic duncehood, under the eye of the Emperor himself; wrote a treatise still existing, "*De Partibus Orationis*;" and, though not the founder (as has been fabled) of the University of Paris, yet made one of the triumvirate of reformers and restorers of learning under his imperial patron, the other two being the Saxon Alcuin (himself Irish-taught), and the French Theodulph. The history of Albinus takes us back to Italy, where an Irish school at Pavia, first under himself, and in 823 under Dungal, another Scot, from the abbey of St. Denys, revived the memory of the still older Irish school, in the same neighbourhood, of Bobbio. Of this successor of Albinus a little more is known. Laying the foundation of his fame by a letter to Charlemagne on the solar eclipse of 810, he stands forward, after Charlemagne's death and his own removal to Italy, as the opponent, in a work still existing, of Claudius of Turin (once himself untruly held to be a Scot), and in defence of the cultus of images, taking the opposite side to the wiser and sounder Caroline Books and the Council of Frankfort. Upon his death, apparently in the monastery of Bobbio itself, he left to that abbey his valuable library, containing, it is supposed, among other precious MSS., the Irish An-

¹ Mon. San Gallensis, *De Gestis Caroli M.* 88—888, who proceeds to distinguish the Irish from the English Albinus, or Alcuin, by adding:—"On hearing how graciously the most religious King Charles used to treat wise men, Albinus, an Englishman, took shipping and went over to him." The name of the second Irishman is a little doubtful in the MS., and some writers in consequence have identified him with Dungal his successor; not remembering that over fifty years elapsed between the first arrival of the great pair of Scots (772) and the appointment of Dungal at Pavia (823), and that Albinus was appointed by Charlemagne, Dungal by his successor.

tiphonarium already mentioned. The Irish connexion, indeed, of Bobbio, had never wholly ceased. Between Columban and Dungal, one monk, at least, of Irish birth, and of the Irish name of Cum-mian, had so lived there in the odour of sanctity, that at his death (between 713 and 744) the Lombard king, Luitprand, adorned his tomb with precious stones. The still more precious ornaments of Dungal's, and other MSS., remained in the same venerable shrine, a storehouse of classical as well as theological and liturgical treasures, until the comparatively modern days of Cardinal Borromeo.

The teaching and life of Joannes Scotus, or Erigena—to pass on a little later to the days of Charles the Bald, and to a time when, it would seem, the Irish Scot was beginning to require an additional epithet, in order to distinguish him from the Albanian Scot of the isle of Britain—would need an article to themselves to do them justice. They claim notice here, only in the light they throw, not merely upon the literary and intellectual, but upon the theological position of his contemporary countrymen. The great Scot, indeed, appears among his continental rivals or opponents as a member of a totally different intellectual world. He had been nourished upon different traditions, and trained in a wider and more independent line of thought. His heresies indeed—for he fell into many—were his own. His mind was too original, to allow us to make it the measure of the common views of his countrymen. He “Erigenized”—to coin a word—not in the particular speculations with which he astonished the Continental Church, but in the tone of mind and line of reading which led to those speculations. His love of dialectic, and his daring metaphysical theories, in which he foreshadowed the still distant schoolmen, prove nothing of either pantheistic or any other tendencies in his native Church. They do prove the exceeding freedom with which Irish thinkers at that period were wont to handle the great themes of the Divine attributes, and the various problems of metaphysical theology; and they harmonise with that dialectic reputation, which attached to the “*Scholastici Scoti*” of the day, the questionable credit of a special “*sylogismus delusionis*,” in reference to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity^k.

A like inference may be drawn from the broad and dangerous rationalistic principle applied by him to the solution of the purely theological question of predestination, viz. that “*quadrivio regula-*

^k Mentioned in a letter of Benedictus Anianensis.

rum totius philosophiæ quatuor, *omnem* quæstionem solvi." Again, his strange theory on Predestination itself is simply the creation of a powerful but not clear thinker, wholly free from Augustinian tradition, and learned rather in the Greek patristic school; recoiling from the outright anticipations of extreme Calvinism put forth by Gotteschalk, and applying to the question theoretical views drawn from Origen or from Dionysius the Areopagite, or from Neo-Platonism. Dionysius, indeed, he had himself translated (and, let it be said in passing, had not sent a copy of his translation to the Pope, who complained bitterly of the omission, and claimed a right of censorship over theological publications); and his doing so is another among the many proofs that cross the literary historian of the age, of Irish Greek learning, and of Irish familiarity with Greek fathers. His translation of the Greek Scholia of Maximus upon St. Gregory of Nazianzum, points in a like direction. His sympathy, again, with Ratramn in the Eucharistic controversy which originated with that monk and Paschasius Radbert, is noticeable as another instance of a mind free from the traditional orthodoxy on the subject, that had been growing up gradually in the Continental Churches, and was to develope, in due time, into Transubstantiation. Yet neither on this subject, nor in respect to Pelagianizing, can views so stamped with the individual theories of the man, as were those of John, upon Predestination certainly, and probably also on the other question, afford grounds for attributing them to his native Church. The Roman clergy, indeed, in 640, in a letter rather distinguished by blunders, had imputed Pelagian heresy to the Irish. And the legendary life of St. Kilian shews also a belief on the Continent in the truth of that imputation at the time the life was written. But neither evidence is worth much in opposition to the language quoted by Ussher from a sermon of St. Gall's, preached almost at the time the accusation was made, and to the distinct claim of orthodoxy in *all* points, put forward by Columbanus a little earlier, in writing to Pope Boniface. Nor did the imputation survive in the days of John, in any more serious form than the adoption by the French Council of Valence, in 855, of St. Jerome's hard words against the Scot Cœlestius. Moreover, John's view agrees with that of Pelagius only in its negative aspect, and not in its affirmative positions. And with respect to Eucharistic doctrine, we cannot see in Dr. Lanigan's laboured collection of proofs any evidence whatever of Irish speculation upon the Eucharist, or of any

other doctrine there than that of a pious but undefined belief in the Real Presence, with not a syllable to imply either the special doctrine of Paschasius or its contradictory, or still less that of Transubstantiation, nor yet any resembling what probably may have been John's own theory, which more likely was akin to Ubiquitarianism than to anything else, only taking that side of the Ubiquitarian dogma which would lean against a special sacramental Presence. We regard, then, the profound and original speculations of the Scot as the introduction into the intellectual world of a new and powerful element, in the Neo-Platonic views which thus became known in the West; as they were also incidentally the introduction of a new patron saint to France, in the confusion produced between the St. Denys of Paris and the St. Denys (so called) of the Areopagus; and as owing this character to the special studies and freedom of Irish schools: while the current anecdotes respecting John and his imperial patron shew, likewise, that the metaphysical Irish thinker had his full share of Irish love of fun and quickness of repartee.

A few words must catalogue the Irish names that continued still to attain to fame, whether for learning, or for asceticism, or for metaphysical theories, pushed sometimes to the verge of heresy, mostly in France or Lorraine. Helias, indeed, Bishop of Angoulême (died 875 or 876), pupil of Theodulph, and tutor of Eric of Auxerre¹, lived a little south-west of the common Irish localities. Probus, the Irishman, who died in 859 in St. Alban's monastery in Mentz; Macarius, of the family perchance of the Meaghers, who out of Averroes devised a theory which opponents said made all men have but one soul, and whose name Ratramn impertinently transliterated into *Bacharius*, about 867; another of the numerous Columbani, of no greater range of literary reputation than might be attained by versifying the genealogy of the Frank emperors; Mark the Briton, educated in Ireland and a Bishop there, of whom Eric of Auxerre tells us, and whose name is mixed up with the authorship of the so-called Nennius, and who about 870 became an anchorite at St. Medard's near Soissons; Maimbodus and Anatolius, made saints of in the diocese of Besançon about 900; and, half a

¹ In the Preface to Eric's *Vita S. Germani*, occurs the passage so commonly quoted on the subject of Irish learned men abroad: "Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, pene totam, cum grege philosophorum, ad litora nostra migrantem? Quorum quisquis peritior est, ultro sibi indicit exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo famuletur ad votum."

century later, one Duncan, who commented on Martianus Capella at Rheims; and another Columbanus, at Ghent, about the same date (957); to whom may be added one Dermot at Liege, in 1115, who wrote a tract called *Exhortatoria*;—form the characteristic though not numerous list of those who kept up the fame of Scotticism in the neighbourhood of its older haunts.

But the tenth and following centuries saw a much more permanent and general Scotch colonization, a little more eastward, in Lorraine, and thence, in course of time, still further east, to the very extremities of Germany. An Irish Bishop, Israel, of Verden, a learned scion of Irish schools, himself the teacher of Bruno who became Archbishop of Cologne, was at a synod of Verden in 947. And Gerard, Bishop of Toul, in 986, gave a refuge in his diocese to certain Greeks,* who, in conjunction with Scotchmen, observed Eastern Greek rites; reminding us of the still stranger apparition, mentioned by Ussher, of a Greek Church at Trim in the heart of Ireland itself, and of the Greek learning so continually apparent in Irish scholars. But these were isolated cases. An organization of Scotch monasteries now became common, which form an ancient precedent for close foundations, and were tied up by charter to Scotch, i.e. Irish monks. One Cadroe, a British Scot, after founding with Macallin, an Irishman, an abbey at Walciodorus or Vassor, on the Meuse between Dinant and Givet, about 949, where we find another (Irish) Scotch abbot, Forannan, in 970—82, betook himself to Metz, where he became abbot of an abbey of St. Clement or St. Felix, until his death in 975 or 976. His successor, Fingen, who was an Irish Scot, became Abbot of St. Symphorian's at Metz, in 992, of which the deed of foundation by Otho III. in that year confines the monastery to "*Hibernienses monachi*" (the change of the name in lieu of Scots is remarkable) if they can be had. And the same Fingen founded also another monastery at Verden, for Irish monks, under the patronage of St. Peter and St. Vitonus, now called St. Vannes, a revival of the Scotch monastery founded near that place two centuries before, which had already perished. At the same period a little further east, the Scotch abbey of St. Martin's, at Cologne, was revived by one Ebergerius or Warinus, bishop of that see, who "*iterum immolavit Scotis*," as the chronicler has it, 974; and was governed, often in conjunction with that of St. Pantaleon in the same city, by a succession of Scotch abbots, whose names and dates are expressly recorded in the chronicle of Marianus

the Scot, himself a monk of St. Martin's before he migrated to Fulda. In 1036 a *monasterium Scotorum* was founded yet further east, at Erfurdt, by Bishop Walter de Ghysberg; and another, St. Martin's, at Mentz, in 1037. And even in abbeys that were not Scotch by foundation, there were at this time many Scots, the uneuphonious names of two of whom, Anmehad and Tigernach, have been preserved at Fulda; while another, Paternus, whose name tempts us to consider him a Briton, but who is specially termed "Scotus" by Marianus, was at Paderborn in 1058. And the Scot, John, Bishop of Mecklenburgh, kept up the older Irish reputation by securing the crown of martyrdom among the Slavonians in 1065. There were envious people, no doubt, who looked with an evil eye at these Scotch foundations. Piligrinus, Archbishop of Cologne, threatened expulsion to the Scotch of St. Martin's in the early part of the century, and was met by a wrathful pun between *piligrinus* and *peregrinus*, involving a prophecy (which, of course, came true) that the threatener should not return alive to Cologne from the court whither he was going in order to fulfil his threat. And the capitulars of the Emperor Louis are quoted by Lappenberg, as pronouncing Scots to be pseudo-bishops and vagabonds. Yet Scotch foundations spread and flourished in Germany.

And one cluster yet remains to be mentioned of a more enduring and widespread kind than those which preceded it. In 1067 or 1068, one Marianus (not the chronicler), with John, Claudius, Clement, all Irish, following one Muricherdac, a hermit already in the neighbourhood, established the Scotch monastery of St. Peter's, at Ratisbon, to be governed in succession by six abbots from the north of Ireland, and then subordinate under one Domnus, a south Irish abbot, to the greater foundation of St. James in the same city, built by the aid of Conor-o-Bryan, King of Munster, 1119—24. An Irish monastery at Wurzburg appears to have existed a little earlier than the last-named date, as Gilda-na-Naomh, formerly Bishop of Glendalough, is mentioned as its abbot, dying in 1085. But an Irish monastery, dedicated to St. Kilian, was certainly founded there by one Macarius in 1130; another to St. Egidius, at Nuremberg, by Declan in 1152; another to St. Mary and St. George, at Vienna, about 1155; another about the same period at Eichstadt, built there by Bishop Walbrun for the *gens Scotorum*, and distinguished by a round church, after the model of the Holy

Sepulchre; all of which were in some degree dependent upon the great central monastery of St. James of Ratisbon. Another also existed at Prague. Nor did these monasteries fail, at first, of their ancient fame. Under yet a third Marianus, early in the twelfth century, Nicholas Brakspeare, the one English pope, received his training, to become Adrian IV. in 1154. Symptoms of their need of "protection" begin to occur as early as 1212, when Frederic II., by charter, confined the *Monasteria Scotorum* to *Scoti* only. Sad complaints follow, of Scots, in the modern sense of the term, taking advantage of the equivoque to oust the original and proper Scots. And at length, centuries afterwards, Scots are ousted altogether, in any sense of the name, from Vienna and Nuremberg, so late as 1413. And at Wurzburg, after an almost entire decay of the abbey, through probably the closeness of the foundation coupled with the failure of a supply of even British Scots, the last abbot of Scotch origin died in 1497, and the ancient Scottish foundations came to an end^m: one link more broken of the connexion between old and new, between the earliest and latest ages of the ante-Reformation Church, snapped just in time, before the earthquake of the Reformation itself should create a wholly new world, and give Scots and Irish, in common with all western Europe, a totally new character.

II. Are we to suppose, then, that there is truth in the vision which has arisen before the eyes of sundry ardent Protestants, dabbling in history, of a full-grown Protestantism in the ancient Celtic Churches of these islands? Are we to trust even Ussher's hasty sketch, based in part upon quotations from Claudius, who turns out to be no Irishman at all, and which does not definitely specify whether the learned Archbishop (who had simply poured out his commonplace-book into a not thoroughly digested essay) intended to affirm the participation of the Irish Church in the freedom, common to the whole Church of the time, from subsequently defined Roman dogma,—which is indisputably true—or a special anticipation by her of equally subsequent Protestant dogma—which is equally indisputably false? The truth, as usual, seems to lie in a mean. Removed out of reach of the Papacy, teaching her clergy in her own schools with a traditionary learning that had not come through Rome, standing in marked contrast with the Anglo-Saxon Church after Theodore, as feeling for Rome no filial affection—for Ireland looked to Gaul and St. Martin more than to any Roman bishop, and the legend of

^m This is a mistake.—Ed.

St. Patrick's connexion with Rome had little practical weight—the whole tone of the theology of Ireland is self-originated, and independent both of Rome and of the course of thought elsewhere. And the real and solid testimony borne by the historical attitude of the Irish Church, in respect to modern Romish controversy, is simply, that in the gradual development of the Papal power, she remained in her isolation a standing proof of the novelty of theories unknown to the Church in earlier times, a living instance of what had formerly been held for truth, an island not absorbed by the rising waters of the Papacy, until, indeed, the twelfth century.

First of all, it must be remembered that there was no formal division between the Irish and the Continental Churches for more than the very few years required to bring fairly to the knowledge of the Irish the real merits of the points in dispute. In Wales the schism was, indeed, a real one. It was embittered by national hatred, and by the angry attitude of Augustin and Theodore, and their successors. And there, no doubt, we read of such epithets as "Romish wolves," hurled at the heads of the unlucky Saxon priests. In Ireland itself matters went in a different spirit; and much more on the Continent. The question there went upon its own merits, and was no bone of contention between opposed Churches, still less one of receiving or rejecting a Papal injunction as such. The main point in dispute, that of Easter, was indeed of much wider extent than Ireland or Wales. In Spain and in Gaul, quite as much as among the Celtic races, all manner of different modes of reckoning Easter prevailed in the sixth century, which councils were for ever striving to reduce. Gregory of Tours tells us of one year in which Spain and Gaul kept their Easters almost a month apart, that writer congratulating himself that certain miraculous fountains in the former country, which filled spontaneously at Easter, were unpatriotic and orthodox enough to fill duly on the Gallic day, and not the Spanish. Neither country, moreover, in that year kept the true Easter according to the Roman reckoning. Yet no question arose of schism, nor does any one assume an anti-papal feeling in either Gallic or Spanish Church. And both the Irish at home, and more speedily still the Irish abroad, soon gave up their custom, and conformed to that which had at length prevailed in the Western Church. Columbanus individually refused to give in, either to Gallic Council or Roman Pope. But within some thirty-four years of the foundation of Luxeuil, the absence of all mention of

Easter at the Council of Maçon is reasonably inferred to prove that the successors of Columbanus had done so. Even the Rule of Columbanus did not stand its ground against that of Benedict much above the century. The Council of Autun, in 670, is alleged with apparent reason, as evidence by its silence, of the decadence of that Rule even in that early year. Only in Brittany did Scotch (not necessarily Columban) rules last (as at Landevenech) into the ninth century. And the other points in dispute were matters of ritual, and tonsure, and the like, some of which lasted, doubtless, longer, but were too insignificant to disturb Church communion.

But if there was thus no spirit of either doctrinal or other opposition to Rome in the Irish Church, there is nevertheless ample proof—1. That, as in every part of the Church at that time, so in Ireland, any form of the Ultramontane theory of the Papacy was wholly unknown; and 2. That even those growing notions of submission to the Apostolic Church of St. Peter, which were then coming into fashion, and which the Anglo-Saxons did so much to propagate, did not command much weight in Ireland. The conception of a Church, every pulse of the remotest part of which beats in unison with the great central heart at Rome, every act of which derives its sanction solely from Rome, and every bishop of which draws his authority directly from Rome, existed nowhere in those centuries. It is preposterous to assert its existence in a part of the Church, which was so far distinctly more independent than its neighbours, that it never troubled the see of Rome about any one of its native bishops, or sought that symbol of subjection, which the pall came to be, until the Synod of Holmpatrick, A.D. 1145. And if we take views which fall far short of such as Roman Catholic nineteenth century Ireland would maintain, but which really were gaining a hold on the Western Church in the sixth and following centuries—such as the confusion between St. Peter's personal authority and the current practices and present authority of the see of Rome, or the submission due to Rome as the leading see of the West—here, too, we find such sentiments weighing little with Irishmen.

The fact which told upon the Irish mind in inducing the surrender of their peculiar Easter after the Council of Leighlin in 634, was not the practice of the see of Rome, although that too had its weight, as it ought to have had. It was the visible proof of the *consent* of the whole Church, except themselves and the Britons,

brought home to the eyes of the Irish delegates (who were sent to Rome to see what the fact was) by their finding there in one inn with themselves, a Hebrew and a Greek, a Scythian and an Egyptian, all united in their day of observance with the see of Rome, while the unfortunate Irishmen were a whole month out, and not one companion to keep them in countenance. The Pope, himself, Honorius, had urged them with no other argument a few years earlier. Bishop Colman again, at Whitby, refused, in 664, to accept as conclusive the claim rested by the Anglo-Saxon disputants upon the superiority of St. Peter. Columbanus, however, is the case most in point. His very admissions enhance the force of the refusal to submit, which is made in the face of them. He speaks of Pope Gregory as "*Petri cathedram Apostoli et Clavicularii legitime insidentem*," against whose opinions it is "*ridiculous*" to set those of one so insignificant as himself. But he proceeds to tell this representative of St. Peter, that he had better make out the Papal doctrine to agree with that of St. Jerome if he can; for, "*Simpliciter ego tibi confiteor, quod contra sancti Hieronymi auctoritatem veniens, apud occidentes ecclesias hæreticus seu respuendus erit; illi enim per omnia indubitatam in Scripturis Divinis accommodant fidem*." He admits again, in his letter to Boniface IV., the reverence due to the Apostolic See of Rome—"caput ecclesiarum;"—but it is a reverence expressly subordinate to that rightly due to the Holy City of Jerusalem,—"*Salva loci Dominicæ resurrectionis singulari prærogativa*,"—and a reverence therefore of the same kind with that; not a duty of canonical obedience or submission at all, but a sentiment of honour towards a place rendered sacred by religious associations. And what sort of notion of Papal infallibility could that writer have had, who tells the Pope that "*a living dog is better than a dead lion*," and that "*a living saint may profitably mend the work of another although a greater than he*;" the dead lion and the greater saint being Pope Leo? or, again, who declares his own dissatisfaction with the summary dictum of the Gallic bishops—"Cum Judæis Pascha facere non debemus,"—and subjoins, "*Dixit hoc olim et Victor episcopus, sed nemo orientalium suum recepit commentum*?" or who, lastly, exhorts Pope Boniface to watch more vigilantly over the orthodoxy of his Roman Church; for, "*Vigilius forte non bene vigilavit*?" And—what is still more to the point—observe how no one, not even the Pope, objects to this language as cou-

trary to the faith, or regards Columbanus as outraging in any way the feelings of Churchmen. There was a growing sentiment, no doubt, in favour of the Apostolic See of Rome; but it had not yet issued into the formal shape of laws and canons, albeit forged ones, neither was it as yet strong enough even to feel moral indignation against those who not only did not participate in it, but went counter to its stream altogether.

Contrast, too, the Irish with the Anglo-Saxon Church. The stream of Saxon pilgrims set steadily to Rome. Their foreign Saxon school was at Rome. From Rome they borrowed ritual, and psalmody, and fashions of Church ornament. And to Rome Saxon Archbishops looked for their pall. And if they held to certain notions of English independence (as they did), it was mainly because, after Wilfred's business, little occurred to bring about a collision between Rome and themselves, and to test the strength of those notions. But the stream of Irish travellers set in other directions than that of Rome. Only one or two of their early saints, Kilian or Findan, are taken thither, and that only by legendary lives, written abroad, the testimony of which, on such a subject, is discredited by their locality and date. Rome occupies the least possible share in their thoughts or writings. Their liturgy, and their hymns, and their psalmody, were their own. Every name of great note in the list of Irish saints or doctors abroad, save the one instance of Dungal, is found either in collision with Rome, or taking a line wholly independent of her. There are no interferences of Popes in Irish Church affairs, no letters of Popes^a to the Irish Church, before 1085, save the two already mentioned of Honorius and of the Roman clergy in 640; and these are simple exhortations, such as any bishop might send to another. In a word, the Irish Church up to the twelfth century paid probably that kind and degree of respect to Rome, which was paid to her during the fourth century or the fifth; but she had learned no new lesson on the subject since the days of her own first planting, and bears testimony therefore, in the stationariness of her sentiments, to the degree in which other Churches, more within Roman influence, had gradually overpassed both her, and their own former position.

Of special doctrines and articles of faith, it would take too long

^a The two letters of Gregory I. commonly entitled "*Ad Hibernos*," belong clearly to the *Iberi*, near Armenia. The letter to which one of these is a reply, was lost by the bearer of it on his way to Rome, at Jerusalem.

to speak in detail. No doubt many who clutch at Columbanus and his Church as opponents of the Popedom, would be shocked out of all propriety by many practices and notions prevalent among their protégés. Invocation of saints dates certainly from Cengus Kelida, at the end of the eighth century. And there is an instance of it in one of the hymns in the Bobbio Antiphonarium already mentioned. It would be hard, we believe, to find an earlier instance. And conceptions of a purgatory of some kind or other speedily grew up among an imaginative and speculative people, even so early as Bede's time, though as floating and informal "pious beliefs," and little more, and certainly not exhibiting the special characters of the full-formed Roman dogma. On the whole, it does not appear that the Irish were specially either before or behind the other parts of the Western Church in the growth among them of like opinions to those which like circumstances were generating elsewhere. Roman dogmas have not commonly grown into being at Rome itself. That see has simply set her seal upon dogmas that had already grown generally in the Church, and has thus kept at the head of opinion by following it, and by stamping it when full fledged as her own. And Ireland had sufficient intercourse with the rest of the Western Church after the beginning of the sixth century to share the influences of the common bent of men's minds from age to age. The difference between her and other parts of the Church, lay chiefly in her possession of a wider and more self-grown learning, and in the consequent boldness and independence of her speculations.

If then it be true that the chief positive and visible difference of that Church lay in her retaining a married clergy, it is true also that negatively she was impregnated with a spirit not against but independent of Rome, of far wider and deeper range than is symbolized by that one external mark—a mark, by the way, that lasted longer in her than elsewhere, but which had only been gradually, and not entirely, effaced, even in the twelfth century, in other parts of the Church besides Ireland°. It would be far nearer the truth,

° It is absurd to say, with M. Ozanam, that Rome "permitted" this licence to the Irish Church, as she "permits it now" in certain oriental bodies in communion with her. Celibacy of clergy was at that time, everywhere, a mere sentiment, gradually establishing itself in men's minds as being the religious and right thing, but very partially enforced. And Rome had not yet gathered her strength to seize the apparently right time for enforcing it as a necessary and fundamental law,

to compare the relations between the Irish and the Roman Churches, from the sixth to the twelfth centuries, to those which existed between the Roman and the Eastern Churches during the earliest part of the same period. Both followed their own lines of thought and development of theology in lines unconnected and occasionally divergent. In both, the same corruptions, varied by circumstances, grew up from the same causes. Both were on terms with one another, as parts of the same Church. An intercourse more or less prevailed between them. But there was no question of government and submission from the one with respect to the other. There is, indeed, one difference between the cases, viz. that Rome was confessedly the leading see of the West, and Ireland was part of the West. On that ground there was a certain deference due to her. If the Church collectively were called to act, she on that ground rightly claimed to lead^p. But of practical or habitual interference in Irish Church affairs there is no trace at all. Of claim to superiority, and canonical obedience, there is no trace at all. And of influence in Irish Church measures, there is the one instance and no more of the Easter question, where the point was to persuade one part of the Church into giving up a singularity which threatened to interfere with communion, not to enforce on a subordinate the command of a superior.

THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH^q.

THIS volume, its able author tells us, "comprises the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church." It would have been a more acceptable gift to English Churchmen had it really done so. To have to piece

anywhere. That was waiting for Hildebrand to do. A formal permission of a married clergy in Ireland in these centuries, is not only a mere invention as a matter of fact, but an impossible anachronism.

^p Two "Scotch" bishops, described as "Fergusus Episcopus Scotiæ Pictus," and "Sedulius episcopus Britannicæ de genere Scotorum," subscribed the Council of Rome in 721, under Gregory II. about illicit marriages. The Welsh Church seems to have had more and earlier communication with Rome than the Irish. Howel's laws were taken by him to Rome to be confirmed in 928. Connexion with the Anglo-Saxon Church no doubt caused this.

^q "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury." By W. F. Hook, D.D., Dean of Chichester. Vol. I. Anglo-Saxon Period. (London: Bentley.) *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. xiii. - 73.

out our knowledge of the *origines* of our own Church from Southey and Inett and Soames and Lingard,—from the sparkling points made by an essayist, or the flat pages of the dullest of chroniclers who has not even the merit of knowing facts, or the polemics of a controversialist, or the disquisitions, however large-minded, of a Roman Catholic,—is a state of things not creditable to our Church literature. And few tasks could have better occupied the Dean of Chichester, than to use the well-earned leisure that crowns the noblest of practical lives, in tracing the growth of that English Christianity, the sturdy strength of which he has himself under God done so much in these latter days to renew. To trace the process of compacting the Papacy out of the Latinized European Churches has been the larger task of the leisure of another English Dean. It would have been a work most interesting to English Churchmen, and most congenial to all the antecedents of Dr. Hook, to depict the growth of the most unmetaphysical and most un-Latinized of Churches, the Church not of subtle controversy but of practical work, the Church which of all was most truly a national Church, and that Church our own.

Here, and here only, the older Britannico-Roman Church organization was swept away from its foundations. And the Italian graft did not take kindly to the oak in which it was grafted, and was quickly overpowered. And the terrors of a journey through Frankland or the Alps, and the un-Latinized Anglo-Saxon tongue, and the absence of all elements whatsoever of the old Roman Empire, kept foreign influences of all kinds practically apart; and reduced to a sentiment, the more strong because its strength was almost never tested, the romantic, childlike, and happily ignorant reverence felt by the Anglo-Saxon towards the distant and civilised and apostolical mother Church of Rome. And the Church of our forefathers accordingly grew from its own roots, a Church beyond all others national. And that Church was also emphatically the Missionary Church of the time. What the Scot did in the sixth and seventh centuries, was the work of the Anglo-Saxon in the eighth. Mission work was his special work. Where he planted the Gospel, it took root and lasted. And as abroad, so at home, it was a Church of specially practical and pastoral labour. The *parochia* (in the final and narrowest sense of the word) of Churches across the water was significantly the “*shriftshire*” of our own. And the parish priest with his parish church dates from days as early as those of Theo-

dore. And though the formal words of Baptism and of the Mass were only explained and not translated (as Lappenberg seems to think), and the Council of Cloveshoo under Cuthbert only regretted without altering the chanting of Psalms in an unknown tongue; yet the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and the words of promise in the Marriage Service, and perhaps some other things were in the vernacular, and the two first were enforced as a necessary knowledge on all; and Saxon sermons were preached every Sunday; and prose and verse Psalms and the Gospels in Saxon were as familiar as in the days of MSS. they could be; and the Lord's-day was kept, or ordered to be kept, much after the English ideal of the present day. And the system of the Penitentials, which, though we may well doubt the wisdom of the means adopted, was yet the first grand attempt to realise systematically through pastoral care the Christian life throughout the flock, did not indeed arise, but received its first great development in the Church of our Saxon fathers. Add to this the characteristic Saxon pilgrimages, linking us with Rome, with Jerusalem, and even in the ninth century with India, and importing in return the learning and refinement of foreign lands: and the singular fervour of devotion, which counts so unparalleled a beadroll of Saxon kings and queens and nobles, not among the founders only, but among the devoted and world-renouncing monks of ascetic monasteries: and the later religious guilds and brotherhoods, framed no doubt after the doctrine of the day, but indicating a real and devotional Christian feeling; and the pre-eminent learning and piety of the Northumbrian Church above all, with its Cuthbert and John of Beverley, its Bedes and Alcuins and Egberts, shewing its vitality even in the day of its captivity, in the romantic and touching faith of the bearers of St. Cuthbert's corpse. Surely here is a subject, which with the flood of light poured upon it by recent antiquarian labours (still, however, sadly incomplete and imperfect), would well repay the historian's toil. And who better than Dr. Hook to describe a Church, into the spirit of which he can so largely enter, and whose life and tone his peculiar experience and kindred feeling will so truly appreciate and understand?

Dr. Hook has chosen to limit himself to a single and narrow side-view, as it were, of this larger subject. He has tied himself to a line of official biographies; and must needs follow where they lead him, even though they turn him aside from flowery meads to barren

sands, or whirl him like a railroad along their own unswerving line, now and then indeed to a glorious prospect from some lofty embankment, but too commonly along a blind cutting, or by the backs of the suburbs of the cities which he passes, instead of to the busy marts and palaces which are the centres of their real life.

No doubt our Saxon line of primates contains its fair sprinkling of great names. There are, it must be owned, to set against them, Tatwins and Bregwins in the list, of whom like the Moores and the Herrings of a later date we have to remind ourselves by the help of Mr. Stubbs's *Registrum Anglicanum*, that they did once inhabit respectively their monastic or palatial homes of Canterbury or Lambeth. And the ingenuity with which Dr. Hook has devised an agreeable digression to hang upon such barren pegs is amusing. But for the most part our Archbishops were at least men who lived a life worth telling. On the other hand, they were rarely the leading men of the time.

Our objection to the plan of such biographies—and they threaten to become common, since Lord Campbell set the fashion—is that they take us only now and then to the real moving spring of events, while commonly they are compelled to make some secondary, though we own usually interesting, person the principal figure in the picture, and to tell us only by-the-bye what we chiefly care to know. The life of Dunstan, which Dr. Hook has treated in the noblest spirit, and perhaps that of Augustine, are almost the only periods throughout the volume in which things fall naturally into their right position, and where Dr. Hook's point of view coincides with that which an unfettered historian would take. That of Theodore, which can alone claim to be parallel with these, divides its interest with the contemporary and more brilliant and erratic career of Wilfred. But take Alfred's reign, and how exceedingly is the story marred and mutilated by the unavoidable disproportion with which it is here treated! Who ever heard of Ethelred, or who but an editor of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of Plegmund, as having any appreciable share in the truly English reforms, which Alfred (and if any one beside him, Asser) originated and accomplished? Yet it is Ethelred and Plegmund to whom Dr. Hook is compelled to refer his narrative. And except in these three periods,—those of Theodore, Alfred, and Dunstan,—our archbishops present a series of good men, above rather than below the average bishop, yet rarely taking the lead in works of more vital interest than the securing

the privileges of their archiepiscopate, or the giving a triumph to one or other of two rival monasteries through the contingent advantages of possessing their graves.

In truth the accident which gave Canterbury the primacy, did not preserve to it in Saxon times the real or continued leadership of the English Church. Canterbury schools and Canterbury plain song were in repute in England only so long as Italian refinement had still something to impart to Saxon ignorance. And Egbert's school at York speedily superseded the former; while Wilfred's boasted improvements in the antiphonal chant, and Aldhelm's nationalizing of church music, eclipsed the latter. And Glastonbury, again, was the great school of later times. The monastic life drew its inspiration from Lindisfarne, or from Wilfred at Ripon, or from Malmesbury and Glastonbury, but not until Dunstan's time from Canterbury. The monastery of Ripon, again, under the same Wilfred, originated the spirit of missionary enterprise, and the Wessex monasteries supplied a Boniface to improve upon the lesson; but though the latter sought Archbishop Brihtwald's blessing, he took with him the commendatory letters of his own Wessex Bishop, and looked to him for guidance in the instruction of his heathen converts. And the curious letter of the Bishop of London of the same date, in the Appendix to Smith's Bede, discloses a very disjointed condition of the southern province, and little submission to Canterbury. The Lichfield schism followed at no long interval. And it was not until the Danes had wasted the Northumbrian Church, and Athelstan had made England one kingdom, that even a technical primacy over the whole country was yielded without dispute to the Southern Kentish See, to be disputed yet again in Norman times, and settled at length and for ever by the efforts of Lanfranc.

A series of well-written biographies, however,—to turn from Dr. Hook's choice of subject to his treatment of it,—is always an amusing book, though it is not a history. Anecdote and personal adventure come home to every one. And biographies written with the humour, the weighty sense, and the large and generous spirit of Dr. Hook, and dealing with a state of society at once sufficiently akin and sufficiently alien to our own to awaken both sympathy and curiosity, form a volume that reads in many parts like a novel for interest. And if to understand the men of our own time be a condition of writing sensibly the history of those who lived before us—

or if, again, to have taken a manly and vigorous part in existing controversies prepare the mind most thoroughly for a just and equitable estimate of both sides in those that are past—or if a large spiritual experience be specially helpful to keep a Church historian awake to the hidden stream of the inner Christian life, and to teach him to detect its signs under the ritual, or the æsthetics, or the politics, or the worldly fortunes of the Church, however obscured by them, or however alien to modern habits of thought—or if, once more, a mind trained by action rather than by study, and versed in men rather than books, be apt to be specially ready with comparisons, grotesque or weighty, but in either case vivid, and with trains of thought that link the new to the old, and give life to the latter by bringing them at once to the range of our own experience;—all these qualifications the greatest among our pastoral clergy assuredly has, and his book bears traces of them in every page. He lacks, indeed, one qualification, necessary perhaps to the highest class of biography—an enthusiastic admiration of his heroes. His tone towards the Anglo-Saxon Church is a curious compound of candour and contempt—of candour, intentional, deliberate, self-reminding, which covers an involuntary and for ever self-rebuking contempt. His book is almost an expansion of the thesis, the formal propounding of which occupies its earliest pages:—that, while everybody knows and nobody can deny how utterly unenlightened our forefathers were, yet for all that the nineteenth century would be wise not to throw stones. Strip accident from essentials, and judge men from their own point of view, and there is not so much to choose after all, he tells us, in the greater matters of intellect, morals, or religion, between the dark ages and our own. And this candour has both an apologetic and a satirical side, and both double-edged. He is so alive to the foibles of the present age, and so determined to be fair towards those of the past, as to let slip no opportunity of an innocently suggested parallel, by which both are placed on a level, and contemptuous modern readers are left in the dilemma of acquitting or condemning their ignorant forefathers as they please, but in either case of dealing a like measure to themselves. A modern revivalist is thus let in for a defence, *volens volens*, of mediæval belief in still-continued miracles. And Dunstan's alleged ventriloquist tricks are most ingeniously sheltered under a parallel with anonymous letters in the "Times" or elsewhere. And the wise man and the mesmerizer are exhibited

to rebuke the contemptuous sneer on the face of the enlightened reader at the recourse, for the like reasons, in older times to the relics and graves of saints. And the idleness of the Canterbury students is excused by modern University example, and serves (*proh pudor!*) as a peg whereon to hang in Dr. Hook's own person a defence of University fox-hunting! The result, however, is a most amusing narrative, written in a piquant style, and yet by no means wanting in the serious thought and reverent tone befitting its main subject. Dr. Hook, indeed, has a knack of visibly realising the past to his readers. He is apt at such happy allusions, as the comparison of a Saxon royal palace to the camp at Aldershot, or as when the longs and shorts of Aldhelm, or the young noblemen at Glastonbury, wake us up to quaint imaginations of an Anglo-Saxon Eton. While a lively style only sets off in his pages those higher intellectual and moral qualifications of an historian for which this volume establishes a high claim.

It is a duty which may not be left undone to accompany this praise by a remark of a different kind. Unhappily, Dr. Hook, with all these loftier powers, is deficient in certain lower historical qualities. It would not be fair, indeed, to treat his work as that of an original investigator. His aim apparently has been simply to use the materials which are now readily accessible, in order to popularize them into an interesting volume, which should teach men, in a fair and religious spirit, what the beginnings of the English Church really were. He does not enter, accordingly, into disputed or complicated questions of fact. He is content with assuming, for instance, that Augustine really went to Arles for consecration, or that he died when Wharton says he did. Nor will he settle where he landed, or what was the locality of the conference of the oak. The Welshman will look in vain in his pages for a defence, or even for a bare mention, of Dinoh's antedated zeal against a papal supremacy that was not claimed. And so throughout his work. One little bit of an unexplained itinerary of Archbishop Siric, hitherto unpublished, is, we believe, Dr. Hook's entire contribution to the facts and authorities of Saxon Church history. So far we do not complain that Dr. Hook has contented himself with breathing life and character into materials of other people's collecting, without any extreme research towards supplementing or correcting them; but we are constrained to say that he is by no means exact in representing even the authorities which he had before his eyes. In the

effort to frame a living picture out of the details of the chroniclers, he is guilty both of frequent inadvertencies in matters of fact, and of imputing motives and asserting explanations without adequate support in his original authorities. The utter confusion which he has made of the history of Wilfred and Deusdedit is perhaps the most serious case of the first kind. Benedict Biscop's nationality is of less importance, but might as well be right as wrong. He was an Angle, not a Briton. M. Schrödl, we fear, will insinuate worse things of the mention of wine as well as bread^r, in the story of Mellitus and the pagan sons of Sabert. And the translation of Aldfrith's final reply to Wilfred in 704, is worse still. Dr. Hook's rendering implies that the *ut dicilis*, "as you call it," applied to the epithet "apostolic see," instead of to the letter produced by Wilfred, and asserted by him to be from the apostolic see; and it omits the contrast drawn between the Archbishop sent by the Pope, and the letter brought from the Pope—one, though not the main, point of the reply turning on the superiority of the more indisputable genuineness of the living messenger as compared with the written message.

We could add a great many, too many, more of similar slips. The statement that Cuthbert prompted the letter of Boniface to King Æthelbald, or that he agreed with Boniface^a in desiring to make the see of Rome the centre of unity; or, in an earlier narrative, that Redwald had invited the Canterbury missionaries to his court; or, again, nearly all of the speculations attributed to Wilfred, or others about him, respecting the see of Canterbury, are specimens of the latter class. The former are, of course, indefensible. With respect to the latter, it may be difficult to draw a line in the mode of statement between the rationale of facts as actually stated by original witnesses, and the allowable framework which all historians must devise to combine and account for them. But surely it falls beyond this line, when conjectural interpretations of the modern

^a M. Schrödl overlooks the epithet *nitidus* in the far-fetched argument for communion in one kind which he founds (or borrows) on this passage. It was something in the bread, not in the wine, that attracted the eye of the heathen princes. But Dr. Hook should not have slipped in an express mention of wine which Bede says nothing about.

^b Why does Dr. Hook call the Council of which Boniface transmits the decrees to Cuthbert, a Council of *Soissons*? It was somewhere in Germany, no one knows where. But at Soissons assuredly it was not. It was held under Carloman, and therefore in Austrasia.

thinker are stated as though they were simple assertions of the original witness. And of this it is that we hold Dr. Hook too often guilty. He possesses many of the higher powers that go to make a great historian. May we be forgiven for reminding him that the foundation ought to come before the building, and that reflections, however profound, lose credit in direct proportion to their profoundness, when, unhappily, that to which they refer turns out to have no existence. We cannot forbear asking—that we may conclude in good humour our unavoidable notice of an unpleasant topic, whether the Dean of Chichester, in his cathedral, or in his private oratory, actually keeps St. Gregory's and St. Augustine's days with a special service as old as A.D. 747, or thereabouts; and if so, whether he would favour us with an inspection of so scarce a liturgical document? Our "present Prayer-books," he tells us, have festivals in honour of these two saints, after the fashion established in Cuthbert's synod of Cloveshoo. Really, we have been in sad ignorance. We begin to fear that Mr. Fisher may have had some shadow of reason, after all, for what we have hitherto regarded (nay, do still regard) as disingenuous on his part to the degree of dishonesty—namely, his implied assertion that English Churchmen, or some of them, keep, not indeed these two, but another of the black letter days, that, if we remember right, of St. Margaret.

Space would not allow us to follow Dr. Hook through the whole period which his volume covers; through the details of the Celtic controversy; of the constitution of the Saxon Church, now re-entered into the European fraternity of Churches, under Theodore; of the political controversy touching metropolitans, which again nearly shattered her; of the degeneracy into which both Church and State had sunk when the sharp chastisement of the Danish "army" came to pour new blood into the enfeebled frame of both; of the reform under Alfred; of the revolution under Dunstan; of the counter-revolution and the great development of the regal supremacy under the Danish dynasty; of the merely political strife of races that degraded even the Church during the feeble days of the Confessor. Let us confine ourselves to the two characters who were respectively the nominal and the real founders of the Anglo-Saxon Church as she was in her best days—to Augustine and to Theodore. In both we shall be brought on the track of Church questions such as are not yet obsolete. The lines laid down for the yet unbuilt missionary edifice, and the due adjustment of epis-

copal and of pastoral superintendence and the desirableness of synodical action in the now completed Church, are as living questions still to the Selwyns and the Mackenzies on the one hand, and to the Wilberforces on the other, and to ourselves their fellow-churchmen, as they were to the Italian and the Greek who were sent to settle them in England in the seventh century.

I. If any man ever had greatness thrust upon him, with which, Malvolio-like, he did not quite know how to deal, that man was Augustine of Canterbury. The Pope and his missionary remind us of nothing more forcibly than of some Arnold or Moberly trying, by mingled rebukes, advice, and warning, to get a timid and awkward boy to act his part properly in the semi-independent sphere of prefect or monitor. Scarcely able to tear himself from the side of the truly great man on whom he leaned—shrinking back from exaggerated difficulties the moment he found himself alone—delaying on the threshold of his enterprise an unreasonable time, yet strangely ignorant, at the end of this delay, of the true position of the Celtic Churches[†], already in the land to which he was sent, and still needing interpreters to enable him to preach to his future flock—asking with solemnity the simplest of questions, such as a novice might have settled without troubling the Pope, a thousand miles off, about the matter—catching too readily at immediate and worldly aids to success—and when success came unduly elated—ignoring altogether the pioneers whom he found at work before him, and sensitively proud and unconciliatory towards supposed rivals—Augustine has one claim to our respect, that of a blameless and self-denying Christian life. The one truly missionary soul in Rome (as Dr. Hook justly says) would seem to have been that of Gregory himself. The men to whom he delegated, perforce, his cherished missionary enterprise, were no doubt the best he could find; but it tells ill for the Roman Church of the day, that five years of his papacy passed before he could find even such as they, while six years more elapsed, and three of them after the arrival of Augustine's tidings of his first success, before another band could be mustered to reinforce them. And just one other, and he not from Rome[‡], and (though consecrated) not sent by the then Pope (Honorius), fills up, at an

* See the letter of Archbishop Laurentius in Bede, H. E. ii. 4.

† Thirty years or so further still, after Birinus' mission, and two more were with difficulty found by the Pope to accept Saxon archbishoprics and abbacies. They were a Greek and an African, Theodore and Hadrian.

interval of above thirty years, the entire missionary band which Italy could supply to counterbalance the past Arianism of northern and the coming Islamism of eastern invaders, by new conquests from heathendom. The contrast is a pregnant one, between this scanty, spasmodic, and tardy effort, made with difficulty and not followed up, and the endless flood of self-denying and devoted men who at this very period were pouring out of the Celtic Churches, and carrying the Gospel from the north to every point at which European heathendom could be reached, even up to and over the Alps themselves.

In 595 the Abbot of St. Andrew's at Rome quitted his Italian cloister to begin his journey. He did not land in Thanet until 597. Dr. Hook, we think, has rested the account of the delay too much upon the dangers of the journey itself. The need of learning the language, which Franks could teach, was probably its excuse. The "*iners timor*," to which Bede honestly owns, of the "*fera et barbara et incredula gens cujus ne linguam quidem noscent*," was plainly in part its cause. Aided by Candidus, the Pope's agent for St. Peter's patrimony in Gaul,—an officer requiring for his duties as much courage and tact, it should seem, as an Irish land-agent of sixty years since, and certainly a capital courier for timid voyagers,—Augustine and his band were, nevertheless, a whole year (spent partly in plying Gregory with an entreaty to be excused their undertaking altogether), before they ventured beyond the comparatively home-quarters of Lerins and Aix. Although armed with credentials (such as Gregory could give) to Frank kings and bishops, from Metz eastward to the strangely out-of-the-way Saintes on the west*,—omitting however, singularly enough, the king of the still little kingdom of Soissons, which contained all the then ordinary ports of communication with non-Celtic England,—they were a year more before they actually stood on the

* Laurentius, in one of his *later* journeys across France, visited Columbanus, it is to be supposed at Luxeuil, but only to increase seemingly his unchristian antipathy to Celts (Bede, H. E., ii. 4). Dates render it questionable whether Augustine could have taken the like step himself, had he been so disposed; but his letters of introduction to Orleans, to Tours, and to Saintes, may have been intended to help him to an interview with British bishops in Brittany, e.g. with Maclou of St. Aleth. The legends about his miracles in Anjou, are worth hardly so much as to be mentioned, but they help to confirm his visit to these parts. Candidus, mentioned in the text, certainly did visit Columbanus subsequently. He may have assisted Laurentius to do the like.

shore of that nation of fierce countenance whose tongue they could not understand, and which had loomed so terrific across the haze of the distant Channel to their untravelled and unadventurous eyes. Yet the subsequent letters of thanks from Gregory to (among others) Queen Brunehaut and Bishop Syagrius of Autun, including this time Lothaire also of Soissons, and the presence of "Gallic priests" and "Frank interpreters" in their band, prove their journey to have been forwarded, both by Church and State, by Gaul and Frank, rather than impeded. While the simple fact of the Christian queen, and her Christian bishop, living in the undisturbed practice of Christian worship in a Christian church in Canterbury itself, might have taught them that the spirit of martyrdom, however admirable, was in their case superfluous.

We trace a like want of loftiness of spirit in their actual missionary labours. Like Dr. Hook, we will assume the circumstances of the landing, not venturing to intrude upon the field which Dr. Stanley has made unapproachably his own. Let it suffice also to note with ungrudging admiration the evangelic and simple teaching which tradition assigns to Augustine's first address—tradition, however, recorded at no earlier date than that of Ælfric, and expanded, seemingly, by Gotselin (whom Dr. Hook quotes) on his own authority—and the manly and sensible wisdom of Ethelbert's reply,—strange contrast to the savage vision that had haunted the timid anticipations of the missionaries,—and the wise pomp with which, "more suo" (as Bede tells us), the future archbishop, "the dark and swarthy Italian, higher by head and shoulders than his companions," (as tradition represents him), entered with chanted litany, and uplifted cross, and bannered picture of the Saviour, the walls of Canterbury. Let us pass to the measures by which he sought to plant and to consolidate his mission. It is one of the earliest missions of which we have any details, and one also of the earliest of those in which the teacher stood upon a distinct elevation above the taught, in temporal civilization as well as spiritual knowledge. It is one, therefore, singularly parallel to most of our missions of the present day.

1. We are first struck by the fact, that, unlike the Churches of the old Roman world, the Saxons were converted, not from below upwards, and gradually, but by a wholly reverse process. Princes and nobles accepted the Gospel, and the mass of the people followed *per saltum*, ready to return to their unextirpated heathenism, should

a counterchange of feeling come too soon in their rulers. The British and Scotch missions afford, to a certain extent, a contrast to this feature of the Anglo-Italian. *They* sought to leaven the mass, as well as to convert the chiefs. The cathedral cities of Canterbury and of Dorchester first, and then Winchester, mark a line of preaching as noteworthy in this respect, as is the opposite line indicated by the retired island of Lindisfarne, or by the chapels in the out-of-the-way corners of Essex established by Cedd, or by the little Norfolk village, where stood the cathedral (if he had one) of Bishop Felix. And Paulinus' teaching in the train of King Eadwin stands in like contrast with that of the itinerant Scotch teachers of Northumbria, and (it must be added) with that also of the Kentish deacon James in the same province. In truth, the Italian and British missionaries were not unlike University men and Dissenters, respectively set to preach to a flock akin educationally and socially to the latter; and the former were not the men to turn their superior refinement into a weapon of power, instead of a cumbrous and repellent armour. We may trace in the results, as on the one hand an account of the early wealth and temporal rank of the Saxon Church and its consequent nationality, so on the other some explanation also of the singular fact of the collapse, after a burst of prosperity, of every Canterbury mission without exception.

2. A ready use of the civil power to promote religion by outward means, is another analogous feature of Augustine's proceedings and those of his company. Not only did Ethelbert engraft the Church at once into the protection of the State, assigning it a very high numerical value in the scale of protective penalties which formed the substance of the Saxon code⁷, but before half a century had passed idolatry was prohibited, and Lent enforced, in Kent, under penalties. Augustine, it is true, induced Ethelbert to refrain from compulsion. He simply accepted rank and wealth for the Church. It was left to the last Italian primate so to blend Church and State as to make disobedience to Church discipline a punishable crime in Saxon England. Undoubtedly, to have done otherwise would have been to anticipate the growth of thought by many centuries. And

⁷ The certainly not profound question touching theft from churches, put solemnly by Augustine to Gregory, which excites not unnaturally a passing smile from Dr. Hook, is slightly relieved of its apparent simplicity, if viewed in connection with the laws passed by Ethelbert on the identical subject. The Pope's authority may have appeared desirable for the benefit of the Witenagemot, which, for the first time in Saxon history, was about to "establish" the Church.

the measures desirable for an uncivilized people are not to be judged by the standard of one in a totally different social and intellectual condition. And the principal, though unthought-of, result, in subsequent years, of a Church so thoroughly blended with the State, was independence of the Popedom. In no place more than in Saxon England were the clergy,—gentry by their very office,—so little of a clerical caste, so entirely governed by national laws, so blended with all ranks of society including the highest, so little marked (for a time) by the habitual wearing of a peculiar dress, and so tempted to play the layman; so combined in all functions, legislative and judicial, with the civil magistrate; so thoroughly subject to the national courts. Nowhere, save for a while in Carlovingian France, do we find so complete and express a realization of a kingdom modelled after the Jewish in its main politico-ecclesiastical features, as in that system which culminated in Alfred's code of laws. But the fact remains, as characteristic of Augustine, that with the larger views of Gregory, which we may read in the archbishop's instructions to Ethelbert, there was combined a willingness to adopt more immediate and worldly measures, which speedily grew into the extremest theory of a compulsory establishment. That much may be said on both sides is very true. We do not discuss the question, but only note the fact.

3. Dr. Hook has justly noticed a third and kindred feature in the case:—the undue propensity to rest their preaching upon providential interferences which marked the Kentish missionaries. The rain-making, by which Dr. Livingstone was so hardly pressed in Africa, would have been a test which, unlike Dr. Livingstone, we feel persuaded that Augustine would have at least tried to accept. And although the Italians had neither the physical science nor the white man's gun to dazzle or bribe their converts, had they been so disposed, by the privileges of improved health and comfort or superior power, yet they were too much inclined both to interpret the vicissitudes of worldly fortune into immediate and direct declarations from heaven; and to encourage in others, if they did not in their own hearts entertain, a belief in miraculous powers accorded to themselves. The former is, obviously, a double-edged, and so a dangerous argument, as events must soon have rendered it in the present case. With respect to the latter, a distinction must be taken between miracles alleged to have been wrought in the presence of opponents for evidential purposes and to try a direct issue,

and those which in an uncritical and ignorant age or place, prepared to expect and to recognise them, cluster round the memory of holy men or holy places, or are attached to periods and crises of religious excitement. The second class (even omitting all obviously legendary stories) come almost exclusively within the sweep of Sir James Mackintosh's destructive canon, quoted by Dr. Hook. They are, in themselves, commonly on that border-land between imagination and fact where it is often impossible even now to determine the point at which the natural ends and the supernatural begins. And the evidence on which they rest is that of credulous or excited minds, incapable, without any imputation upon their honesty, of trustworthy testimony upon the subject. The miracle, then, has still to be proved to be such before we can be called upon to account for it as a miracle. The first class stand upon a different footing, and are incapable of any similar explanation. If the evidence is good, these must, of necessity, be either real miracles or conscious impostures. And if, with Dr. Hook, we believe, *à priori*, that they cannot be the former, and are, with him, unwilling to allow the latter alternative, we must be driven, as a last resource, to follow him in explaining away the evidence on which they rest. Now, in the present case, the miracles indefinitely ascribed to Augustine in Gregory's letter to him, all details of which are mere legend, belong to the second of the two classes above mentioned. And, in the words of Dr. Hook, "when the enthusiasm" of a "mass of men, women, and children approaches the very verge of sanity, extraordinary things will occur, which will become more extraordinary still in the narration." The parallels of not the Jansenists only, or the first Wesleyans, or the Irish revivals, but of every religious fanaticism of all times and places, amply account for the supposition of miracles, without any imputation upon what Dr. Hook loosely calls men's "general honesty." But three cases remain, relating respectively to St. Augustine, to Laurentius, and to Paulinus, which are susceptible of no such middle course. For the conviction respectively of the Britons, of King Eadbald, and of the Northumbrian Eadwin, the restoration of sight to a blind man, a supernatural vision leaving behind very visible material results, and the communication of supernatural information, are distinctly attested by Bede to have occurred. And no one doubts Bede's honesty, as reporting what he himself believed. We confess to inclining in all three instances (though doubtfully) to the hypothesis of pious fraud. That

a "completed Bible" precludes later miracles (which is Dr. Hook's position), appears indeed, to us, a precarious assumption. It limits the purpose of miracles solely to the evidential attestation, and that once for all, of revealed truth. And the withholding of such power from all missionaries at the present day, when combined with the fact that it was possessed by the preachers of the Gospel in primitive times, leaves us still in search of a principle by which to draw the line where such power practically ceased. At the same time, while fully believing that no necessary and absolute moral reason precludes miracles to this day, it is simply impossible to accept the miraculous interpretation of the scourging of Laurentius, or even of the sign by which Augustine sought and failed to compel submission to an unjust claim. And when it is considered further, that the feeling of the age would not have strongly condemned the employment of ingenuity to secure a (supposed) good end, and that at all times the sense of the obligation of openness diminishes towards persons distinctly our inferiors in understanding and culture; so that many people would even now defend the principle of "œconomizing" truth towards children; the moral unlikelihood of what we should now rightly condemn as a fraud, becomes materially lessened, even in the case of men otherwise religious and honest. We doubt if the average moral sense of Englishmen would condemn even now those tricks of civilized men upon savages, which Dr. Hook enumerates, assuming that they were played, not out of cruelty, but for a good purpose, as for self-defence, or for the ultimate good of the savages themselves. Add further the ill-drawn line at that day between the natural and the miraculous; the belief on Augustine's part that some kind of miraculous power attached to himself (compare the touching for the king's evil); the strong temptation, both in the easiness and apparent harmlessness of the deceit, and in the emergency of the crisis, which pressed upon the other two; and the greatly diminished improbability of the proceeding on Augustine's part, if it be plain that a like deceit was undoubtedly practised by two of his leading brother-missionaries. And however it may affect our estimate of his character or theirs, the supposition of some sort of half-conscious collusion appears a more likely solution of the case, than that three stories of a like kind should have grown up within so short a space of time, even in the gossip of a monastery of that age. Dr. Hook, it should be noticed, gets rid of the miracle though not of the deceit in the case of Paulinus by

framing his narrative, not upon Bede, but upon his own interpretation of Bede. That the mysterious stranger whose long-past words and acts in the distant East Anglian scene of Eadwin's exile, Paulinus knew by revelation, was no other than Paulinus himself, who had been invited to Redwald's court, is Dr. Hook's own assumption, possibly the probable one, yet hardly more so than Neander's hypothesis of an accidental discovery of the story on the part of Paulinus, but by no means admitted or even hinted either by Bede or by Paulinus himself. In this case, as in that of Laurentius, the assumption of the supernatural interference is the turning-point of the whole narrative; although we readily admit Dr. Hook's ingenious remark, that, in the history of the British Conference, the whole course of events would run more coherently were the miracle omitted altogether.

4. Concession to heathen practices and prejudices is another marked feature of the Canterbury mission; concession in respect to degrees of marriage, and to the retention of the heathen temples as places of Christian worship, and of the wakes and feasts attached to them: in both cases (though in the latter of the two an afterthought) proceeding from special directions of Gregory himself, and the former being really a concession rendered necessary by the undue strictness of the Papal law. Of accommodation in the actual teaching of the truth itself, either as to the order of the several portions of doctrine to be brought forward, or as to the adapting them to the views of the heathen themselves, we notice no trace. The Chinese Jesuit practices find no precedent in this first of purely Papal missions. Augustine's own teaching, as represented by subsequent tradition, put forward at once, and simply, the distinctive doctrines of the Gospel; a circumstance the more noteworthy when compared with the gradual transition recommended long afterwards by Alcuin (quoted by Dr. Hook) from the lowest foundations of so-called natural religion, by successive steps, to a final teaching of Gospel mysteries; and still more when contrasted with the earlier and remarkable letter of Bishop Daniel to the martyr Boniface, laying down for his guidance a distinctive line of argument, by which the heathen superstitions were to be first exhibited in their irrationality, and (it must be added) in the temporal disadvantages which they were represented as bringing upon those who held them, and Christian truths were then to be insinuated by the way into minds convinced of the inadequacy of their former belief. Augus-

tine seems, to us, in both contrasts, to claim at least the merit of greater simplicity.

The liberality, however, of the concessions which he did make is due to Pope Gregory, not to Augustine. One of these Dr. Hook mentions, though very briefly; the other he has partially misunderstood.

Two classes of questions presented themselves respecting marriage: where was the line to be drawn with respect to affinity and to consanguinity? and in case of marriages contracted before conversion against the law thus enacted, what was to be done if the parties to them became Christians? We commend to the clergy of the diocese of Natal a consideration of the rule laid down upon the latter question. It appears to have been intended to extend to all the classes of marriage specified; although it must be admitted that the words of Gregory strictly taken bind it to that with a brother's widow, and that Eadbald's marriage with his stepmother, although contracted before his baptism, was annulled altogether. Such persons were to be exhorted to live separate, but even in case of refusal were not to be rejected from either baptism or the Lord's Supper; the marriage being plainly held to be in their case valid. As marriages of the kind were prohibited, and were to be held invalid if contracted by Christians, Gregory of course anticipated that the case would be a temporary one which would die out as conversions proceeded. The already over-drawn system of prohibitions and dispensations in the Western Church rendered the other part of the subject far more intricate. Degrees prohibited in Scripture invalidate a marriage. Degrees prohibited only by ecclesiastical law admit of a dispensation. In the former, the Pope refused to concede to heathen laxity at all. Marriage with a stepmother on the father's death, which was a duty among the Teutonic race, was the chief practical difficulty. Gregory expressly forbids it, although at the risk of that which actually occurred, namely, the downfall (for a moment) of the entire mission on the accession of Eadbald. And that king on his baptism was made even to put away his wife, whom he had married, it is true, knowing the Christian prohibition. Marriage with cousins-german is likewise prohibited, with an effort to place the prohibition on Scriptural grounds; and marriage with a brother's widow, for a like reason; both also common among the English of that time. But Dr. Hook has missed the sense of that further rule, which Gregory regarded as a con-

cession, to be retracted as soon as possible. Kinsmen immediately beyond the degree of first cousin—marriage with whom was thought by none to be against Scripture—were to be permitted to marry "*licenter*," i.e., not "*lawfully*," as Dr. Hook renders, but "by a dispensation." Gregory's own letter to Felix, if it be genuine, and certainly the subsequent commentary of the Penitentials, and the repeated enactments of the later Saxon kings, shew that, as a permanent rule, the Pope intended to prohibit, not to permit, marriage in the third and fourth degrees (reckoning according to the Papal reckoning in such matters, and calling cousins-german the second). The former of the two (between second cousins) is pronounced invalid altogether, and the latter is prohibited, but (apparently), if contracted, not dissolved, by Theodore and by Egbert of York. And the civil laws fix the limit of permissible marriage at the sixth degree, which in their reckoning is equivalent to that of the Penitentials. It is candid to add, with a view, not to Dr. Hook, but to the unhappy marriage-questions of the day, that although repeated mention occurs in Anglo-Saxon canons of the prohibition to a woman to marry two brothers successively, the converse case, of a man marrying two sisters, is not in terms mentioned. At the same time, the laws of Ethelred and Canute shew, that the words of Gregory and the subsequent ecclesiastical prohibitions included the latter case under the former.

Architectural reasons, it is to be supposed, prevented any general compliance with Gregory's advice respecting the temples. The church of St. Pancras, at Canterbury, is the one recorded instance of compliance with it. And the zeal of the converted priest himself in Northumbria caused the utter destruction of the northern shrine at Godmundingham. The retention of the wakes conducted, it is to be feared, to the persistence of that abundant popular heathenism to which Saxon canons bear witness, almost as long as there was a Saxon Church. As a practical question, similar topics must arise in our own heathen missions. We commend to them the warning which St. Gregory's well-meant licence and its consequences convey.

5. Both these points of large-mindedness, however, wise or unwise, are due to Gregory, not to Augustine. The timid narrowness of the latter shews itself, again, in his uneasiness respecting the variations in the Liturgy, which, probably enough (as Dr. Hook says), his French journey had brought home to him. And this is

the more marked, through contrast with Gregory's noble injunction, in reply, to take of the best, no matter whence, for the unencumbered field of the new Church. At the same time, the facts do not bear out the full extent of Dr. Hook's condemnation. It may have been, indeed, that poor Bishop Liudhard's ministrations excited the Italian's jealousy. He made, certainly, little use of the Gallic bishop, although suffering him to minister at Canterbury apparently until his death. But Dr. Hook leaves an erroneous impression in leading us to suppose him jealous of the Gallic Liturgy. We refer to Mr. Philip Freeman's better-informed pages* for evidence, that what, in compliance with Gregory's injunctions, he really did, was to adopt into English use the Communion Office of the Roman, with some changes, and the ordinary Offices of the Southern French Churches, these latter having been framed by Cassian on an Oriental model. We learn further, from Mr. Maskell, a still more curious fact—that in the Saxon, not Liturgy indeed, but Pontifical, are preserved rites actually drawn from the British. That Augustine introduced them there can hardly have been the case. We suppose, rather, that they found their way into Egbert's York Pontifical in the first instance; although they occur, we learn, in one that belonged to St. Dunstan also, and were even transported across the Straits to Northern France. One of these we cannot but mention. It is pleasant to think that in the significant delivery of the Gospels to the newly-ordained deacon, we of the English Church are, to this day, preserving a custom handed down from the earliest Church of this island—from the Church that wrested her from idolatry in the days of imperial Rome—a custom which stood the shock of Saxon invasion, and the liturgical changes of the Middle Ages, to symbolize, in brighter times, the one Church which retains an open and accessible Bible.

6. But if with poor Liudhard, yet with others Augustine was not able to fraternize. There were Churchmen in his path who followed not with him, or with Rome. A few years later, on the other side of the channel, the identical dispute about Scotch and

* We are sorry to see Dr. Hook endorse, with no small amount of inaccuracies, the strangely shallow blunder of the Orientalism of the *British Churches*. The real importation of Orientalism was through the Saxon Church, borrowing, through Augustine, an Orientalized Service-book from Cassian, and adding a few, though very few, additional Orientalisms, through Theodore. Mr. Freeman, however, himself gives in to a trifling error in adopting the supposition that Augustine remained two years at Arles when he went thither to be consecrated.

Roman customs arose, and came to a head in the Council of Matiscon. But there the missionary success and lofty piety of the Scotch monks, stretching their pious labours continuously round the whole east and north of France, from the Swiss Rhine to the promontories of Britany, compelled respectful treatment. Eligius' conduct towards the Scotch abbot of Luxeuil stands in creditable contrast with that of Augustine towards the British. And the charitable dealing on both sides of the controversy ended in the gradual and peaceful absorption of obnoxious or singular customs. A plate in Mabillon gives us both Latin and Celtic tonsures, as worn respectively in the middle of the seventh century, by two loving coadjutors in the missionary work of the north-east of France at that time. That it was otherwise ultimately in Britain itself, arose, first of all, from the pride of Augustine. And once arisen, the schism possibly was best put down within Britain by measures such as were dictated by the fiery zeal of Wilfred, and finally executed by the iron will of Theodore.

For be it observed, that the British Church was not in opposition to the Roman, or to any other Church, before Augustine made it so. It had simply been severed by distance and by a broad barrier of heathenism from any practical communication with other Churches, and had developed accordingly after its own unaided powers. The case was as of two relatives, who came together after a long parting, and discovered that, during their separation, one of them had contracted certain peculiar views, and retained certain errors formerly common to both, uncorrected^a, but in no point of any serious importance. And Gregory accordingly did not intend to ignore the remnant of the British Church. On the contrary, he made especial provision for its permanence, by seeking to re-establish only those two archiepiscopates, with their suffragan sees, which would represent the already heathenized parts of Britain. London and York left Caerleon to remain as it was. And the power which he professed to give to Augustine over the suffragan of Caerleon was (we agree with Dr. Hook) simply the power of metropolitan or archbishop, which had possibly rested with the see

^a The British Easter, for instance, was simply identical with what had been the Roman Easter some century and a-half before. But the Britons stuck to the Old Style, after science had devised in more astronomical regions a newer and better one; and then behaved about it, much as the old couple who persisted a century since in going to church on Good Friday, Old Style, to find of course no service.

of London in British times. What, then, the Britons refused^b, was, not Gregory as Pope, but (as Bede expressly says) Augustine for Archbishop. And it was the temper shewn by Augustine which moved them to decline what certainly would have been in time the natural arrangement, as it is this day, but what, as the representative of invaders, barely established in the land, and still almost wholly heathens, he had as certainly no right to demand. That the insecure occupant of a petty mission should step at once into the position of even the British Archbishop of London or York, both by the way not impossibly surviving in their own proper persons, at the very time that Gregory was filling their sees with Roman monks;—or, again, that the missionary bishop of an invading tribe, whose permanent possession of the island must have been far from being a recognised fact in the minds of the British, and whose fellow-countrymen, close to the very time, were ravaging and destroying the British soil on both sides of the river where the conference was held, should claim submission to his primacy from British bishops;—were neither of them very self-evident conclusions either from Church law or from common sense. The Britons might well think that a turn of fortune might speedily bring a British monarch back to London itself. Welsh princes claimed the throne of the entire island for a century after Augustine's con-

^b Taking as guides (1) the borders of the Hwiccas and of Wessex in later times (Bede's one mark of the locality), i.e. the southern border of Gloucestershire, and (2) the Roman roads which intersected it, either by Cirencester, to reach Gloucester, or by Bristol, to pass by Aust and across the Passage to Caerleon, and (3) the fact that at the time of Augustine's visit Saxon power reached in the south-west solely along the southern bank of the Thames, westward to Wilts, and then by a narrow strip, thrust between Gloucester and still British Somersetshire, to the Severn, the whole centre of England being still British, it seems plain that the Welsh tradition (Iolo MSS.), which places Augustine's oak in the Forest of Dean opposite Aust, is almost certainly correct. Ethelbert's power could not have brought Augustine in contact with Britons anywhere else so near to Caerleon. Aust, no doubt, may be *Trajectus Augusti*; so that no stress can be laid upon the name. As to the seven Bishops, about whom Dr. Hook is all astray, there is a Welsh list in the same MSS. (upon which we lay no stress, except from internal probability), which gives the Welsh Bishops (as we should now call them), but according to their then sees, together with a chorepiscopus or two from the immediate neighbourhood, and the still Welsh Bishop of Hereford:—scil. Llanelwy, Llandaff, Llanbadarn, Bangor, Weeg, Morganwg; headed by Hereford, and omitting St. David's. St. David himself died 601, according to the Ann. Cambriæ. The lists in Spelman and Ussher are lists of alleged suffragans of St. David's belonging to the twelfth century, when Giraldus was doing gallant battle for Wales against Canterbury; and have as much to do with Augustine's opponents as Bishop Thirlwall and his brethren have.

ference; and once were not far from possessing it. Why should the Church surrender hopes which the State still maintained? Even co-operation in preaching to the heathen was almost impossible, so long as border-war was raging between the peoples; while British missionaries did preach the Gospel even to Saxons, so soon as it could be done. And when we consider the charitable disentanglement of the same controversy by an opposite tone and opposite measures, on the other side of the channel, we cannot but hold Augustine personally answerable for the angry feeling that embittered the Cornish and Welsh Britons in their relation to the Saxon Church. At the same time, party feeling must be strong, and ignorance great, for persons then to invent, and writers now (not, assuredly, Dr. Hook) to repeat, the preposterous libel which converts a hasty speech into a deliberate prophecy, and imagines that any words of the Christian priest either were able, or were needed, to influence the wild Northumbrian pagan, some dozen years after, to shed the blood of Welshmen and monks at the slaughter of Bangor.

An estimate of the true value of Augustine's mission would, we think, seriously alter the view commonly entertained of it. We have tried faintly to suggest some reasons why its direct results should have been so small, but of the fact that they were so there can be no question. The first-fruits of Saxon Christianity were undoubtedly due to him, but they were first-fruits very slightly connected with the subsequent harvest. The technical transmission of our apostolical succession may be through Augustine. The living stream of Gospel truth mainly passed to us through British channels. Even the 10,000 converts of the report that reached Gregory seem to us to clash with any reasonable idea of the then probable population of Kent. But of one thing there can be no doubt—that had it not been for British missionaries, and for the independent mission of Birinus, there would not have been one Christian Saxon fifty years after the mission was planted outside the boundaries of the Kentish kingdom. The apostle of the English is as much entitled to his fame as Amerigo Vespucci is to the discovery of America. The proportion of Jute, Saxon, and Angle, represents pretty accurately the respective dimensions, in the result, of the Canterbury mission, of that of Birinus, restored by the Scotch-taught but Romanizing Frank Agilbert, and of the purely Scotch and British missions. Every Christian man north of the

Thames (with the most petty exceptions) owed his restoration to, and confirmation in, the faith—and except those of the eastern shires, from York^c downwards, his conversion also—to teachers directly or indirectly Scotch. Every one from Sussex westwards, south of the same river Thames, traced his Christianity to labours set on foot by a single Italian, but not from Canterbury, and mainly prosecuted by a Frank and by a Northumbrian. The record of the sixty years' labours of the entire Italian Kentish mission is summed up, after the Kentish success, in three failures to extend their limits—in Middlesex, York, and East Anglia,—in the permission accorded to one of another race and Church to make a more successful effort in the last named of the three, and in a simple abstinence from any effort at all to convert the little county of Sussex, which remained pagan at their very doors after the last Italian prelate had been laid in St. Augustine's porch. If Augustine, then, is to be the Hengist of the Christian Conquest, his merits must be reduced to the proportions assigned by later philosophical historians to his secular prototype; and the Christianizing, as the Teutonizing, of the island beyond the narrow limits of Kent must be awarded to others.

But the indirect results of the Italian mission were of very different proportions. Had it not been for the link thus riveted between Canterbury and Rome, the Celtic Church of this island itself would speedily have swept back with a returning wave over the country which, as it was, had been wrested from it, only for a few years by the heathen Saxons, and which in the main it actually did re-conquer; and would have severed the whole land effectually from southern or from continental influences. But the ineffective Canterbury prelates of the first mission were as a door that opened a way for a spirit far more potent than their own. And in the result, the Saxon Church became both the pioneer and the most friendly admirer of the Popes in Northern Europe. Had it not been for her, the Christian world might well have seen, in the seventh century, a combination of Churches, of which the British islands would have been the nucleus, and its advanced posts stretching from Iceland at one extreme, to Columbanus' convent of Bobbio

^c A British missionary baptized Eadwin, according to Nennius; and certainly it is not improbable that Britons co-operated with the mission of Paulinus at the court of one who, according to probable tradition, had spent his boyhood in exile in a Christian Welsh court.

on the Lombard plains at the other, with almost everything that can constitute a distinct and vigorous school of religion,—learning, devotion, missionary zeal, and extraordinary missionary aptitude,—all flowing in home-made channels, and marked off by the not unimportant badges of a peculiar clerical habit, and a special fashion of ecclesiastical plain-song, and of ritual, and of liturgy, and by its own calendar of festivals—as widely spread and far better united than the Rome itself of that day, untorn by dissensions, unassailed by Arian barbarians, and as independent of Rome as the patriarchates of Antioch or Alexandria. One element of permanence, as regards a lasting antagonism, was indeed lacking. There was no distinctive principle in any way touching upon the affections or reaching the soul, upon which this independence rested; while in the main question at issue—that of Easter—the British were undoubtedly mistaken. And under such circumstances contact and intercourse must sooner or later have absorbed the Celtic communion into that of Rome,—the less refined, and less centred, and less historically great,—into that which was all these things in a singular degree. It was the work of the Saxon Church, under the influences arising out of the Canterbury mission, to accelerate that absorption. That which Augustine unintentionally began, Theodore and Boniface designedly completed. And the mission of Augustine, in itself an abortive beginning, which, in the presence of a far more Missionary Church, waned for a while, and was anticipated in its proper task of converting the British islands to Christianity, succeeded at any rate in keeping the way open to unite them to Rome.

II. From the nominal let us pass to the real founder of the English Church: from the pious though not large-minded missionary, whose labours scarcely took root, to the practical administrator, the lines of whose building in the Church of our land underlie its foundations, and remain in substance unchanged to this very day—from Augustine the Italian to Theodore the Greek.

To secure the victory which the genius of Wilfred had already gained over the Celtic communion, and to reap the harvest which that communion had chiefly sown, by consolidating the Churches which they mainly and not his own friends had established, out of isolated mission stations (in Dr. Hook's words) into a settled and organized whole,—such was Theodore's work. It was a work that required administrative talent rather than genius, a resolute and

practical will rather than a brilliant or profound character, a statesman more than a theologian. The "Philosopher,"—such was his nickname—at the age of sixty-six, chosen apparently in pure honesty by the Pope^a, yet to some extent because he could find no one else for the task, and with some distrust of his supposed Greek peculiarities, proved nevertheless, by success, the providence that had guided the choice.

1. Of Theodore's treading out of the Celtic spirit, Dr. Hook says but little, and that little is not wholly correct. His remark is indeed a just one, and to the deserved credit of the Scottish missionaries—that they had made their Saxon converts Christians and not partizans. And when we remember further, that there was no principle or article of faith involved in the question, and that changes in a Latin ritual, and in the rule for determining Easter, were matters touching the clergy almost exclusively, and which once done would be hardly felt by laymen, we shall understand, on the one hand, how the retirement of the persistent part of the Scottish clergy (already brought about by Wilfred at Whitby) could so effectually uncelticize the Saxon Churches, and, on the other, the wisdom, though hardly the justice, of Theodore's measures for preserving the ground thus won. He simply declared Scotch or British orders invalid, not altogether (as Dr. Hook implies), but until confirmed by a Catholic Bishop—a provision actually renewed, and therefore we suppose held to be required, at so late a period as 816, by Archbishop Wulfred, after the Celtic Churches had conformed to the Roman Easter, but which, one would have thought, even in Theodore's time, must have operated chiefly to keep out men who had already fled. One, however, not wholly but in part of the obnoxious class, remained, but one who had conformed in the matters disputed. But Theodore endured not even the shadow of an exception to his rule. As two of Chad's three consecrators were British bishops, and therefore (by Dr. Hook's leave) *not* in communion with Canterbury, whatever Bishop Wini might have

^a We cannot quite agree with Dr. Hook, that the two Saxon kings *did* leave the choice to the Pope. They asked him to consecrate Wigheard. He, upon Wigheard's death, chose some one else, and consecrated him. This, if Bede's account is complete, they had certainly not asked him to do; although, under the circumstances, it was natural enough that he should do it: and he seems to have bestowed the by no means coveted piece of preferment (or banishment) honestly. That he chose a Greek to conciliate the Oriental Church of Britain is a fancy which falls to the ground with the *crotchet* on which it is founded.

thought of them, Theodore enforced compliance with the strictest (indeed, an over strict) interpretation of his own rule, by refusing to recognise Chad's episcopal (not, as Dr. Hook conjectures, priestly) orders, until he had himself confirmed them. A still more arbitrary enactment placed Scotch and British baptism in the category of baptisms of uncertain validity, and commanded conditional re-baptism. Another provision, in a different place, deposes priests who do not baptize by trine immersion. And the practice of single immersion, found at Dol in Britany so late as 1620, lends probability to Kunstmann's conjecture that we have here the defect in baptism imputed by Augustine to the British—a conjecture deriving some support from the dropping of the objection by Augustine, inasmuch as Gregory, at the very time, in a letter to Spanish bishops, ruled the point to be indifferent*. Theodore, then, may have seized upon this ground, to widen the difference, opinion in the European Churches gradually tending towards making trine immersion necessary. He may have sought in it something like a doctrinal ground to justify his arbitrary assumption of a formal schism. At the same time, he does not venture to stigmatize the Celtic Churches as heretical. For heretical baptism and heretical orders, in the teeth of canons and councils, he pronounces invalid altogether. But whatever his reason, the measure shews at once the character of the man—resolute, uncompromising, and harsh, determined to enforce uniformity, yet striking heavily only where he was sure of his blow, and was safe from a recoil.

2. His administration of the English Church thus Saxonized is marked by equal foresightedness, and by a like determination, but by greater management, and by measures of a nobler and more Christian cast. The pastoral system, thoroughly supervised by bishops, with sees of manageable dimensions, and worked by an educated clergy, and the whole regulated by an annual synod—such were the four points on which, helped perhaps by Eastern experience, his whole work was concentrated. It is significant of his wisdom, and little creditable to ourselves, that the effectual working of these very points, as adapted to our altered circumstances, should be precisely what the same English Church, after almost 1,200 years,

* The canon respecting baptism, alleged by St. Boniface to have existed in English Church since the time of Augustine, and declaring the naming all Persons of the Holy Trinity necessary to a valid baptism, looks the same as—*S. Bonif. Epist. 82, ad Zach. Papam.*

at length piecemeal wresting for herself from a reluctant and irreligious public opinion. It is true that some doubt may be made whether Theodore organized the parish system, or, at any rate, to what extent he succeeded in establishing it. Elmham, the one direct authority for the statement, may perhaps have interpreted *parochia* into parish, when it really meant diocese. And there are proofs of itinerant missions in the North still existing half a century later. Nor could such a system, established as his was by the efforts of private persons, be established, in the nature of the case, otherwise than gradually. But the whole system of the Penitential, and the undoubted growth of parishes in the modern sense in the eighth century, shew plainly that the idea of the parish underlay his plans, and that he at least originated the movement which, in course of time, has developed into our present network of village churches, each with its appointed priest, in settled pastoral relations to a definite flock.

Dr. Hook's account of the division of sees, Theodore's first great work, is singularly jejune and hasty. Yet there is much that is curious and instructive, and a good deal of intricate history in the matter. Unhappily, bishops were to be found even then to oppose a perverse obstinacy to a measure, resting, it should seem, on the first principles of religion and of common sense. The same grounds which afterwards induced both the chief English States, and the European States generally, to struggle for a special and single metropolitan apiece, appear, in the present instance, to have led them to struggle for a single bishop, and thus to have thrown political influence commonly against Theodore. And conquest and re-conquest again shifted sees by a more summary process still, as in the cases of Stow or Sidnaceaster, Whitherne, and possibly Dorchester. But the chief opposition, sad to say, arose from the bishops themselves. The wealth and dignity attached to the single see of an entire state, appears to have been commonly the unworthy motive to that opposition. A see that stretched from the Humber to the Forth, or southward from the Humber to the Thames, presented a territorial grandeur of idea, and a more solid amount of episcopal lands, which the holders could not bring themselves to relinquish. Wessex, from the very beginning, anticipated Theodore's measures by a "synodica sanctio,"—evidently passed in a provincial Witenagemot, and prompted by former attempts at a division of the kind,—which crushed the idea in the bud by assenting to the cou-

tinued union of the whole kingdom in the hands of the new Bishop Leutherius. And a subsequent decree of Theodore, derived, however, from a questionable source, surrenders the hope of accomplishing the division under the plea of respect for the individual bishop, at that time Theodore's personal friend, Hæddi. In East Anglia alone, we read of no opposition. In Mercia and Northumbria, the object was accomplished only by the deposition and banishment of the respective bishops. We have not space to detail the very complicated mode of its accomplishment, which is obscured by the contradictions, as well as by the omissions, of the chroniclers. But it ought to be stated that, on the most probable reckoning, modern England, with her at least twenty-fold population, deems sufficient to this day for the portion of the country where Theodore accomplished his purpose, more bishops by precisely two than Theodore himself established^f. Manchester and Ripon are the literal measure as yet of the tardy increase which the nineteenth century has deemed it necessary to make upon the seventh. It must be noted also that, in Theodore's plan of division, Gregory's original scheme was entirely ignored. All the bishops of the entire Heptarchy, including York, were made subject to the single primacy of Canterbury. Further, that the divisions were made by Kings and Witenagemots, in co-operation with Theodore. And a comparison with Leofric's proceedings in the time of Edward the Confessor, respecting the removal of the see of Crediton to Exeter, will mark forcibly the increased interference of the See of Rome at the latter period, and that, too, a time when Edward gave away bishoprics by charter, much as he would have given his lands. Lastly, that Theodore made no change in the practice which he found in Northumbria

^f With Wessex Theodore could not interfere. We assume, on the strength of Bede's otherwise incomprehensible *Ætla* of Doreic, and other probabilities too long to detail, that (as Florence implies) there was an attempt to preserve the See of Dorchester, as well as that of Stow or Sidnaceaster. And we set Whitherne against Carlisle. There remain, then, the following lists:—

1. Canterbury	= 1. Canterbury.	9. Stow	= 10. Lincoln.
2. Rochester	= 2. Rochester.	10. Hereford	= 11. Hereford.
3. London	= 3. London.	11. Worcester	{ = 12. Worcester.
4. Dunwich	} = 4. Norwich.		{ = 13. Gloucester.
5. Elmham		12. York	= 14. York.
	5. Ely.	13. Ripon	= 15. Ripon.
	6. Peterborough.	14. Hexham	} = 16. Durham.
6. Lichfield	= 7. Lichfield.	15. Lindisfarne	
7. Leicester	= 8. Chester.		17. Manchester.
8. Dorchester	= 9. Oxford.	16. Whitherne	= 18. Carlisle.

(as in Canterbury itself), of monastic chapters and abbot-bishops; although the rule in Mercia appears to have been different, with the exception of Worcester. In all this, as in the gradual method generally of the Archbishop's proceedings, in his politic compromise and reserve at the Council of Hertford, in his concession to Wessex, in the pertinacity with which, even when helping in 686 to restore Wilfred, he restored him, not to the York which he had refused to surrender, but to a diocese of the precise limits (save that it still included Ripon), which he had before indignantly declined,—we read at once the skill and the resolution of the practised ruler,—the strong rock against which the passionate vivacity of Wilfred dashed itself in vain.

The Penitential of Theodore, however, is the chief proof of the solidity and thoroughness of his work. Assuming (what at present we have no means of correcting) that the work as we have it is substantially Theodore's, it proves him to have aimed at establishing throughout the land what we should now call the principle of parishes. A church with its proper presbyter, and with its weekly mass and (as it appears subsequently) sermons, was to be provided for each district, the landowner finding the funds in return for the patronage, or, at any rate, the patronage accruing to him, be the founder who he might. A yearly confession prior to Christmas-day^s was to bring each layman, with his wife and household, into pastoral relation with his presbyter. And a system of discipline of the minutest kind was to bind together the whole of each flock into an organized member of a well-knit body, each parish under its presbyter, and all combined in direct and practical subordination to the bishop. How much of this Theodore simply borrowed is not quite plain. The Scotch Penitentials may have suggested it in small part: but that of Cummiānus is a mere sketch in comparison with Theodore's; and the *Regula Columbani* is an ascetic code of Christian manners for a monastery, not (as is Theodore's) a directory for a presbyter in the management of a parish, which the presbyter indeed alone was intended to see. His Eastern experience may have been of more direct help; and the spurious Penitential in the Appendix to the Benedictine St. Jerome, is the pattern nearest to the

^s See Egbert's Dialogue, Thorpe, ii. 96. Possibly, they might choose their own confessors at this season. At any rate, the words are "ad suos confessores." A comparison of Egbert's rules with Theodore's will shew that the parochial system had become much more complete at the later date.

copy. But the parochial element which is assumed as the cornerstone of the whole, is characteristic, as far as we know, of Theodore's; although Dr. Hook has pointed out that Justinian's Code may have suggested even this. He takes care even to provide that, where a monastery exchanges lands, a presbyter shall be supplied to that district, which, by passing out of the hands of the monastery, was no longer supplied with pastoral ministrations by the monastery itself. And confirmation by the bishop in the open air, evidently on the ground of the smallness of the church, is spoken of as permissible only in case of necessity, the existence of churches everywhere being plainly assumed. Throughout, the principle underlies the whole scheme, that each member of the Christian Church in England shall be placed in a pastoral relation to a special presbyter attached to a particular Church. What was to be the nature of that relation must be judged, in Theodore's case, by the divinity of the time. At any rate, confession to God is expressly declared by Theodore himself to be sufficient. And confession to a priest is for the purpose of learning at the spiritual physician's hands the measures of a truer and more solid repentance. The wisdom, again, of these measures themselves must be judged in the abstract no doubt by the results, but in regard to Theodore himself (as Dr. Hook truly and candidly says), by the point of view in which the subject would have presented itself prior to the making of the experiment at all. The strange literalness with which, not in this work only, but in many other ways, divines of that age used the Old Testament—(e.g. the so-called Penitential of Theodore not only begins in the *MS.* with the Ten Commandments [after the Augustinian reckoning, the second merged in the first], but the prohibitions about usury, and much of those about clean and unclean animals, strange to say, are simply borrowed by it, as by Egbert and Boniface afterwards)—the exceeding minuteness with which degrees of sin are distinguished—the enormous severity of the penalties—the speedy introduction of commutations of penance, some of them of the most whimsically mischievous kind (and we have probably Egbert's authority for assigning commutations of some sort to Theodore himself)—the inevitable externalization of morals resulting from such a minute quantitative measure of outward acts—the temptation arising from the mere bulk, and duration, and extent of the penances to exalt these into ends and not instruments, into meritorious compensations instead of a discipline to lead the

soul more truly to the Saviour and Judge Himself,—all this, apart from any particular question of doctrine, may be truly alleged against the system itself. But it may be still made a question—we heartily enter into Dr. Hook's remarks on the subject—whether this real, and grand, and heart-searching, though doubtless mistaken, attempt to build up in the hearts of men the perfecting of holiness in the fear of God, is not at least as good as the substituting for all such attempts the mere weekly listening to a favourite preacher. Theodore, at any rate, must be judged by the antecedents and circumstances of his own time, not by the maturer experience of our own. And for one thing, at least, we owe to him, under God, unmixed gratitude—that he has established in this Church of ours, as one of its very foundation-stones, the principle that each individual Christian ought to have his own Church, and to stand in a distinct and recognised relation to his own pastor. For the condition of morals, again, with which he had to deal, he is not to be held answerable. And much that is repulsive in his work arises from the nature of the sins with which he felt it a duty to grapple, as well as from the habit of plain-speaking in an age certainly not delicate. The book, too, expressly limits its own readers to the presbyters whom it was intended to guide. It is doubtful, again, to what extent his system was realized. His penitential rules had no other authority than that which his name would give them. But we know from Egbert's wholesale adoption of them—from the repeated copies of them down to the eleventh century—from the use made of them by later bishops, who modified and added to them until the exact original has been buried under the later variations—from the continued reference to Theodore as the originator of all rules of the kind in England—that their authority in point of fact stood high. Yet the Council of Cloveshoo under Cuthbert condemned a commutation of penance, impudently put forward, yet it must be owned with considerable justification, by a certain rich man, which it would be hard to distinguish from some allowed, or said to be so, by Theodore himself. And, of course, it stands to reason that no system of the kind could ever be enforced without the largest possible amount of practical modification. Yet, on the other hand, the concessions which are made by the book itself must have tended to prolong and to extend its effectiveness by diminishing the difficulties which lay in its path. Lastly, the system of penalties in the Saxon civil laws, justly compared by

Dr. Hook, must have smoothed the way for the parallel system in this ecclesiastical code. In point of minute estimate of the outward act of wrong, and of precise apportionment of penalty, the laws of the Saxon kings, and not least those of Alfred himself, far exceed those of the Greek Archbishop. And the people who were accustomed to pay a varying penalty for bodily injuries, according as it were the great toe or the little one, the great tooth or the canine tooth or the grinder, that was injured, would have found nothing strange in the far more widely graduated scale of the rules of Theodore.

His educational schemes may be found briefly described in Dr. Hook's pages. Their success is testified by the results. That which produced directly Aldhelm, indirectly Bede, must have been a school where the devotional discipline and the standard of intellect and of learning stood alike high. But this, though Theodore was its moving spirit, was the direct work of Hadrian. It led, at any rate, to that first and early glory of St. Augustine's as a training school, which, though with a different aim (like the less significant case of the ecclesiastical position of Lindisfarne), the nineteenth century has seen revived.

The synodical action of the Church was the regulating principle by which it must be supposed that Theodore intended to keep the working of his system true. And here again both political questions and ecclesiastical disputes seem to have interfered from the beginning with the fulfilment of the appointed rule of an annual meeting. At the same time, the probability that no record would be kept of a synod where nothing of importance was done, and the discovery, through the documents published by Kemble, of many synods or meetings of bishops, known only by the accident of their having at the time of the synod attested some petty gift or exchange of lands, renders it quite possible that synods might have been held a good deal more regularly than there is any trace of documents to prove. It is more remarkable, that the first recorded synod of the whole English Church after that of Hertford (673), was held and by Theodore himself, not at Cloveshoo, the appointed place, but at Hatfield (680); and that no synod is known to have been held at Cloveshoo before that of Cuthbert, assigned commonly to 747. On the locality of Cloveshoo itself, unfortunately, we can throw no more light than may be contained in the observation, that *St. Boniface* invariably styles the English synod, "*Synodus Londi-*

nenis," and that (inasmuch as in the middle of the eighth century he could hardly have cherished any still-lingering idea of the archiepiscopate of London) the immediate vicinity of that city—in all other respects the most probable of all localities—seems consequently the place where antiquarians must hunt for traces of the lost Cloveshoo.

3. One feature remains to complete this hasty sketch of Theodore's Archiepiscopate—his attitude towards the Popes and towards Wilfred. Later scribes tell us, in copies of Theodore's Penitential, that he carefully avoided contradicting the decrees of the Popes. The Penitential itself, even as we have it, shews, on the contrary, that he recorded the customs of Greeks and Romans as of like authority, as precedents to be followed or not according to their intrinsic value, and set aside the latter where it suited him without scruple^b. A like spirit pervaded his acts. In the one subject of dispute which arose—the attempt to reverse his division of English sees by the authority of the Pope, an attempt which, begun by others, culminated in the case of Wilfred—Theodore was perfectly willing to explain or to conciliate, but he pursued his original purpose to the end unmoved. An opposition to his measures had been attempted at Rome antecedently to Wilfred, probably by Winfred of Lichfield. Of the seemingly three Councils, held at Rome in 680, that have any relation to England, the first had no reference to Wilfred, and ended in the despatch of a messenger to Theodore with some general instructions about English bishoprics, and a special message relating to the Monothelite controversy; the second discussed the cause of Wilfred, and passed a decree in his favour;

^b We may note out of the Penitential, as of present interest, (1) a permission, in case of need to have but one sponsor, of either sex (this is one of the not many Orientalisms in which we may trace the Greek of Tarsus); (2) a prohibition, on pain of excommunication, of presence at mass without communicating; (3) an intimation, not a command, in favour of weekly communion; (4) a prohibition of lay baptism in general, but a provision enforcing it in case there be none but a layman present, and the person to be baptized be at point of death; (5) a prohibition, not only of field labour (sheep-shearing, by the way, was *woman's* work among the Saxons), but of shaving or bathing on the Lord's-day, but with an exception in favour of washing the head and feet; (6) that intentional desertion of a man by his wife for five years leaves the husband free, with the bishop's consent, to marry again: a similar permission being extended, without mentioning the bishop, to both husband and wife, if either were carried into captivity, after five years if nothing were heard of the captive; after seven if it were impossible to redeem him or her; (7) the imposition of three years' penance upon a presbyter, two upon a deacon, one upon a subdeacon, who should be guilty of the iniquity of hunting.

the third, at which the Pope expected Theodore's personal presence, was held in order to transmit a collective declaration of the orthodoxy of the West respecting Monothelitism to the forthcoming Council of Constantinople. Theodore sent explanations by messengers, and held a Council in England to do his part in making up the Western declaration of faith—the one interference of the Saxon Church in Eastern or metaphysical controversy—but refrained from appearing at Rome in person, and simply ignored the Pope's letters in favour of Wilfred¹. Five years elapsed, passed by Wilfred in prison or exile. And then we are told by Wilfred's enthusiastic biographer that, moved by the approach of death, and by the persuasions of friends, the Archbishop yielded. A closer examination shews that his concession was of that kind which simply maintains its own ground. The York which Wilfred had grasped so tenaciously was a diocese conterminous with the kingdom of Northumbria, extended at the time for a short while over the Humber into Lincolnshire, and stretching northward to the Forth. The York to which Wilfred was restored was the York of modern days, prior to the severance from it of Ripon; a see conterminous with the kingdom of Deira only, from which Lincoln had been severed again by the fortunes of war. And the sees of Bernicia, now two in number (omitting Whitherne), remained separate as Theodore had arranged them, and were, upon Wilfred's restoration, held by him simply *in commendam*, and successively, for one year apiece, upon the deaths of their respective holders, until a successor (*not* Wilfred) was consecrated to each. The only counter-concession in the case was made by the two occupants of the sees of York (thus limited) and Ripon, Bosa and Eadhæd, who gave way to the restoration of Wilfred, apparently at the request of Theodore, preferred to the Northumbrian king. Conciliation, not concession, is the proper term for the transaction thus explained—conciliation towards the zealous Wilfred, fresh from his noble mission to the people of Sussex—conciliation towards the Papal see, which, in decre-

¹ That Wilfred was legate of the English Church, or of Theodore, at the third council mentioned above, is merely the assertion of the Roman scribe of the council, assimilating the style of Wilfred's signature to that of other bishops, who *were* legates of their respective Churches. Eddius, whose evidence is in such a case indisputable, and Bede from him, giving the precise words of Wilfred's signature, shew that he simply testified, as on personal knowledge, being present at the council, and now acquitted, and (by the Pope) restored to the orthodoxy of not only Saxons but also Britons, and Scots, and Picts. He certainly was not the legate of the three last.

ing the restoration of Wilfred, had decreed also that his episcopate should subsequently be divided, but to bishops of his own choice.

And now the aged Archbishop might peaceably contemplate his finished work for the short remainder of his life,—troubled, unhappily, by wars and rumours of wars near home, between Kent and Wessex, but able to rejoice in the substantial accomplishment of the Church labours which he had set himself, and in their results,—the last spot of Anglo-Saxon heathendom at length covered by the waters of the Gospel,—the earliest mission of that Church, the streamlet-parent of a mighty flood, shedding its first refreshing drops upon the mother-land of the Saxons across the channel,—the schism of Wilfred healed for the time, and, as far as Theodore could know, effectually,—and that Church which he had found disorganized, divided, a mere assemblage of “isolated missions,” now, at least, on the way to become a complete and organized Church throughout the land, the foundations of which he had, under God, laid so deep and true, as to be still the groundwork, after almost twelve centuries, of the same one Church of England^k.

FASTI EBORACENSES^l.

BOOKS such as these are the necessary foundation of history. In more ambitious works of the kind, the mind is amused, perhaps, by clever theories, and smart applications of past incidents to modern controversies. But a painful suspicion of the unsifted dubiousness of the facts, possibly quickened by the actual discovery of gross

^k The stern Theodore had a tender heart, as Dr. Hook truly infers from Eddius's account of his reconciliation with Wilfred, qualify that partial friend's statement how we may. The half-dozen lines which we subjoin, and which were appended to a “presentation copy” of his Penitential, sent to Hæddi, Bishop of Wessex, reveal a like characteristic:—

“Te nunc sancte Speculator,
Verbi Dei digne dator,
Hæddi, pie præsul, precor,
Pontificum ditum decior,
Pro me tuo peregrino,
Preces funde Theodoro.”

^l “Fasti Eboracenses: Lives of the Archbishops of York.” By the Rev. W. H. Dixon, M.A., Canon Residentiary of York, &c. Edited and enlarged by the Rev. James Raine, M.A., Secretary of the Surtees Society. Vol. I. (Longmans.) *Guardian*, Oct. 21, 1863.

error in many of them, and by the lack of references whereby to test its absence in any, destroys the whole profit of the study, and reduces the so-called history to the level of a political or ecclesiastical pamphlet. Mr. Dixon, and his laborious and modest successor Mr. Raine—the latter practically the author of nearly all the first volume of these *Fasti*—are of a totally different class of writers. They make no pretensions to speculative history. They treat us to no “views.” They do not even extend their range to contemporary history, or attempt to estimate the relations to the Church at large of the single line of biographies to which they restrict themselves. But, on the other hand, a thorough search into original authorities and actual documents, guaranteed by the fullest references, assures us of the exact truth of every statement, and warrants a full trust in the completeness and fairness with which each life is treated. A more lively style, and a little less affection for bits of verse, would have been, it is true, no loss to the book. But it is very far from being a merely antiquarian list of small facts out of registers. The characters of the Archbishops are fairly sketched. And the narrative is sustained with fair power. While the specific merit of the work lies in the diligent and exact search into original authorities which has guaranteed a competent correctness in the facts, and has enriched the book with many instructive traits of early and mediæval Church history.

The history of Archbishop Thurstan may serve as a specimen. Mr. Raine’s account is mainly from an unpublished MS. Life of him by Hugh the Chantor. The account commonly found in books is almost wholly from Eadmer. Obviously the Canterbury view of the unhappy contest between the two archbishoprics respecting the primacy ought to be corrected by that held at York. And this Mr. Raine for the first time has done. That Thurstan, when he in the first instance resigned the see of York, promised also never again to seek for it—and that afterwards, when consecrated at Rheims, he was under a strict obligation not to be consecrated, nor to do anything to the prejudice of Canterbury,—and that Pope Calixtus had likewise promised not to injure the latter see,—are assertions resting solely upon Eadmer. Yet they are the sole foundations of the breach of faith laid to Thurstan’s charge. While the other accusation commonly made against him, of contentiousness in maintaining the privileges and jurisdiction of his see, is one to which unhappily all the Bishops of that age are liable; nor does

it appear either to have been the prominent feature in Thurstan's character, or to have been voluntarily and gratuitously incurred by him through any wanton grasping after aggrandisement. Mr. Raine has fairly stated the case. He does not regard it through anti-Papal spectacles, and make Papal treachery the moving spring of the whole business. Neither does he take statements of fact without correcting them by real investigation of the evidence. And the result is, that he has given us a life of the Archbishop, and not a partisan or a polemic distortion of that life.

The volume reaches to the death of Archbishop Thoresby in 1373—a sufficient proof of the writer's success in compressing his information. That he should have escaped errors is, of course, impossible. But he has given the reader ample means of tracing his statements, and of correcting them where inadvertence may have perhaps slipped into trifling inaccuracy. Had Mr. Raine, e.g., looked up the evidence for his preliminary sketch as vigorously as he has sifted the proofs of his proper work in the biographies, he would not have talked of King Lucius as other than a fiction, or have sanctioned by his authority the gratuitous and inadequate hypothesis of the *Græcanitas* of the early British Church. Yet even in his own field we notice a slip or two. Oswaldslawe, for instance, was a place, not a law, as is manifest both by the word itself, and by the Charters in Kemble which mention it. Mr. Raine might have found the true explanation at length, if we recollect right, in Kemble's "Anglo-Saxons." Archbishop Kynsey's interference, again, in the consecration of Welsh bishops, is a curious and significant fact, omitted in Mr. Raine's not very full account of that Archbishop. Neither, to go back somewhat earlier, can it possibly be believed that Paulinus and Rhun, the son of Urian, were really but one and the same person. Remembering the inversion of legends respecting Cædwalla and Ina, we cannot but regard the statement of Nennius as a case of like kind: although Edwin's education at the Court of the Welsh king renders it probable enough that some efforts towards the conversion of the Northumbrians were made by Britons. A patient search might probably detect a few more such slips; as Mr. Raine himself most likely would be the first to own. But, taken as a whole, his volume is a valuable and solid addition to our real knowledge of our own Church history. We trust he may be enabled to complete his herculean task with a like success to that with which he has begun it.

For Mr. Stubbs's benefit we note a quaint specimen of a Bishop *in partibus*, unearthed hitherto even by Mr. Stubbs's diligence, in a certain Bishop G. of Enachdune, acting as suffragan to York in 1314. His name, and the locality of his see, we must leave to be discovered by some wiser Œdipus than ourselves.

GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS OPERA^m.

WE have at last received several volumes of the series of "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages," which have now been for some time past publishing by authority of the Master of the Rolls. This gives us the opportunity of saying a few words on the series in general, as well as on the particular volume before us. It is, we believe, intended to be a substitute for a continuation of that noble fragment, dear to all historical students, the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. Folios, we know, are gone out of fashion, but those who dive into such remote periods may be allowed to retain an antiquarian love for them. It was, perhaps, rather cruel to cut so many authors asunder at an arbitrary point; yet it is no small gain to have before you in a single book nearly everything that you can want, in the chronicle way at least, up to the Norman Conquest. We are not sure that we are not old-fashioned enough to wish to change Mr. Kemble's six octavos of Charters into one grand companion volume. But anyhow the fates are against us, and, for times since 1066, and, indeed, for some things at least before 1066, we are forbidden anything bigger than large octavo. Perhaps in these days of Antiquarian and Classical Libraries we ought to be humbly thankful for that.

The series has as yet gone on vigorously, at all events in the number of its productions. And, if variety is pleasing, we get abundance of that likewise. There is every sort of variety in the original authors, and every sort of variety in their modern expositors. The Master of the Rolls has given us wise books wisely edited, and he has given us foolish books ill edited. His original materials range from the precious contemporary life of Edward the

^m "Giraldi Cambrensis Opera." Edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A. Vol. I. (London: Longmans.) *Guardian*, 1861.

Confessor to such rubbish as the "Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland." And we cannot forget that it was in this series that the joke of jokes, the blunder of blunders, the cream of all antiquarian Joe Millers, first saw the light. It was by authority of the Master of the Rolls that a man, mighty in stature and mightier in rank, Henry, Emperor of the Romans, King of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy, was consigned to so small a resting-place as a "she-goat's skin." Whatever may be the fate of Capgrave or of his editor, the *Afra Capella* at least will live; the wit of man certainly never lighted upon a better thing than the picture of the excommunicated Cæsar, as we once heard a mirthful scholar describe it, "half-bound in Morocco."

Mr. Shirley, Mr. Brewer, and Mr. Luard have done themselves real credit. In some cases, indeed, we think that the editing is too good for the book. For, in truth, many of the books published are really not worth editing at all. Mr. Luard has, indeed, lighted upon a treasure rich beyond expression in the portraits of Edward, Godwine, Harold, and Tostig, drawn by a man who had seen them and lived among them. But we really see no use in printing dull chronicles of the world, and charters which have been already published, and we should have thought that Mr. Shirley might have found some business more worthy of him than picking up "Bundles of Tares." Meanwhile two sound scholars have given us two valuable ancient records as a matter of private enterprise. The "Life of St. Hugh," published by Mr. Dimock, is better worthy editing, and is much better edited, than many of the books in the series. How came the Master of the Rolls to let the book and its editor slip by him? In still greater amazement we ask why the man who, of all men living, is the best qualified to edit books of early English history, has no share in this great national undertaking? While the series has been going on, Mr. Stubbs, whose knowledge in his own department is simply unrivalled, has edited a most valuable tract, *De Inventionē Sanctæ Crucis Walthamensis*, which would have formed a natural companion-piece to the "Life of Edward the Confessor." Yet this appears, not as a part of the national series, but as a private speculation of Mr. Stubbs or Mr. Parker, as the case may be. Had the Master of the Rolls never heard of the MS.? Had he never heard of the author of *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*? Certainly, if not a more munificent, at any rate a more discerning patronage of historical learning is to be found

in Broad-street, Oxford, than any that shews itself under the auspices of the Rolls-office or the Treasury.

The mode of editing the books is not the best that could be chosen. What is wanted in reading these Chronicles, is an occasional brief and terse note, explaining passing difficulties, and giving such references as may be needed to other authorities dealing with the same subject. This is just what the Master of the Rolls absolutely forbids. There are no notes at all, beyond the driest mention of various readings. But the editors are allowed to run riot in the way of Introductions, and some of them in the way of Indices. Thus, Mr. Hingeston thinks it necessary to explain the word "Baptismus," and tells us, by implication at least, that the ceremony expressed thereby is "a Romish sacrament." To each book is prefixed, by way of introduction, a long historical essay, good or bad, according to the author, but in neither case at all the thing that we want. We do not blame the editors. Precluded from writing a single note, they naturally let out all that they have to say in the Introduction. What they say is often very well worth saying—Mr. Shirley, for instance, in his Preface to the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, gives us a really masterly piece of historical criticism—but, good or bad, a long Preface and no notes is not what scholars want. We believe the explanation to be this. Some of the writers, Mr. Shirley amongst them, have been set to edit very dull books, which no mortal man can be expected to read through. In such cases the Preface is by far the most valuable and readable part, and without it the book probably would not sell. But why, then, edit such books at all? Why not confine the series to books which are really worth reading, and which the great body of historical students may fairly be expected to read?

Our remarks on the series in general will oblige us to cut rather shorter than we could wish what we have to say about one of its best volumes. Giraldus Cambrensis is a most curious and amusing writer, and Mr. Brewer is one of the best editors on whom the Master of the Rolls has laid his hands. He wants a little self-restraint, a graver and quieter way of writing; but there is real knowledge and real judgment in him. It is, however, certainly rather strange that, in editing Giraldus, and writing his life, he appears totally ignorant of the earlier life by Mr. Basil Jones. Still his work, allowing for some excesses of style, is well done, and Giraldus was worth doing well. We do not know whether

Mr. Bohn has seized upon him as the subject of a crib, and in our own minds we should think a crib of Giraldus very poor work ; but in this case the book itself, and not merely the Preface, may fairly expect to meet with readers.

Giraldus, though called Cambrensis, was not really a Welshman, except so far as being born in Wales, and having a Welshwoman to his mother's mother made him a Welshman. In the twelfth century this went a very little way indeed towards bringing about any such result. Giraldus was of Norman descent, and most certainly the mass of men of Norman descent born or settled in Wales were far from looking upon themselves as Welshmen. It was a personal peculiarity of Giraldus, that he chose of his own free-will to make himself a Welshman. It is necessary to bring this point strongly forward, because a certain great and infallible authority, which the courtesies even of our ungentle craft will not allow us to name, has just reviewed Mr. Brewer's volume in what is doubtless meant to be a very funny article, but the author of which clearly thought that Giraldus was as true a Briton as Cadwallader himself. Giraldus, in truth, made himself singular by his Welsh tendencies, and by devoting his whole life to the cause of the ecclesiastical independence of Wales. And, as often happens in such cases, he rather let himself fall between two stools. He was too Welsh for the Normans, and too Norman for the Welsh. There are plenty like him now, plenty who come forth at Eisteddfods to talk about the Welsh language and the Welsh nation, while in most cases they cannot put together a Welsh sentence, and very often have not a drop of Welsh blood in their veins. Giraldus's great object was to be Bishop, if possible Archbishop, of St. David's ; King Henry, willing enough to promote a clever and well-born man anywhere else, was determined that he should be nothing of the kind ; and the Chapter of St. David's were divided between love for their own Church, natural fear of the King, and a lurking fear of one who, though he set up as their champion, was really of the blood of their conquerors. In the search after this imaginary primacy, Giraldus spent the greater part of a very active life, and the result has been one of the most curious autobiographies that conscious cleverness and mortified vanity ever produced. One of his works, *De Rebus a se Gestis*, is professedly autobiographical ; but the whole story of Giraldus, his talents, his virtues, his wrongs, is carried on through several other of his works which do not so clearly bear it on the

face of them. His writings are very valuable from their personal character, and the mass of anecdote and description with which they abound. They therefore tell us a great deal about the age which we should never have found out from Roger of Hoveden, or Ralph de Diceto. And one cannot help liking a man who is so thoroughly open, and who tells us literally everything both about himself and about other people.

SCOTLAND UNDER HER EARLY KINGS^a.

MR. ROBERTSON'S labours are of that valuable kind, where an intelligent and thorough sifting of original authorities is brought to bear upon a portion of history handed over hitherto in a pre-eminent degree to a specially mendacious set of mediæval chroniclers and (not so long ago) to a specially polemical and uncritical class of modern historians. He belongs to the school of Innes, and Skene, and Joseph Robertson; and has established a fair right to be classed with the Reeves's and Todds of Irish historical antiquarianism, and the Thorpes, and Kembles, and Hardys in England. He has chosen, indeed, a subject not fruitful in exciting events, or striking characters; and one also where (after the fashion of Niebuhr) the needful amount of discussion as to what the facts really were, overlays the narrative of those facts with arguments respecting their evidence, and weights a brief history with lengthy appendices. He deals, too, with names, and terms, and titles repulsive as the discords of the bagpipe itself to English ears. The Abthane of Dull, the rights of *Can* and *Cuairt*, and Gharan mac Enfisedech, may serve as specimens, to amuse our readers. They may set their teeth on edge with many other equally extreme cases, if they desire to do so. And, unfortunately, the earlier part of the history is necessarily little more than a chronicle of such names, varied by little of incident. But although thus debarred from producing a history attractive to those who desire to find in histories a novel which happens to be also true, Mr. Robertson has contributed to the historical student a solid mass of valuable matter, put together with as much liveliness, and as clearly and graphically, as the subject

^a "Scotland under her Early Kings: a History of the Kingdom to the close of the Thirteenth Century." By E. William Robertson. Two Vols. (Edmonstone and Douglas.) *Guardian*, June 10, 1863.

allows, and with a thorough mastery over that subject. He has discussed the early history of Scotland, and its gradual consolidation into a single, and then into a feudal monarchy, ending his labours at the period when the English wars came in, to throw back the internal growth of the country indeed for centuries, yet to supply the one leading impulse that was needed to form a thorough and united national spirit and character. His work will become the standard history of this early period. It is based upon the real authorities for the time treated of; it steers clear of the useless battles in the fog, into which the last-century historians of Scotland threw themselves with national fervour out of pure confusion of brain; it works up the results of the thorough critical inquiries of recent years; and, lastly, where occasion offers, as in the battle of the Standard, or the capture of William the Lion, it rises into a really picturesque and vivid narrative, set like a jewel upon the coarse but solid material, out of which its web is commonly woven. Our sole complaint must be, that in a little excess of reaction against the mass of invention and of almost equally mischievous controversial blundering which has overlaid Scottish early history, Mr. Robertson is apt to be needlessly sceptical now and then, and to untie knots by the simple process of cutting them.

The questions started by Mr. Robertson are many, and interesting to the historical student. And a perusal of the learning and thought he has accumulated upon almost all, will amply repay the labour. We have not space here to follow him in any detail. And we must refer readers to the book itself. We will select but one of his pet topics, that one which will have the most general interest, and upon which Mr. Robertson dwells with particular and never-ceasing zeal. The slumbering ashes of a controversy, once the subject of bloody battles, and of national and passionate polemics, still contain a spark of living interest for both Scotch and English.

The *veraxa questio* of the English claims of supremacy over Scotland appears, indeed, under a new aspect in Mr. Robertson's pages. People had acquiesced in Hume's condemnation of them, based upon no very profound knowledge of the facts. The first result of real historical inquiry was to incline the balance again in their favour. Mr. Robertson once more reverses the scale. With him the constructive tendency of the historical revival, which shewed itself in the affirmative results of Lingard and Palgrave, has oscillated into a sceptical phase. And he stoutly denies the whole thing, with

a round imputation of forgery, or mistake, or interpolation, flung boldly upon all gainsayers. A substantially good case appears to be a little spoiled by this excess of scepticism. That the historical copiousness of the twelfth century produced in the absence of a critical spirit and of a critical public a corresponding copiousness of error, is doubtless true. Yet it hardly follows that the Saxon Chronicle is bad evidence for the tenth century, because the *Liber Llandavensis* makes ridiculously untrue assertions about the sixth. And the Welsh Bishop, moreover, does *not* say that his clergy were Anglicised "from time immemorial," which is Mr. Robertson's own gloss, but only during the immediately preceding depression of the Llandaff see, of which period the assertion is most likely true. And why, again, should Archdeacon Giraldus be such a *locuples testis*, in comparison with Bishop Urban? Mr. Robertson would have us accept a statement of the former, attributing to forgery all ascriptions to any one (except, indeed, the not very historical exception of Claudius Cæsar) of an entire dominion over the whole island prior to that of Henry II. after the defeat of William the Lion, *au pied de la lettre*. Yet the St. David's ecclesiastic almost repeats the precise absurdities which Mr. Robertson brands so fiercely in the case of him of Llandaff. He, too, dreams of a Canterbury (with twelve suffragans) as the chief see of the Kentish province in the days of Roman Britain, and of St. Andrew's, as holding the like position at the same time in what he calls Valentia, and confounds with the "Scotia" of his own days.

But to pass from such merely incidental skirmishings to the subject itself, we have still to complain both of unnecessary scepticism and of a little want of clearness. Take first the Saxon period. And why are we to disbelieve, as a dishonest interpolation, the assertion of the Saxon Chronicle, that the King of Scots, among others, made submission to Edward the Elder in 924? Because, first, the transaction is represented as happening at Bakewell, in "the Peakland," whereas (says Mr. Robertson) such submissions were always made on the frontiers of the respective kingdoms. We can but ask in reply, whether Tamworth, which is mentioned two years previously in connection with a like submission of the Welsh princes to Edward, is on the frontiers of Wales; and then further suggest, not, indeed, that Peakland is Pictland (which idea of Lingard's Mr. Robertson, we think with reason, ignores), but that the Chronicle does not say at all that the transaction happened in the said

Peakland, wherever it was, but merely records it consecutively with Edward's building of a "burh" in that (at the time) northernmost point of Saxondom. Further, it is rather a Colenso style of reasoning, to set the entire fact aside on the ground of the impossibility of all the Cumbrians and all the Strathclyde Britons, and all the rest, coming bodily in their own proper persons to Derbyshire. Does Mr. Robertson suppose the chronicler really meant to say they did? The final argument is a chronological one:—Ragnald was dead, it appears, a year or two before the date assigned to the transaction in the Chronicle; a fatal flaw in a charter, no doubt, where the committing of the whole act to writing must be contemporary, and a mistake, therefore, of dates is, on the hypothesis of genuineness, impossible, unless by mere error of transcription, but hardly a sufficient argument against a statement in a chronicle. Of course, the strictly feudal character given to the transaction is an anachronism, but this (and the remark is an answer to a good deal of Mr. Robertson's arguments upon other and later historical records) is no reason in the world for doubting the fact itself, stripped of feudal accessories. We have a like remark to make about Edgar's celebrated row on the Dee. No doubt it is inconvenient to have to rebut the suspicion that the King of Scots was most probably one of the six oarsmen who propelled the mighty Basileus. No doubt, also, both the Falstaffian enlargement of six into eight, and the blundering guesses at their names and kingdoms, of which later and Anglo-Norman chroniclers are guilty, are fair subjects for hostile criticism. But on what possible ground is the Saxon Chronicle to be set aside, contemporary up to at least that date, as Mr. Hardy (from the entries for 1012 and 1023) shews that it is? Any one who looks at the fragment of enigmatical bombast which the grandiloquent Patricius Consul Fabius Quæstor Ethelweard bestows upon us as a history of Edgar's reign, will see that the argument from his silence is worthless. And a mistake of a year, if it be one, in the Chronicle, is an argument which, if it proved anything, would set aside half the contents of that Chronicle. It simply goes to prove that the entry was not made in the very same year with the event. We will surrender to Mr. Robertson the cession of Lothian to Kenneth, so far as, not its feudal accessories only, which of course are fictitious, but even the possibility of the thing itself being a transfer to an earlier date, and an inversion of what really happened afterwards. The Saxon kings could not keep Lothian.

It would be a natural Saxon version of the transaction, to say that they voluntarily gave it up, retaining their (nominal) supremacy. And we cannot help thinking that the Norman chronicler, who is the authority for it, had some fire at the bottom of the smoke that he has raised. But to turn from special facts to broader considerations. Mr. Robertson makes too much of the foreign Bishop as well as tribute-gatherer, as marks of subjection. *All* Wales was tributary to the later Anglo-Saxon monarchs. An occasional Bishop of St. David's, nearly a consecutive series at Llandaff, and none at all at Bangor or St. Asaph, derived consecration from Canterbury. But the absence of Scotch tribute does, indeed, establish a marked difference between the reality of subjection on the part of Wales, and its almost nominal semblance on that of Scotland.

Again, to turn to Norman times, the rigorous feudal dependence which Henry II. exacted to the letter on the strength of the treaty with William the Lion, proves indisputably that Henry gained by that treaty a position that no English king (Norman or Saxon) had occupied before. It does *not* disprove all degrees of subjection, even of feudal subjection. The parallel history of the introduction of the feudal system into England itself might serve to illustrate the Scotch history. We must distinguish the principle from its incidents, and the mode of enforcing the bare principle which belonged to this or that country, from the rigorous exaction of it to its remotest consequences, as deduced by a Norman lawyer's logic. There was—and, as we believe, from the time of Edward the Elder—a hazy question of right, possessed by English over Scottish kings, varying with their respective powers, never defined, never exactly acknowledged, thrown off when Scotland was strong, pushed mercilessly when Scotland was weak, interpreted according to a lax or a rigorous spirit upon like grounds of relative strength, originating in mere power, and growing gradually (as the like process grew between England and Wales) with the growth of the English monarchy. That it rested on a legitimate foundation is untrue. It is equally untrue that it rested on no foundation at all. In the case of Wales, the vague relation of a tributary was really enforced, because England was strong. And that vague relation was converted by a like logic of strength into a strict feudal tie. And that feudal tie was in like manner pressed to a forfeiture. In the case of Scotland, the tribute did not exist, and the subjection was nominal. Then came an opportunity for England, and yet another; and the old vague rela-

tion was glossed into a feudal one. And forfeiture was only not added, as the next and natural step, because Bannockburn and the like—(we may say, in these days) happily—interfered.

LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY*.

DR. HOOK is of too original a mind, we suppose, to be sufficiently patient in grasping the materials upon which to found his views. He is also too vigorously practical to permit him fairly to make allowance for difference of times and opinions, and for qualifications, and opposite views. He sees his own side of the case too strongly to enter closely into that of those who differ from him. And for both these reasons, coupled with an evidently recent acquaintance with his authorities, and with a mode of construing Monkish Latin, from which occasionally (to say the least) our own conception of its meaning is widely divergent, his first volume compelled an honest reviewer, in the interests of truth, to point out the singular untrustworthiness of its facts. In this, his second volume, the stream of the history has flowed out into broader daylight. But the fault, we are sorry to say, has simply appeared in another form. The temperament of the writer shews itself now not so much in little blunders of fact (though such there are), as in a strangely one-sided view of the great Church and State controversies of the period. Wider knowledge, more impartial views, the mere reaction from the shallow partisanship of last century, have rendered it the popular thing now-a-days to recognise something of conscientiousness and lofty motive in the Hildebrands, the Anselms, and the Becketts. And Dr. Hook is of far too generous a temper to fall short of what even the popular compendium and the superficial class-book are beginning to take for admitted truth. But beyond this the Dean of Chichester, it seems, cannot rise. He falls below even the indifferent large-mindedness of the Milmans and the Stephens's. He looks upon the Church defenders as honest indeed (speaking generally), upon their own principles, and in particulars occasionally ill-treated, but as utterly wrong from beginning to end in their general case. And he has given us, accordingly, a history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in which the tyranny of feu-

* "*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.*" By W. F. Hook, D.D., Dean of Chichester. Vol. II. Anglo-Norman Period. (Bentley.) *Guardian*, April 2, 1862.

dalism is practically overlooked, and the grasping and tyrannical Norman Kings figure, literally, as defenders, selfishly but really, of the liberties of the Church!

We will enter upon details presently. Let us say first, that in other respects the present volume, naturally, far exceeds its predecessor in interest. The Dean, indeed, has made a vain effort to prove that his first volume, too, was a history of the entire English Church: apparently believing, if his analogy is sifted, that Ireland and Scotland are part of the English State, in exactly the same sense and degree in which the province of York is part of the English Church; and that a history of Canterbury therefore includes York, although omitting it, just as a history of England may legitimately omit any account of Ireland and Scotland, and yet deserve its name. But facts happen to help him in this his second volume. The Archbishops of Canterbury, whose lives are here recorded, included the really leading men in the then controversies, not of the English only, but almost of the entire Western Church. And a history of the men is therefore in truth a history of the whole Church also. Moreover these controversies are, in principle, of abiding interest. They underlie yet unsettled questions that agitate men's minds to the present day. Dr. Hook has described the lives and acts of those who fought them, with the same vigorous language, the same keen sense of the humorous, the same masculine tone of thought, the same candour (generally speaking) in his judgment of individuals, the same under-current of satirical but good-humoured comparison between old times and the present, that rendered his former volume such a readable and pleasant book.

We commend the following to platform agitators, and to the amusement of our readers. In the Third Crusade, six Archbishops and six Bishops figured, it seems, among the Generals of the crusading army. Yet let not General Bishop Polk be in over-haste to claim the goodly array of precedents, until he sees where they will land him. Like him, the then Archbishop of Canterbury stood conspicuous above all. "In helmet and cuirass, with the banner of St. Thomas unfurled before him, he led on his regiment of cavalry, two hundred strong, supported by a body of three hundred infantry, all maintained at his own cost." But, says Dr. Hook,—

"Let us not be too severe upon the prelates thus engaged in warfare. What they did, was done, with the full consent of the religious world as it then existed,"—

(Not quite, if the Dean will allow us,—let him remember Richard the First's sarcastic message sent with a slain Bishop's armour, though, doubtless, not killed in a Crusade, to the Pope),—

“and amidst the applause of many who accounted themselves truly pious. It is the *animus* rather than the action which is to be regarded. In the nineteenth century, we do not indeed see prelates wielding the battle-axe, and hewing in pieces the corporeal members of pagans, or of heretics; nevertheless, destruction is annually hurled at innumerable Christian souls by the Bishop of Rome; and when we pass from the vicinity of the Coliseum to that edifice in the Strand of London, where in the days of our childhood we faced wild beasts with terror—[Oh! Dr. Hook! Dr. Hook!]*—we still hear the roar not of beasts but of men—*fierce as the Ephesians of old;*—gathered from all quarters, from church, tabernacle, and chapel, from the lordly palace, and from the cobbler's stall, from north to south, from east to west, from Durham to Gloucester—*[Dr. Hook wrote last year]*—and from Norwich to Winchester, and we find that the curse, as it is uttered in London, differs from the curse as it is fulminated in Rome, only in form, and not in spirit. It may be, that it is only by incessant warfare, that the truth, which has been confided to the Church, in the midst of a fallen world, can be upheld and propagated; and it may be, that except for the excitement of controversy, zeal would wax cold, and Christianity be forgotten. This is possibly the case, and we must make allowance for the excesses of the impassioned and the weak-minded; but so long as Papist curses Protestant, and Protestant curses Papist, we must not judge severely of those whose fanaticism in the twelfth century carried them from the strands of Britain, or from the hills of Rome, to fight what they believed to be the Lord's battle on the plains of Palestine.”*

We must refer likewise to the able summary of the general aspect of society during the period, contained in the Introduction. And especially to the statement of the case for monasteries, so to call it, there made out. As a history of the actual monastery, it contrasts as broadly with the “romance” (as Dr. Hook justly calls it) thrown by M. de Montalembert around the ideal institution, as the masculine vigour of its language does with the tinsel and glitter of the French writer. Yet Dr. Hook must pardon us for demurring to some even of his main positions. To attribute the injunction of silence in monasteries to the conscious impossibility of avoiding indecent talk in societies where women were not, is, we suppose, a piece of covert irony on the Dean's part. If he really penned so preposterous a statement seriously, we can but recommend him never again to shew himself in a College Common-room; to say nothing of the duty incumbent on an historian of not libelling the subjects of his history. But even his main position appears to us over-

stated. He appears to imagine that absolute subjection, through the engine of the Confessional, of the monks to their abbot, was the essence of monachism. We had always supposed that the principle of such subjection was precisely the distinguishing feature of the Jesuit order, and the peculiarity which at once accounts for Jesuit power and for Jesuit morals—for the mysterious and mighty power of the order as an instrument to the worldly advancement of the See of Rome, and for the lax and cunning morality, alike subtle and contemptible, ingenious and absurd, which has branded that order with the ignominy of the world. It is true, of course, that the Confessional prevailed in monasteries as elsewhere during Roman Catholic times. But surely that prevalence extended to the monk, not as a monk, but as a member of the then Church. The essence of his monkery was first solitude, poverty, chastity, obedience;—obedience to a rule, not subjection to an arbitrary will;—and then, engrafted upon these, the irrevocable vow. Neither can we admit altogether that the excellence of the monastery as an institution is simply correlative to the wickedness of the Norman Castle; and that the former was necessary, and therefore good, merely as the only possible refuge and strength for holiness and religion, when Norman barons made their private habitations “hells upon earth.” Strip the covering from the meaning of the word, and regard a monastery as merely a combination of men living by a religious rule, and devoted to religious labours—to prayer and preaching, to pastoral and to missionary work—and Dr. Hook, we are sure, will not condemn them, as simply to be justified accidentally by the temporary impossibility of a virtuous parsonage, or cottage, or mansion-house. He will consider them, we hope, as at least allowable and innocent, although perhaps he may deem them still inferior to the like combinations of married or marriageable men living under no rule at all, that form the Cathedral Chapters of the land at this day, even of Chichester itself. At the same time, it is but justice to recognise the fair and manly spirit of Dr. Hook’s account of the matter, considered simply as a history of the actual facts, with respect to the moral and religious uses and influence of the monastic institution.

But it is time to examine more closely the Dean’s picture of the great conflicts of that day between Church and State. We have, of course, no space to discuss them all, or indeed more than one case out of the list. Take the history, then, of Anselm, and of his

conflict with Rufus, by way of specimen. Dr. Hook's hero is Lanfranc. He was the practical man, who stood upon no high-flown theories—the very man to please a vigorous statesman, who was resolute to govern effectively, but determined to have no troublesome Churchman in his way. St. Anselm was of a different type—the thoughtful and refined scholar, rather than the able administrator; a man troubled with views, which, unhappily, stood with him for principles—a very vexatious character for a turbulent, bull-headed, passionate, yet superstitious tyrant to have to deal with; a man who knew the strength of weakness, and the power of soul over body, and of patient conscientiousness over violent and selfish lust. Dr. Hook thinks him guilty of spiritual ambition, and of a weakness for being thought a saint. These may well have been his temptations. It does not seem to us that the Dean advances very strong proof of his having seriously yielded to them. But let us turn to the great troubles of his archiepiscopate, and to the quarrel with Rufus, which was the first of them. First of all comes a personal charge against Anselm. He accepted the archbishopric upon conditions. No, says Dr. Hook; upon *one* condition, which the King honourably fulfilled, but refused to grant the others. The alleged conditions were the restoration of the property of the see, the acceptance of Anselm by the King as his ecclesiastical adviser, the permission to acknowledge (of the two rival Popes of the time) Urban II. We give Eadmer's statement of the King's answer, and Dr. Hook's translation of it, and appeal to any one who can construe Latin, to decide how much resemblance there is between them:—

Eadmer, Hist. Nov. 1: “Terras de quibus Ecclesia saisita quidem fuerat sub Lanfranco omnes eo quo tunc erant tibi modo restituam, sed de illis quas sub ipso non habebat, præsentī nullam tecum conventionem instituo. Verum tamen, de his et aliis, credam tibi sicut debeo.”

Dr. Hook, p. 193: “The King is willing to restore the estates which are acknowledged to belong to the Church; as to the other requirements, he cannot bind himself to any specific promise; but he will adopt a resolution on these and other matters.”

This is the first time we ever heard of the verb *credo* meaning to “adopt a resolution.” And Dr. Hook will perceive, if he looks, that the refusal of a “specific promise” is confined in the original to the question of certain lands, not extended, as it is by himself, to include the stipulation about Pope Urban. Obviously, too, from the nature of the case, the question of recognising the Pope could

not have been put by Anselm in the way of a stipulation, or a bargain, as though it were a thing upon which compromise was possible. It was reserved by him as a thing he could not on principle give up. He had already declared his obedience to Urban as Pope. It was plainly impossible that the subsequent choice of the King could alter his. Moreover, Rufus did not reproach him afterwards with breaking any pledge made by implication through his acceptance of the see. The King, it is manifest, had led him to suppose that he admitted this particular demand. *Credam tibi ut debeo*; which means, begging Dr. Hook's pardon, "I will trust to you as I ought." And so William of Malmesbury expressly—*Anselmus Urbanum jam dudum in Papam acceperat, idque rege non abnuente exceperat cum ad Archiepiscopatum eligeretur*. So stated, there was no question of English usages, no violation of the principle which Dr. Hook seems to regard as a kind of palladium of British liberty, a principle some score of years old in England when Anselm became Archbishop—viz., the right of the King to determine what Pope the realm should acknowledge. It was no question of State *versus* Church at all. William simply juggled with his own words, and in effect broke faith with Anselm.

It is merely as a specimen of inaccuracy, although in a less important point, that we look on a little further to the account of the proceedings of the Legate Walter. The truth manifestly was, that the subtle-witted Italian Pope and his Italian Legate outwitted the blundering, passionate King. They induced William to recognise Urban, on the very obvious plea that the Pope could not possibly help William unless he were first recognised as Pope; William, of course, hoping to get rid of Anselm by the Pope's help when he had recognised him. And then, when the recognition was accomplished, Urban by his Legate quietly declined to do what no doubt he had not expressly promised, and contrived to give Anselm the pall after all by the farce of allowing him to take it himself from the altar. But where did Dr. Hook learn, that William ever comforted himself with such a frivolous consolation, as that, if he could not depose the Archbishop, he might at least humiliate him by giving him the pall himself? And what is more important still, where does Dr. Hook find authority for stating that Anselm did yield, in the end, by promising "to observe the laws and customs of England," those customs, of course, being held to include the whole of the points in dispute? Eadmer says, as plainly as word

can express it, that the King, after all, "*posthabita omnis præteriti discidii causa, Anselmo gratiam suam gratis reddidit.*" And it is obvious from the nature of the case, that Rufus could not, for common decency and common sense, continue to quarrel with the Archbishop, when he had himself acknowledged the identical Pope, the acknowledgment of whom had been the one original ground of the quarrel. He had slain himself by his own sword. He had compelled himself to an unconditional surrender by that very acceptance of Pope Urban, by which he had hoped to ruin Anselm. And though the courtiers did (vainly) try to persuade Anselm to soften matters by the seemingly trifling concession of receiving the pall at the King's hands, yet this, again, is a different thing from supposing that William deliberately reckoned beforehand on such a trifle as an alternative gain, in case he could not depose him altogether.

But when we pass from these personal questions to the broad subject in dispute, it is impossible to help being surprised at the view which Dr. Hook takes of it. The Archbishops of those days have indeed fared strangely ill at the hands of posterity. The lay Barons who exacted Magna Charta from the Norman monarchs have been held up ever since as patterns of brave, and honest, and manly spirit, champions of liberty, forerunners of the glorious English Constitution. And they certainly to some extent deserve the praise, not so much because, having arms in their hands, they refused to submit to encroachments upon their own rights, as because they extended the shield of their protection in some degree to all classes, even to the serfs. But what, after all, was their case? Was it not simply, that, having admitted the feudal principle, they refused to allow Norman lawyers and kings to extend that principle at their will, so as to include what they had *not* admitted—viz., the extremer feudal incidents? And is not this, precisely and to the letter, the case of the Church also? Yet historians, out of the shallowest of modern prejudices, blow hot and cold with one breath, and of two orders who stood in the main shoulder to shoulder to maintain the very same cause, heap praise upon the one and opprobrium upon the other. The ecclesiastical fees, and the lay fees, became such at the same date, and by the like arbitrary act. The grounds of quarrel between King and Archbishop were identical with the grounds of quarrel between King and Baron, so far as the nature of the case admitted. The insufficiently armed quota of men for the King's wars—(the flourish about Falstaff's

men is Dr. Hook's addition, in sense as well as phrase; Eadmer calls the imputation upon Anselm's men-at-arms a "malignant falsehood")—the refusal to receive seisin at the King's hand of spiritual offices as well as ecclesiastical benefices—the clashing of canonical obedience to the Pope with feudal duty to the suzerain—these and the like all flowed from the assumption of the applicability of the feudal principle to ecclesiastical lands—a principle never applied to them in Saxon times, and a principle also, for resistance to which in its assumed incidents Runnymede is made a sacred spot, and greedy and selfish Barons are exalted into heroes.

Of course it is quite true that the theology of the Archbishops' position is unsound and untenable. It is true, also, that in after times the danger to ecclesiastical liberty—to the liberty of Christian men in general—proceeded from the very source—viz., the Popes, to which the Church of the twelfth century looked for freedom and protection. The Church, it is not to be denied, included within her spiritual province at that period much that truly and rightly belongs to the State. And the Pope was held to be by representation the Church. But then neither of these points was the real point at issue. Both parties alike believed in Papal power, and in their hearts extended it to ecclesiastical endowments. The Norman Kings were fighting simply for their own wills against their own consciences. It is a mere accident that they happened to have some right on their side. And meanwhile the special encroachments they were striving to make upon the Church, the "customs" and the "usages" on which they relied, were things of yesterday, compared with the prescriptive right of the Church against them. It was, in the main, a battle of lawless will against freedom. And however much it might have caused of evil, had the precise points maintained by some of the Archbishops—e.g., by Becket—prevailed, it is quite impossible to sympathise with the general tone of Dr. Hook's narrative, or to do otherwise than regret that the adjustment of Church and State is not now as duly regulated by principles of justice and freedom, as it was the aim of such, e.g., as St. Anselm, to regulate it. Admiring the ability of Dr. Hook's work—how could it be otherwise than able, coming from his pen?—it is a pity that he should not have reached even to the level of Sir James Stephen, and should have taken what we must call a narrow view of a subject so deeply important as that of which he treats.

LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY,
Vols. III. and IV.^p

TRUTH compelled us, reluctantly, to find serious fault with Dr. Hook's former volumes. The aptness of one who is both a man of the world and an experienced parish priest, in devising views of human character, and the combination of great practical grasp of mind with very decided opinions, appeared to have incapacitated him both for the minute inquiry into facts which is necessary to exactness, and for the self-controlled patience which keeps a man from running away with his own erroneous interpretation of his authorities. And the result was a multiplicity of blunders and of mistranslations, which an honest reviewer dared not leave uncensured. His present volumes are, in these humble but necessary points, far in advance of those which preceded them. Dr. Hook has served his apprenticeship, and has learned sufficient of the craft of history-making, to give something like fair play to the higher qualities of the historical mind. He has learned, in short, to find out the facts first, before he speculates upon them, and to translate his authorities into that which they say themselves, not that which he has predetermined they ought to say.

The two volumes now before us belong to a period not of the highest interest, nor stirring up much of serious controversy. They extend from Langton's successor in the see of Canterbury to Archbishop Arundel; that is, from Henry III. to Henry V.: a period bringing us, indeed, to the first blind gropings after reformation, but unmarked by any great battle of principle or of doctrine, or by any large revolution in thought or in knowledge. The Papal Court was no longer contending, however erroneous its mode of doing so, on behalf of the well-being and true freedom of the Church; but was rapidly becoming a mere instrument for extortion, and misuse of patronage, and sheer selfish money-seeking oppression. The clergy, possessing a monopoly of knowledge, and so of legal science among the rest, were becoming fearfully secularised; the superior clergy were worldly statesmen, the inferior ranks debased into pettifogging lawyers of the lowest kind. The mendicant orders, beginning by being much such a remedy for the evil as would be the

^p "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury." By Walter F. Hook, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester. Vols. III. and IV. Middle Age Period. (Bentley.) *Guardian*, March 8, 1865.

sending of an army of Spurgeons now into a neglected parish, ended speedily in worse corruption than the parish clergy had fallen into, out of whose default the need for those orders had arisen. And in a word, it certainly requires Dr. Hook's charitable reminder, of the deep spiritual knowledge of such men as Bradwardine, on the one hand, and of the worldwide use of Thomas-à-Kempis's devotional masterpiece (if, indeed, it was his) on the other, as well as the evidence written in stone of the exquisite churches which those centuries have bequeathed to us, to prove that the life of the Church still beat really and heartily under the outward worldliness which seemed to smother it. Through this chaos Dr. Hook carries his readers, taking as the view on which to string his facts the gradual growth of a national or patriotic party in England as against Papal extortion, and judging the successive Archbishops (with occasionally a little want of fairness) mainly by the test of their favouring or opposing such a party. There cannot be two opinions now-a-days upon the question thus raised. And Dr. Hook will carry all his readers with him, even English Roman Catholics, save, perhaps, the extreme converts, in denouncing what was, in truth, a mere system of robbery, and in justifying the indignant resistance to it to which the English nation was gradually roused. Only it ought to be remembered, when judging the Archbishops who lent their aid to Papal exactions, that English Kings were quite willing on their part to use Papal authority to squeeze the clergy for their own benefit; and further, that, in the nature of things, people could only gradually discover that the grounds of the conflict had shifted, and that the Popes were ceasing to represent the cause of religion as against the brutal worldliness of feudalism, and becoming instead selfish extortioners, representing no religious principle at all. Dr. Hook a little forgets these palliating circumstances, although, in most cases, laudably alive to the fair rule of judging people according to their own belief. He seems to us hardly to allow enough, for instance, to Johnson's plea for Winchelsea,—that he was simply "a good Papist," who acted consistently upon his own principles. And he deals yet harder measure to Peckham—to poor "Friar John," who dates documents with a petty affectation in the first year, not of his archiepiscopate, but of "his bitterness" (*amaritudinis suæ*), and whose character, no doubt, is one not pleasing to the large-minded and vigorous Dean of Chichester. Peckham certainly was not a large-minded

man. Yet, while denouncing him as "unpatriotic," Dr. Hook is scarcely fair in omitting the fact that this same Friar John ordered Magna Charta to be affixed to the Church doors, and was compelled by the King to retract the order. Dr. Hook has given us the rest of the document containing this fact, and with some zest; for he regards it as a grand instance of the King keeping the Church within its legal bounds; though even in this he follows Prynne's conjecture, which goes beyond the document itself. Why did he omit the one point in it which surely ranks Peckham with the English party in the important matter of English liberties?⁹ In other points, also, the sturdy Anglicanism of the modern biographer has been a little hard upon the unpractical narrowness of the very papal Friar. Certainly, Peckham's letter to the King in 1281 is a specimen of what we should now call Ultramontaniam of an ultra kind. Yet it is one thing to say, with Peckham, that in the matter of Divine laws, nothing, not even an oath, can free a man from the obligation of obedience: and another to say, as in Dr. Hook's representation of Peckham's statement, that "whatever oaths he might have taken, he should feel absolved from them if they interfered with his duty to the Pope." No doubt Peckham meant this; but to assert a principle which is a true one, and to twist that principle into a barefaced misapplication to a particular case, roundly and nakedly put, makes all the difference in the point of offensiveness. The scales seem scarcely to be held with perfect fairness between some others of the Archbishops also, besides Peckham. Three of our prelates, for instance, were concerned in attempts—in the two latter cases successful ones—to depose the reigning monarchs. In the case of Archbishop Stratford, and Edward II., Dr. Hook truly points out, that the Stuart feeling of loyalty did not then exist; that the feudal monarchy was confessedly on all hands a compact capable of forfeiture on one side, in common practice, and therefore in fairness equally capable of it on the other; and that the principle of hereditary succession was at that time

⁹ Dr. Hook has omitted also, in giving the substance of a constitution of Peckham's, A.D. 1281, respecting the cup in the Eucharist, the important words which limit the denial of the consecrated wine in the case of laity to the "lesser Churches." And in A.D. 1287, it distinctly appears, that the laity did still receive, not only the cup, but consecrated wine in the cup, in the diocese of Exeter. So that the statement, as it appears in Dr. Hook's pages (iii. 347), conveys an impression somewhat beyond the actual fact.

barely beginning to be enshrined in our Constitution as the one indefeasible title to the Crown. And on these grounds he defends Stratford's share, who was not the leader, in the transaction. He refrains also, we suppose on like grounds, from any severe condemnation of Archbishop Arundel, who, with a far higher stamp of character, and upon far deeper provocation, played the part of a Burnet to Henry IV. in his deposition of Richard II. But if so, why is the poor "papist" Winchelsey to be handed over to our reprobation, because he proposed, in his ignorance of mankind, to treat Edward I. as one of his successors treated Edward II.? His, indeed, was "treason that did not prosper," and "therefore men call it treason." We can see no other moral difference between him and Stratford or Arundel. Dr. Hook, however, has done fair justice in discussing both the treatment of Wickliffe by Courtenay and others, and Arundel's own conduct towards the Lollards and Lord Cobham. True, Dr. Hook does not help us to principles. He assumes, most righteously, the hideous wickedness of burning heretics, without, however, distinguishing (in answer, e.g. to such writers as Froude) between the negative of this, and the assumption of the pure moral indifference of religious truth. But he rises nobly above the prejudices of modern polemics; and points out, with manly equity, that Arundel, for instance, shared only the undoubting belief of his contemporaries (Lollards themselves probably included); that the Archbishop acted throughout as a merciful judge; and that the whole measure was far more a political act prompted by the fears of Henry IV. and his lay supporters, than an ecclesiastical one. Throughout, indeed, from the beginning of Wickliffe's troubles, the English Bishops were reluctant to persecute, and were hounded on from without. Perhaps it would have been more dignified, had Dr. Hook ignored altogether the foul language and gross mirepresentations of such people as Fox and Bale, whom no one cares about in these days. Yet, after all, it may be as well that an authoritative biographer should utter, once for all, a grave sentence of condemnation against them.

The style and literary character of these volumes is such as might be expected. Sarcastic, and fond of a good story, Dr. Hook enlivens his narrative with occasional bits of humour that sound odd in the grave pages of a dignified Churchman. And he is hampered very often by the disappearance, through lapse of time, of information respecting the individual Archbishops. His plan, too, neces-

sitates some amount of repetition at times, from the obvious circumstance of an Archbishop having often been a leading man during the reign of his predecessors, before he attained to the Archiepiscopal see himself. With such minor drawbacks allowed for, the narrative is, as one might expect, written with vigorous sense and in nervous English. It is not always easy to follow in it the minute order of events. Dr. Hook's mind is not topographical or chronological. But the broad series of important facts is set forth in plain and manly style, and if it were not for the unhappy life of Anselm, which needs to be recast altogether, we should have said that a new edition of Vols. I. and II., with their too numerous errors corrected, would, after all, make the whole work a standard history.

LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY, Vol. V.*

Dr. Hook has come to a vein in his history which is not so rich in theological or ecclesiastical value as that which preceded or as that which is to follow it. He has reached but not entered upon the *ignes suppositi* of the Reformation, over which he will doubtless tread with firm step, though probably by a path a little of his own making; trenchantly cutting through the hills and filling up the valleys through which his predecessors have been content to travel. He has passed, on the other hand, that first great stir of thought and inquiry which in the fourteenth century shewed itself in Wickliffe and early Lollardism. The intervening century, in England at least, was of a different character from both. The tide of opposition to the Church was not so much doctrinal as moral. It was the indignation of men against corruption and immorality and wanton abuse of Church preferment both at home and for foreigners, swollen by greediness for the wealth, and wrath at the extortions, of a Church at once rich and unspiritual. And political party, again, swallowed up ecclesiastical. There was little room for interest in theologians or even in heretics, while all England was either mad with the excitement of the French war, or torn by the bitter horrors of civil war and a disputed succession. And the Lollard had become more of a communist or a rebel than of a heretic. Accord-

* "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury." By W. F. Hook, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester. Vol. V. Middle Age Period. (Bentley.) *Guardian*, July 3, 1867.

ingly the Archbishops here treated of, who extend from Chicheley to Dean, from the reign of Henry IV. to that of Henry VII., were much more statesmen or lawyers than prelates or divines. They elevated a St. George, or a St. John of Beverley, or Edward the Confessor, into more distinguished saintly rank, as special patrons of England, south or north, or altogether; the two former of whom (like another Castor and Pollux) had won Agincourt by a miracle from the overwhelming numbers of "our adversary" of France. Or (let it be gratefully acknowledged) they founded—it was the very fashion of the day—colleges and hospitals, no longer (commonly) monasteries proper, with a munificent appreciation of the right uses of the Church's huge wealth; some of which happily still survive and flourish, although in a guise at which their founders would stand aghast. But although among them were men sincerely good and pious, no one monument have they left behind them of a properly theological or even purely ecclesiastical kind. Their fame rests upon other grounds. They were, almost one and all, skilful lawyers or high-born noblemen, able Prime Ministers of the State in terrible and troublous times, whose whole energies were absorbed in difficult and tortuous politics, and even whose ecclesiastical acts were mainly contests with the Pope against his usurpations upon their own Archiepiscopal power and independence.

Dr. Hook appears to have done his work with considerable thoroughness, and to be very adequately acquainted with recent additions to both our knowledge and right appreciation of the events he has to narrate. Ecclesiastically speaking, the changed relations of the Popes towards the national—at any rate, the English—Church, and the business of Bishop Pecock, are the most prominent events in the period. And while in the latter case he has rightly availed himself of Mr. Churchill Babington's valuable critical and editorial labours, in the former he has brought out, perhaps more prominently than previous writers, the effect of the reaction from the failure of the Councils of Constance and Basle. No doubt it did not displease Dr. Hook to have so fair an opportunity of shewing up the (habitual) perversions and ignorance of such a person as Foxe, as the case of Bishop Pecock affords. But he has been very moderate in his triumph; although it is indeed a temptation to find an extreme Ultramontane, persecuted in England upon grounds purely political, but (so far as they were really theological) of a strong anti-papal kind, held up as a Protestant martyr before the

Reformation, simply because Church tribunals of the pre-Reformation period condemned him. However, it is not Foxe only. Even in Collier's pages, the account of Pecoek is not indeed like Foxe's, but is jejune and poor, for simple lack of the materials which Mr. Babington has provided, and Dr. Hook most properly employed. With respect to the other point, of Papal usurpations, Dr. Hook's line is more one of his own taking. He seems to us to make a little too much of the personal proceedings of Martin V., and too little of the general reaction from Councils to Popes which arose from the mismanagement of the Councils, and which converted the very period when the power of a Council above a Pope was most expressly asserted and actually acted upon, into that when Councils in fact became subservient to Popes, and national Churches became in theory, and when the Popes were strong and the Kings weak, in fact also, mere provinces of the one great papal diocese. Dr. Hook dwells rather upon what is undoubtedly the more English side of the controversy—viz., the vain and violent assaults of the Popes upon our statute of *præmunire*, and their ingenious efforts (not quite so successful surely as Dr. Hook seems to think) to exalt their own perpetual legate *a latere* above the Archbishops of Canterbury. That office came back again after all to the Archbishops themselves, in the person of Archbishop Dean. Moreover, we find in Dr. Hook's pages language a little too broad about "ancient Catholicism" and "modern Romanism;" as though all before Martin V. had been "Catholic," and all after him was as full-blown a development of Papal claims to infallibility and supremacy as we witness in this nineteenth century; or again, as though the hierarchical relations between Rome and Canterbury covered the whole ground of difference between Rome and ourselves: both of them views against which Dr. Hook would be the first and loudest to protest, but to which his language, strictly pressed, gives as it stands too much countenance.

The chief interest of this volume, however, is scarcely ecclesiastical, save as unfolding the state of things which demanded and caused the Reformation. And Dr. Hook has laboured successfully to render his pages interesting by the introduction of all the historical, biographical or literary topics which can fairly belong to his successive subjects. He clears Archbishop Chicheley satisfactorily from the libel, harmless in its original chronicler, but spread far and wide by its repeater Shakspeare, of having wantonly plunged the

nation into French wars in order to stave off a Lollard attack upon the Church. He investigates and amusingly describes the crafty dealings of the Council in Henry the Sixth's minority under Archbishop Kemp (then of York) with the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester. He dwells at some length upon the private life of Archbishop Morton as connected with Sir Thomas More and his "Utopia." He makes out a case with pardonable zeal for All Souls' College, taking occasion by the way to say a word of eulogy for the half-forgotten poet Young, who was once a member of it; and tells us, in greater detail, of the humbler and less fortunate, but in some respects equally interesting, Bedehouse founded by the munificence of the same archbishop, in his native village of Higham Ferrers. He stands out gallantly and equitably for the fame of poor Queen Margaret. And, lastly, he never mentions a Bishop or noted man without telling us in a learned note all about him and about his doings, with a precision which we are glad to note, and which increases much the interest with which we regard the personages of his story.

It is a pity, however, that there should still linger some remains of Dr. Hook's peculiar weaknesses, a love of *facetiae*, however poor, if anyhow they can be levelled at the Pope or anything belonging to him, and (what is worse) a bitterness of prejudice on certain subjects, notably St. Anselm, which really would be ludicrous if it was not rather disagreeable. Both things are beneath a writer of such really massive power, and so many noble traits of character. It is but a trifle, for instance, in itself, that Dr. Hook should go out of his way to quote (unnecessarily for his context) such a jingle of sounds as "monkys" for monks. Yet he deserves to have it thought of him, that he really believes the latter word to be derived from "monkey." In another and more recondite case, he really is involved in a blunder, and his joke recoils upon himself. Certainly the Pope was called commonly, as by almost a proper name, "Apostolicus," in mediæval times. He was certainly *not* called "Apostolus" or "the Apostle." The year-books, indeed, which have no doubt misled Dr. Hook, have usually "Appost." in an abbreviated form, which once *seems* to be written "Appostel." And the common Norman-French is "Apostole" or "Apostoile," as may be seen in Ducange. But these are merely forms of "Apostolicus." If Dr. Hook had looked in so obvious a book as Ducange, the first words he would have seen would have been a refer-

ence to an old attack on the Pope, in that he was called "*non apostolus sed apostolicus*." But the worst case remains still behind. What can possibly have bewitched Dr. Hook into so absurd an account of Mr. Church's (not "Life" but) article on St. Anselm, as to speak of it as "written with the unction of a conventual devotee," and full of "sentimentalities?" Can Dr. Hook ever have seen the article in question? Had it been one of the Littlemore lives, we could have understood, and indeed should probably have endorsed, the criticism. But the article in question is not, indeed, quite so ruggedly controversial as Dr. Hook himself is wont to be, but is marked by as manly a tone and as acute a criticism as his own writings are. And it is not a "Life" at all in the ordinary sense of the word. Why, too, should the Dean have thrust such an attack into his book, in a place where it has no earthly business, upon a writer who, as far as we know, never wrote or said one syllable, good, bad, or indifferent, about Dr. Hook or his books? We ourselves, indeed, felt bound by common honesty to point out that Dr. Hook had utterly misrepresented St. Anselm: had, indeed, misquoted Eadmer, so as to make out his own case, and grossly, though no doubt unintentionally, mistranslated his own authority. We are sorry to find that the Dean persists in his errors, and still more sorry that he should, although thereby exposing the somewhat ludicrous blindness of his own wrath, have written a criticism so strangely wide of the mark upon an innocent bystander. However, we must not part angrily with one whom all Englishmen must respect, and to whom all Churchmen must be grateful. As indeed we have said throughout, the blemishes in these "Lives" are of a kind that could easily shell off, leaving the sound core of a wholesome fruit behind. Except only the Life of St. Anselm, the defects in the rest of the work are either small errors of fact susceptible of correction, or a few sentences here and there which could easily be struck out. And the book itself, as a whole, is assuming the proportions, and rising to the standard, of a great and masterly history. Let any one compare it with Archbishop Parker's (or rather Jocelyn's) Lives of the same Archbishops, and he will find indeed much to mark the differences between the sixteenth century and the nineteenth, but much also to mark the power and the vigour of the individual writer, and to make it plain that the chaplain must yield place to the Dean.

LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY, Vols. I., II.,
New Series*.

It is pleasant to be able to begin by saying that Dr. Hook, in these volumes, has risen with his theme, and writes with a power of narrative worthy of a subject which, although not the whole, is yet a large part of the history of the time, rather than a mere biography. It is a better thing still to be able to add that, while making adequate use of materials recently rendered accessible, and almost for the first time making a fair history of this particular period possible, he conscientiously, and with a deliberate self-control, awards praise and blame, not according to party, but according to merit. Toleration, no doubt, has made its way generally into our historical writing, as into other things. And original documents have become a specialty of the time. It is fashionable to be fair, and it is fashionable also to have a running series of notes from contemporary authorities. But the fashion is good in both points, while ecclesiastical history is, we fear, the last department of history into which such a fashion will succeed in finding its way. And the Dean deserves the more credit for writing in such a spirit, above all other things, our Reformation history. He is still, indeed, Dr. Hook. He is grotesque occasionally. And his special hobbies recur upon us. And he is also, as Dr. Hook would be, full of vigorous good sense; and as Dr. Hook has learned to be, master of his subject. He writes, indeed, now as from the pinnacle of an assured historical reputation, and takes, e.g., Messrs. Freeman and Pocock under his patronage, with a little condescension, but with great justice. And he has, assuredly, earned the right to put upon record, and to endorse with his own authority, Dr. Maitland's caustic estimate of Foxe; who is really incapable of accuracy, even where party feeling does not mislead him. We agree, too, in Dr. Hook's verdict, and join with him in rejoicing at the fact, that the English Reformation was managed by men not of the highest calibre of greatness, and that we could, happily, boast of neither a Luther nor a Calvin, nor even a Melancthon. But it is only fair to add our regret, that among judgments of this kind,

* "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury." By W. F. Hook, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester. New Series. Reformation Period. Vols. I., II. (Bentley) *Guardian*, May 27, 1868.

Dr. Hook occasionally glances a side arrow, and now and then very savagely, at persons and parties of the present day. What is worse, too, he has once or twice given way to that specialty of his character whereby he is more angry with those who dare to go beyond the particular point of belief which is stamped by his own approbation, than even with outright opponents. E.g., in vol. ii. pp. 152, 363, he has allowed himself either to follow or to lead a former curate into what really must in honesty be called crude theology. Consecration, and faithful reception, contribute to bring about a Real Presence in very different ways. And to confuse those ways is, *pace* Dean Hook, to confuse the whole subject.

In another point, however, of present interest, the Dean of Chester has done the truth much greater service. Passing by his rather queer illustration drawn from breech-loading guns, we cannot but thank him for pointing out historical facts which bear with great force on the question of obsolete, or unexpressed, or omitted rubrics. Sir R. Phillimore's principle, as laid down in his recent judgment, appears to contain the gist of the matter—viz., that bare omission is equivalent to condemnation in the case of all rites accessory to, or necessarily mixed up with, doctrines that are expressly condemned; but that bare omission apart from this is not condemnation. The general principle is thus made room for, that it is impossible, and therefore not to be required, that *all* allowable or even necessary acts or rites must be commanded in express words. And the Dean rightly calls our attention to the structure and history of our Prayer-book as illustrating and enforcing this. The Bishops of Henry's time, who simply translated, condensed and expurgated an old Book or series of Books, naturally assumed the permanence of a ceremonial in habitual use, wherever they were not led doctrinally to specify and enjoin alterations. And the Bishops of 1661, themselves familiar with the traditions that had outlasted Elizabethan Puritanism, were naturally not awake to the necessity of specifying in detail for a new generation, educated unhappily under Cromwellian Puritanism, what to themselves was as of course, but by the Church at large had been forgotten.

We must not, however, imitate Dr. Hook by dwelling too long upon the inferences and lessons and preliminaries of his history, but turn to the history itself; only adding, that if he does sermonise us a little too lengthily in his Introduction, yet the (in the main) sound principles, manly tone, honest morality, and vigorous nar-

rative, of the book itself (when we get to it), have added one more to the many and great services rendered both to the Church and to opinion in the Church, and to a vigorous and hearty spirit among Churchmen, by Dr. Hook. The strength of his manhood gave us a specimen, in fact, of what an English parish, even under conditions of modern growth and modern unwieldiness, both ought to be and might be. The matured power of his older age gives us now a *κτῆμα ἐς ἄει* of another kind, in what may be called an historical proof of the case of the English Church. We cannot profess to hold with all his historical views or reasonings. The earlier ones we have felt bound already to criticise in part in an adverse sense. And there is a minor defect also in the volumes, which yet is a provoking one—viz., a want of precise statements about dates and places. But we have, as a whole, in Dr. Hook's volumes, what we hitherto have not had—viz., a history in effect of the English Church, written from a higher level of knowledge than Collier either did or could attain, but with a like manly vigour and truthfulness to his, and even with something of a like rough quaintness of tone, and stating powerfully the facts upon which our very position as a Church is based. Dr. Hook has placed upon record, once for all, so far as he has gone, the broad fact of the continuity of the Church of this land, and of its oneness throughout, from the beginning until now.

The first question that strikes us upon opening the book is one that touches the arrangement of the entire work. Why does the Dean begin the Reformation period with Warham, and not with Cranmer? If the renunciation of the Pope is the turning-point of our Reformation, certainly that took place in 1534, two years after Warham's death. And Dr. Hook has himself placed in juxtaposition with this fact, a protest in express terms made by Warham by anticipation against any such measure if it should be attempted—viz., against any measure derogatory to the rights of the Apostolic See. If the declaration of the Royal Supremacy be chosen as the crisis,—which seems to be Dr. Hook's idea,—no one can have asserted more vehemently, or indeed proved more elaborately, than the Dean himself,—and he asserts it, moreover, with perfect truth,—that the Royal Supremacy in the sense of the Convocation of 1532 was not the passing of a new law but the re-assertion of an old one; and that the Royal Supremacy as against foreign (coercive and civil) jurisdiction in Church matters was a principle affirmed by

English Kings and Parliaments at all times of our history, although the effectiveness of their assertion of it varied with their power. Nor is this a mere question of detail, amounting to no more than a choice of disposing of Warham's life between the last volume of the preceding series and the first of the present. It does not, of course, in any way deny, but it obscures, the certainly important fact, that a very large proportion of the changes in the English Church were the work of Church-people who were still to all intents and purposes Romanists. If, indeed, we narrow up the Reformation into Dr. Hook's (to our judgment) not altogether correct formula, and regard it as chiefly and characteristically a substitution of "the Communion" for "the Mass," still less is this selection of an era a justifiable one. For if true at all, such a definition of the Reformation only became true at the very end of Henry the Eighth's reign, if indeed then.

However, this is, after all, mainly a matter of consistent and appropriate grouping of facts, and does not affect the facts themselves. And another point may be noticed, which is even more entirely one of mere arrangement; and of which nothing more need be said than that a writer is at liberty to choose for himself, and that if Dr. Hook likes to relegate the suppression of the monasteries to his Introduction, and to detail the construction of the Prayer-book at length in his work itself, he has a right to do so if he pleases; although we do not quite appreciate the reason for making the difference. At any rate, the plan answers the object of severing the former topic from the "Life of Cranmer," and thereby (in accordance with historical truth) of saddling the entire active iniquity of it upon the real culprits, Cromwell and Henry himself. Cranmer, indeed, not only acquiesced, but shared (to a small extent) in the spoil, as Dr. Hook himself records, but his guilt was limited to this; unless so far as that the Primate of All England can scarcely claim exemption from responsibility, as Dr. Hook reminds us on another occasion, as though he had been "a private man," and therefore we cannot altogether exonerate him, on the ground that he did very little more than hold his tongue.

We pass, however, to more direct and integral parts of the Dean's history. And here, however much we may desire it had been otherwise, yet in the teeth of his own formal words, how can it be alleged that Cranmer did not deliberately hold what would now be called Erastian views? His doing so, it is here maintained,

was a matter of "chance expressions." And in both the authoritative and the quasi-authoritative formularies for which the Archbishop was in any degree responsible, the grace of orders and the doctrine of Apostolical Succession was distinctly affirmed. Undoubtedly (and happily) they are so. And undoubtedly the Archbishop does deny, in express terms, that the King can make a bishop or priest in the sense of ordaining him. But he also affirms that the King alone can appoint or name to the office, meaning thereby that he alone confers the right to exercise it; and that the early Christians "were constrained of necessity" to take the Apostles' nominations or to make one for themselves, because there were then no Christian princes. And if we add to this the subsequent words in the same document ("Resolutions of Several Bishops, &c., concerning the Sacraments"), that "he that is appointed to be a Bishop or a Priest needeth no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient," and then remember the licences for exercising Episcopal jurisdiction taken up by the Bishops and by Cranmer himself, and the high terms of the commissions issued to Cromwell, and by the Archbishop and Bishops acquiesced in, it is to be feared that "chance expressions" is certainly an inaccurate description, and that the distinction between holy orders themselves and the exercise of the power of orders in a given place is scarcely adequate to the strict meaning of the words used, and largely falls short of nullifying their practical upshot. A godly prince, says Cranmer, would have doubtless sanctioned the Apostles in establishing the Church. But what if he had not done so? An unestablished Church becomes, in Cranmer's view, an impossibility, or, at the least, an unjustifiable act of rebellion. The power to establish it, indeed, comes from above, but no man may rightfully use that power unless the King allows him to do so, and formally gives him the requisite authority. Did Cranmer really imagine that the Apostles only felt it right to set up Churches because, forsooth, Roman Emperors held their tongues, but if Nero, e.g., had forbidden them, they would have let the whole work alone? We cannot, then, quite go along with the Dean's exculpation of Cranmer on this point; not because we differ from the Dean's view of what ought to be, but because he seems to us to have overlooked in part what actually was. The Church of England is not bound to Cranmer's dicta, chance or formal. Nor were his ordinations void,—still less did he omit to ordain,—because his private opinions

were erroneous. As the Dean truly says elsewhere, it would not matter to us now if Cranmer had set up, e.g., even a Socinian liturgy. And, further still, we thankfully acknowledge both that strong and decided statements of the truth occur in the Archbishop's writings, and that the truth alone has providentially found its way, upon this subject, into any authoritative documents wherewith he was concerned. But, as a matter of historical fact, we cannot accept the excuse made in these volumes for the general character of his sentiments about Church and State, for it appears to us not well founded.

In matters affecting Cranmer's religious or moral character, we go with Dr. Hook far more heartily. He abstains from hard words. He relates facts with an obvious self-restraint in respect to epithets or reflections. The pretence of a judgment, long since foregone, in the case of the divorce,—the pronouncing sentence of nullity upon the marriage of Anne of Boleyn,—the signing of the will of Edward which assigned the succession to Lady Jane Grey,—are fairly and fully related by the Dean, but no more. And the excuses that circumstances might furnish are candidly allowed for. The closing scene of all is well told and fairly stated. And if any one is singled out for special blame,—and that, too, merely by necessary inference from the facts narrated,—it is Queen Mary; to whose narrow conscientiousness, as cruel as young King Edward's, and aggravated by a natural feeling into a hatred of the chief promoter of her mother's divorce, the burning of Cranmer is here in effect assigned. Of Cranmer himself the estimate is certainly a kindly, if it is not a high one. Credit is given to the Archbishop for refusing to fly the kingdom on Mary's accession; although it ought to be added that Cranmer probably did not then anticipate the actual result to himself, while certainly the violent temper of his letter about Thornden and the mass at Canterbury looks as if he felt himself stronger and more secure than he turned out to be. For the rest, Dr. Hook has detailed the closing scenes with fidelity, candour, and power. And if the word "martyr" is to be used, he has, at least, shewn us what they who use it must be content to mean by it. Waiving all considerations drawn from such axioms as that truth alone makes a martyr, it must be confessed to remain a question how far a moral claim can be made out for that honourable title here. And Dr. Hook has discussed it with both fairness and charity. That Cranmer was cruelly deceived by those who pro-

cured his recantation, and who either acted without authority or against it,—in either case heartlessly,—does not exculpate him from fault in recanting dishonestly; although it stirs our pity for one so venerable in many respects, and yet so atrociously abused. And a life of compliances can hardly be said to be redeemed, because at the last moment, when all hope of life was taken away, it was closed by one outspoken and brave testimony. At the same time there is one circumstance, pathetically related by Dr. Hook, but on which he does not further dwell, and yet which it is fair to take into account in estimating the firmness wherewith Cranmer met his fearful and prolonged trial. When from his prison he all but witnessed the burning of Ridley and Latimer five months before his own, he must have felt that they who spared not them would not spare him. Yet his courage failed not then. At any rate, at that moment he was a martyr in will, whether or no what followed afterwards will allow us to call him also a martyr in fact.

We gather from a hint or two, that Cardinal Pole will not fare so well as even Cranmer at Dr. Hook's hands. And certainly, when we remember the revelations respecting his Italian opinions and connections in the Life of Aonio Paleario and such like authorities, it is revolting to find the timid and literary Reformer in Italy converted into at least the acquiescent persecutor in England. But we must not anticipate. So far as Dr. Hook has yet gone, he has infused a manly, though it may be occasionally a coarse-grained, vigour into his narrative; has told us the tale of our Reformation (at least of one large part of it) with no shielding and no exaggerating of the faults of those who brought it about; and has placed on record in an able narrative the eventful history through which our English Church was so providentially guided and preserved. We trust the Dean may be long spared, to finish his work; and that the Church, too, in that settlement of it of which he has now to become the historian, may long outlast the time when he shall have finished his history of it: may last, indeed, to those Greek Calends which the Dean's printer, it seems, has at last triumphantly discovered in the *thirty-first* of the month of April.

LIVES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY, Vol. IV.,
New Series[†].

DR. HOOK possesses, or in writing his great work has acquired, many of the higher qualifications of an historian. He has a powerful grasp of his subject, and writes with a definite conception of the time and circumstances, but with one following from the facts of the case, and not forced upon them. He is duly critical, and fairly diligent, in the collection, and in the use of his authorities. He is never dull, although very often lengthy. And if a little disposed to take an occasional fling at modern parties or opponents, he usually preserves the due dignity of the historian, while yet enlivening his pages by a full appreciation of whatever of the humorous or the amusing may cross his path. He is deficient, as it seems to us, in the humbler but very necessary qualifications of duly proportioning space to materials, and of restraining himself from discursive remarks and disquisitions. Even the importance of the great transition period, in our Church history, of the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, can scarcely justify nearly 600 pages for a primacy of sixteen years; in a work which, if finished upon the same scale, would fill at least a dozen more octavos in addition to the nine already published. And the evil is aggravated, when we find a large part of this space occupied by topics not needful, even if not altogether irrelevant, and by details that might have been compressed into a fourth part of the space with absolute gain to the vividness of the narrative. The truth seems to be, that the special perils of the particular period, and the peculiar character of the measures and principles by which Elizabeth and her advisers, temporal and spiritual, met those perils, come so home both to the controversies of the last half-century, and to the views so powerfully maintained by Dean Hook himself during past years, that the veteran warrior cannot refrain from plunging anew into the conflict as its sounds fall upon his ears. He has revived, indeed, the very term "Anglo-Catholic," half forgotten in the gorgeous haze of "ritualism," that of late has nearly hidden the paler hues of that duller term; and he so writes, in general, as to lead a reader almost involuntarily

[†] "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury." Vol. IV., New Series. Reformation Period. (Life of Archbishop Parker.) By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Chichester. (Bentley.) *Guardian*, Aug. 21, 1872.

to look at the title-page in the half expectation of finding there, not 1872, but 1842.

However, substantial historical truth is never obsolete. And under whatever terms, it is a work worthy of Dean Hook's powers and reputation to describe under its true character, and in an appreciative spirit, the period of the practical, although not the final, settlement of the later Church of England, settled, too, as it was in main principles, as Dr. Hook and Churchmen generally would have wished. The biographer does not strive, indeed, to make a hero of his great man. He describes him, and truly enough, as a shy, stammering, retiring valetudinarian in himself, while doing justice at the same time to the business abilities, the conciliatory tact, and the real honesty of principle, which he conspicuously possessed. Parker was, indeed, of that middle class of able and creditable moderates, in whom Prime Ministers (and Queen Elizabeth was, in truth, her own Prime Minister) have at all times delighted; a moderate, but with an abhorrence of ultra-Protestants as much as of Rome, and with a much more pressing and vivid fear of the former than of the latter. He was not a Puritan who with difficulty conformed, but a Catholic and a Churchman who desired reforms, and a cautious politician besides, who tried to conciliate. And his whole primacy was passed in maintaining, not so prominently Protestantism against Romanism (although, no doubt, he did do this as occasion served), as the Church against the Puritans. And here, indeed, certainly, lie both the truth itself of the history of the time, and the merit and value of Dr. Hook's firm appreciation of it. The whole history of the English Church, from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign down (as we may truly add) to the very present century, has been one of contest, and, in the main, successful contest, to expel or restrain, not Romanists, but ultra-Protestants. Her protest against Rome, made once for all before that period, has been, no doubt, kept up throughout. But her most continuous protest has been against those principles which would destroy her Church character by denying Church views and discarding Church order. Every serious effort to injure or destroy her, from Cartwright down to Mr. Miall, has arisen from the Dissenting or Puritan side. And every such effort hitherto has been followed by a more fixed and pronounced assertion of her Church character. So it was even in Elizabeth's reign, although Puritan opinions, mixed up with and aided by political and social changes, were then

gathering strength for their transitory and suicidal victory at the Rebellion. The far larger share of Parker's cares and labours was directed towards maintaining the English Church as a Church, continuous with that which had been in England from the beginning, and towards suppressing the extreme Protestant views that had come in with the Frankfort exiles. And if in some points he failed to do this, or if in despair he occasionally made too much of State aid, which then meant Royal Prerogative, at least he held firmly, both in theory and in the main in practice, to higher and more Church-like views. Dr. Hook appears to us to have sketched the character both of the man and of the time with great truth and real insight, although he wastes much space in reiterating his statements on the subject.

Parker, however, was a notability in the history of English literature, as well as an English Primate at a dangerous crisis. It is no exaggeration to say that we owe to him the materials of a very large portion of English history, both political and ecclesiastical. His collection of MSS. is, indeed, invaluable. No doubt he (or his *employés*) was a most untrustworthy editor. For he entertained the loosest notions as to the propriety or duty of adhering *literatim* to his author's text. Yet his own historical work—the precursor of Dr. Hook's—the "*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*," is far beyond its age in accuracy and extent of critical and historical learning. While his zeal in procuring and his care in preserving MSS., then in imminent danger of perishing while yet *in transitu* from pillaged monasteries to scarcely existent libraries, are beyond praise. Dr. Hook makes the best case he can for the editorial peccadilloes, and gives a full and interesting account of the Archbishop's literary munificence.

Among other digressions in the earlier part of the volume, there is an amusing account of the interference, in peremptory style, of Gardyner as Chancellor of Cambridge, with the pronunciation of Greek at the University. Dean Liddell would, doubtless, think the Marquis of Salisbury had lost his senses if the post one morning should bring him an intimation that he must enforce Lord Salisbury's views (if, indeed, he has any) upon Greek pronunciation, under penalty of "paines to the transgressors" (e.g. to Sir G. Bowen, or any like Philo-Hellenist, whenever he ventures to shew himself again in Oxford); and that as the Queen's Majesty (to wit, the Privy Council) has "by inspiration of the Holy Ghost com-

poned all matters of religion," so he must compel a like uniformity in *etas* and *iotas*. Yet so writes Gardynier to one of Parker's predecessors in the Cambridge Vice-Chancellorship. Another digression is less amusing—that on Scholasticism; and we fear we must add, less intelligible also and rather more irrelevant. What, indeed, can the Dean intend by telling us that "the first period of the history" of Scholasticism lasted from A.D. 1010 to 1110, and yet "extended from Lanfranc and Anselm to John Scotus *the Irishman*?" John Scotus Erigena, who, no doubt, did "labour under a charge of heresy" (as Dr. Hook also says), lived in the ninth century. And John Duns Scotus, who certainly originated some startling theories, yet was barely regarded as a heretic by reason of them, lived in the fourteenth. And the former was known by the cognomen of "the Irishman," whereas the latter was late enough to make the term Scot at the most equivocal; and people actually dispute whether he came from Berwickshire or from Down! However, this is a mere lapse of the Dean's pen, in respect to a topic not properly belonging to his subject, and which a future edition may easily correct. In his proper business of Church historian, he has taken pains to look up the original authorities, and our only complaint is, that he gives us a little too much of detail from them upon unimportant topics.

The practical upshot of Dr. Hook's valuable narrative is summed up in a few pages at its close. He tells us, and truly, that Parker's special work was so to conduct the Reformation as to save all he could, and to defeat, if he might, the Puritan efforts, "not to reform but to revolutionise." And for preventing the success of these sectarian attempts, Parker, he most truly says, "deserves the gratitude of those who believe in the existence of one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, of which the Church of England is a branch." Dr. Hook goes on to draw a parallel with our present internal contests, and to point out, we must say a little harshly, that Puritans, "joined by freethinkers and Erastians," are trying now also to revive, as it were, the (so-styled) incomplete Reformation, which the efforts of Parker and of those with whom he acted repressed. The motives are now, as they were then, honest, although narrow, zeal on the part of the first of the three, and a desire to keep as many people as possible content and quiet on the part of the others. But the differences between the two periods, of which Dr. Hook himself points out some of the most prominent, are so wide and deep, as to make

the parallel, after all, more verbal than real. And the Dean might truly have added that defenders of the Church now have the inestimable advantages over Parker and his coadjutors of an established right of possession lasting for over three centuries, and of the unutterable evils of that self-condemnatory and momentary triumph of their opponents in the Great Rebellion. People cannot forget these facts or ignore them any more than Romanists can even yet get over the fires of Queen Mary.

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND^u.

Now that we have taken, as it seems, to re-writing nearly all our history, the period of the Reformation certainly is that which could least expect an exemption from the process. The simple but long-neglected principle of looking to contemporary evidence, and the discovery, or the publication in an accessible shape, of documents before unknown or inaccessible or misrepresented, affect that period as they affect all others; affect it, indeed, markedly and extensively. And bitter and dishonest polemics on both sides, and the living religious interest of the subject, and its very complexity, have disguised and distorted the history of that particular period beyond all comparison. It was to be expected, therefore, not perhaps that the broad outlines of the case, but that the position and character of individual agents in it, the exact order and connection of particular events, the precise bearing and extent of the several acts of Church or State, the details, in short, of the entire history, should require re-adjustment and correction. No doubt, the libellous Foxe's and Sanders's, on either side, of the time itself, have been discredited long ago. And the equally perverse crotchitness of some modern partisans—whether it be the love of clever paradox which whitewashes Henry VIII. and vilifies the Church, or the equally perverse extravagance which in the opposite direction delights to blacken Cranmer—are mere eccentricities that will make no mark. Nor can it be truly said that, on the whole, our view of the Reformation has been, or is being, put in any broadly new light, which

^u "The Reformation of the Church of England: its History, Principles, and Results." [A.D. 1514—1547.] By the Rev. John Henry Blunt, M.A., F.S.A. (Rivingtons.) *Guardian*, June 2, 1869.

either supports or overthrows, by any new discoveries, that vague thing called Reformation Principles. But undoubtedly we are learning, though slowly enough, to judge of the agents in it and of their acts by some better principle than party love or hate, and to throw off the hazy and ill-informed prejudices which have regarded Reformation history as simply so much material to be twisted into the service of narrow present partisanship. We have learned—at least, all well-informed men have learned—no longer to quote Cranmer and his compeers as authority for ultra-Protestant and negative doctrines which they themselves vehemently denounced; or to interpret the acts of Reformation Bishops and divines by the atmosphere and views of nineteenth-century Exeter Hall, instead of by their own widely different principles. And we have been, or are being, driven to such a rectification of our views, mainly because we now know more, and more exactly, and upon better evidence, what the real facts and the real characters of the men actually were.

Mr. Blunt gives us, in this volume, an instalment of a history of the Reformation, in the just proportions of a history, and written carefully from contemporary documents and evidence, which will, on the whole, help on our wholesome course of improvement. He has at present reached no further than to the close of the reign of Henry VIII. And he has, therefore, the most delicate part of his task still to come. But the volume now published is written with scholarly knowledge, with an independent judgment, and with careful support given to each statement by quotation of evidence. And Mr. Blunt has given greater effect to his narrative by a skillful division and grouping of his subjects. Undoubtedly, he writes upon very definite views and principles, but those views and principles are not forced upon the facts, but are deduced from them as their necessary results. The true account, indeed, of his book is, that it is a sketch of the reign of Henry VIII., in its theological changes, which proves, in detail, the Church view of those changes. And if that view is the true view, how can a true history do otherwise? The merit of a history is, that it allows facts to evolve views, and does not pervert or conceal facts in order to force upon them preconceived views of its own. And when we characterise Mr. Blunt's volume as stating the Church's case throughout, we conceive it to be an ample justification to say that, if he is to relate the facts fairly, he could not do otherwise;—that he fairly alleges the facts, and the facts prove his case. We hold the book,

then, to be a solid and valuable addition to our Church history, just because it does in the main establish the Church case, and bring it ably and clearly before the public, upon unanswerable evidence, impartially and on the whole correctly stated.

Of the earlier part of the volume, a powerful defence of Wolsey as conceiving and attempting a grand scheme of practical Church reform is the special feature. And certainly, as any statesman, so, above all, such a shrewd statesman as Wolsey, must have seen, that a reform of patent and flagrant corruptions was inevitable if the Church was to stand at all. It seems to us, however, that it is some drawback from the grandeur of conception attributed by Mr. Blunt to the great Cardinal, that he plainly either failed to conceive or shrank from initiating any change really adequate to the circumstances. His attempt was a confession of evil, which it met by that superficial kind of reform that leaves the root of the evil untouched, while it palliates it for the time by removing, or trying to remove, its grosser developments. At the same time; Mr. Blunt has fairly made out a case of honest effort to remove abuses, and also of at least statesmanlike if not Christian reluctance to persecute, on behalf of Wolsey, which leaves him a far nobler character than prejudice has allowed men to think him. He has done away, too, with what, after all, has wrought most harm to the Cardinal's memory—viz., Shakspeare's version of his dying words. The latter part of the volume, however, is of more present and more closely concerning interest to ourselves as Churchmen. And here we cannot wholly go along, not with Mr. Blunt's history, which is unanswerable and valuable, but with some of his inferences from it. The jurisdiction, the doctrine, and the devotional practices of the Church mainly occupy his attention. Respecting the first of these, his statement of the case is sound, fair, and invaluable. He has effectually brought out, by the unanswerable proof of facts and documents, the distinct limitation of Royal power in Church matters to their temporal side (and even this, wrung from the clergy with exceeding difficulty, in consequence of Henry's exorbitant language, yet granted by them unhesitatingly in the rightful sense of the supremacy of the law of the land over all persons and all temporal things). And he has shewn this by the protestation of Tunstall, by Henry's remarkable letter to the Northern clergy, by the Acts of Parliament themselves, and by the elaborate and official statements of the great theological document of what

may be called the Cranmerian Reformation, the Institution of a Christian Man. He has pointed out also—and Dr. Ball had better look to the point before he speaks again about the Supremacy in Parliament or elsewhere—that the chief objection of the clergy to the title of Head of the Church, as Henry himself explained and limited it, was not to the thing (which was right enough as so explained and limited), but to the very possible and likely misinterpretation of it, which Henry, indeed, disclaimed—disclaimed actually as “absurd”—but which they feared men might fall or be led into, nevertheless. And Dr. Ball and others like him have proved the prescience of the shrewd Yorkshire clergy, by adopting what Henry himself calls absurd; and this in spite of Queen Elizabeth’s actual repudiation of the “absurdity.”

Respecting doctrine, however, and devotional practices, while Mr. Blunt is equally accurate in his statement of the facts, and accurately tells us (in their own words, indeed, for the most part) what Cranmer and Henry the Eighth’s Bishops really held and taught, he seems to us to overlook the question of how much subsequent changes still further altered. No doubt the changes of Edward VI. are only of consequence so far as those under Elizabeth adopted and confirmed them. But the same rule applies to the changes under Henry VIII. And while the great theological documents of Henry’s reign (the King’s Articles, the Institutions, the Necessary Doctrine, &c.) are of exceeding value, as shewing us the sentiments of those to whom we owe in the main the present state of our formularies; yet these documents mark only a stage in the progress of opinion, and a stage which underwent subsequently much modification. And they are not now our legal standards. It is quite true, and it is a truth which those who talk glibly now about Cranmer ought to learn and to remember, that under Henry VIII. Cranmer and the other Bishops of his time held, at the very least in all their official utterances, the Real Presence, the doctrine of Absolution, the desirableness of Confession, Apostolical Succession, and like doctrines; and held them markedly and emphatically. It is a like truth, that they held the possibility of a right and unsuperstitious use of images, and even threw the shield of what must really be called an untenable gloss over the Ave Maria. But it cannot be said that any of their doctrines or practices of devotion are now binding upon us simply because they held them. Some of them are, indeed, still authoritatively parts

of our Church's belief. And we may thank God for it. Some of them are not so. But the grounds which thus divide the two are to be sought in the subsequent history. And we cannot accept, without qualification and explanation, that the Institution, for instance, "sets forth more completely" than any other book ever written, "the true theological tenets of the Church of England." It is, no doubt, a "noble work." It sets forth the truth, in the main, with a power and grandeur of language and of tone which make it very desirable that it should be better known. And it upsets utterly the ultra-Protestant talk about Cranmer. But it is simply necessary, as a matter of fact, to check it by later Elizabethan documents, such as are still Church as well as State law among us, in order to be able to say how far it sets forth the true theological tenets of the present Church of England. As we protest against the ludicrous absurdity of calling the precise stage of opinion and practice that happened to be reached during the half-dozen years of the unsettled reign of Edward VI. the "rightful inheritance" of the English Church (which is the one piece of feebleness in Mr. Fisher's able but heterodox book of a few years since); so neither can we accept as our standard the precise point reached in the earlier reign. In both cases we must look for present doctrine to the later and still abiding settlement.

THE REFORMATION*.

WE have read these lectures—for such the book is—with more interest in the opinions expressed by the Scotch Presbyterian divine who is their author, than in the direct subject of the work itself. The writer's name is a sufficient guarantee for the ability of his biographical sketches, and for their trustworthiness up to that point of inquiry and study, of which lectures hold out the promise. And allowing for their inevitable sketchiness, and for the perhaps equally inevitable assumption, in a mere critical outline, of an unusual knowledge on the part of readers of the detailed facts of the case, we find in them a powerfully-drawn picture of each of the four great men whose biographies constitute the work, distinguished for

* "Leaders of the Reformation: Luther, Calvin, Latimer, Knox." By John Tulloch, D.D., Principal and Primarius Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, St. Andrew's. (Blackwood and Sons.) *Guardian*, — 1859.

breadth, thoughtfulness, philosophical appreciation of the real bearings of the history, and of the real characters and work of the men, and unusual fairness. Still, we should not send a reader to these pages if we desired him to gather for the first time a knowledge of Reformation history. The book is written for a temporary purpose, and cannot lay claim to the rank of an historical authority. But, on the other hand, some of the views expressed in it do strike us as a phenomenon worth noting, when we remember that they are uttered by a leading divine of the Scottish Kirk.

Is it really the case that Calvinistic Presbyterianism is about to try a higher flight at length in Scotland? Are the "Confession of Faith," and the "Directory of Public Worship," really as obsolete, as regards any living belief, as the Solemn League and Covenant long has been, which still thrusts itself among the authoritative documents of the Scotch Kirk, impotent and ridiculous as the stuffed skin of some once roaring and tearing wild beast? If so, then we can only say Presbyterianism has signed its own death-warrant. The breath of a large-minded philosophy will dissolve it into dust. *Æstheticism*, and sentiment, and breadth of mind, and large historical conceptions, and profound metaphysical theology, are alike alien to the narrow artificialities of the thing itself, and to the equally narrow but honest bigotry of the logical and conscientious but dry turn of mind in which it has taken root. Yet in this book are plain symptoms, nay, express statements, of the imminence of such a change. Read the following; and what does it intimate, but that the intellectualism which has been trying the nerve and vigour of the Church in England, is now about to assail a feebler foe in Scotland? Can we hope that it will fail, when its opponent has wilfully stripped himself of all the subsidiary aids which human nature offers, and has, moreover, tied himself down to a system which is neither Catholic, nor, in the judgment of Principal Tulloch himself, Scriptural?

Hear the Professor's own view of the history of the Scottish Kirk:—

"Scottish Calvinism," he says, "might have matured both doctrinally and ritually into a form comparatively expansive and Catholic. It might have gradually penetrated the old historical families of the kingdom which had hitherto stood aloof from it, and moulded the nation—people, barons, and nobles—into a great religious unity. This, however, was not to be its fate. It was not destined to a quiet diffusion and growth, but to a career of tragic storm and

struggle, in the course of which, while it kept its own with a brave tenacity and a grand heroism which shed an undying glory amid the stormy gloom of its eventful history, it yet never fused itself more deeply than at first into the outlying sections of the national life. The original oppositions, after the lapse of a hundred and twenty years, re-appear only more intensified and defiant than ever; and to this day they remain uneffaced, and probably uneffaceable. Scotland presents in this respect, accordingly, a singular and original spectacle. While Presbyterianism, in its scarcely differing shades, keeps the same vigorous and immovable hold of the great heart of the nation, there are yet certain traces of sentiment in the country, transmitted by clear lines of descent from the sixteenth century, that not merely lie outside of it, but apparently have no capacity of appreciating the meaning of the main current of the national religious feeling."

In other words, Presbyterianism, if it had been the contrary of what it is, would have done its work; but, being what it is, it has failed to extirpate the Church, and has remained a sect. And what of its own internal history?—

"The Calvinism of Scotland seems at first sight to have enjoyed a more consistent and vigorous life than that either of Geneva or of Holland; but a nearer inspection proves that the difference is more apparent than real. Scottish theology, *such as it is*, has, in truth, undergone a series of most singular modifications during the last two hundred years, from the polemical hardness and spiritual sentimentalisms of Rutherford, on through the devotional and apologetic mildness of Halyburton—the fervid but untempered earnestness of Boston—the polite moralisms of Blair—and the conciliatory doctrinism of Hill and Campbell, to the genial but inconsistent theories of Chalmers. And of all these modifications none is more singular, and certainly none less understood, than that which sprang from the admission of Jonathan Edwards' doctrine of philosophical necessity, as constituting a renewed basis and point of defence for Calvinism. A meagre rationalism, under the name of moderatism, had in the last century eaten away the heart of the old Calvinistic religious spirit, when the cold breath of this new doctrine came as a bracing restorative to the logical mind of Scotland, and it was eagerly seized upon and embraced as a supposed mediatrix between philosophy and faith. It had an inherited charm to such a mind as Chalmers's, and more than anything seemed to strengthen him in the old dogmatic pathways; but a union so unnatural could not even be blessed by his strong genius, and this theological necessitarianism is already giving place before the progress of a more spiritual philosophy."

And what, then, of the Scotch Kirk of the present and the future?—

"Whether the Scotch mind is at length really about to free itself from its intense logical tendencies, and to expand into a broader, more learned, and comprehensive theological literature, it is somewhat difficult to say. Undoubtedly there is in Scotland, as elsewhere, great spiritual restlessness under

the old dogmatic bonds. A disintegrating process is at work in the forms of its religious life; and many, where their fathers found living wells, look, and, behold! they are empty cisterns."

"The best, indeed the only safeguard," under these circumstances, he most truly adds, "is the growth of a critical and historical spirit, which, while looking back with reverence to the past, and appreciating all that is good and holy and great in it, is yet not absolutely wedded to it as a formula beyond which, or apart from which, there can be no life." Most true. But can such a spirit co-exist with Presbyterian discipline or Calvinistic doctrine?

Principal Tulloch is an example in his own person of this spirit of broader and more philosophical theology. Here is his account of the Calvinistic doctrine, most true and most powerfully stated—but how men are to reconcile such views with the Westminster Confession of Faith or the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, is a totally different question.

Calvin, he says, is, indeed, a Biblical theologian. He "went to Scripture" for his doctrine. Yet—

"His dogmas, for the most part, were not primarily suggested by Scripture; and as to his distinguishing dogma, this is eminently the case. Like Luther, he had been trained in the scholastic philosophy, and been fed on Augustine; and it was no more possible for the one than for the other to get beyond the scholastic spirit or the Augustinian doctrine. . . . As to the question of predestination—so apt to be originally identified with his name in theology—Calvin is not merely indebted to Augustine, but he verbally reproduces him at great length; and it is a favourite plan with him, when hard pushed by the dilemmas which his own acuteness or the representation of opponents suggest, to retreat behind the arguments of his great prototype, and to suppose himself strong *within the cover of assertions not less startling and inadmissible, though more venerable, than his own.*"

And again:—

"So long as it continued to be merely a question of systems, and logic had it all its (own) way, the triumph (of Calvinism) was secure. But now that the question is changed, and logic is no longer mistress of the field; now, when a spirit of interpreting Scripture, which could have hardly been intelligible to Calvin, generally asserts itself—a spirit which recognises a progress in Scripture itself—a diverse literature and moral growth in its component elements—and which, at once looking back with reverence, and forward with faith, has learned a new audacity, or a new modesty, as we shall call it according to our predilections"—(there can be no doubt of the direction of Professor Tulloch's)—"and while it accepts with awe the mysteries of life and of death, refuses to submit them arbitrarily to the dictation of any mere

logical principle—now that the whole sphere of religious evidence is differently apprehended, and the provinces of faith and of logical deduction are recognised as not merely incommensurable, but as radically distinguished—the whole case as to the triumphant position of Calvinism, or, indeed, any other theological system, is altered.”

Dr. Tulloch's attitude is precisely similar in regard to the discipline established by Calvin and borrowed by the Scotch Kirk. In respect to both, he distinctly repudiates dogmatism. No formula of belief whatever, and no divinely-appointed constitution of the Church—such would be the principles on which his views turn—principles inconsistent, if carried to their full extent, with all objective revelation, but modified, no doubt, by Dr. Tulloch into a repudiation of what he deems merely human systems, and in this form absolutely inconsistent with the very being of the Scottish Kirk at all. The Church Catholic can absorb and subdue to itself these deeper views of revealed truth. It remains to be seen how it will fare with so purely human a device—the device of one man—as Calvinistic Presbyterianism.

Dr. Tulloch turns aside in a note to make a very strange onslaught upon Mr. Mansel. In his text he is deservedly complimentary to the Bampton Lecturer; yet, even there, he imputes to him what Mr. Mansel has himself (in the Preface to the third edition of the Lectures) expressly disclaimed. He speaks of him as having destroyed “all religious dogmatism.” Mr. Mansel will not thank him. The Bampton Lecturer intended to annihilate *erroneous* dogmatism, not dogmatic theology as such. In the note, Dr. Tulloch strikes us as being still less accurate in his criticism. He singles out for condemnation the phrase of “moral miracles,” chosen by Mr. Mansel to express those isolated cases in the Bible wherein God permitted or commanded some act which His ordinary law forbids. Dr. Tulloch seems to imply that there are no such cases. He seems to think that “fair principles of interpretation” will solve all that are usually alleged as such. And under the description of such “fair principles,” he appears to include the assumption of a “moral progress” in Scripture, to the extent, we presume (for otherwise the assumption is useless), of making acts, wrong to us, to have been, apart from Divine command, right to those who lived under earlier dispensations. We confess to thinking Mr. Mansel's explanation, so far as it reaches, to be not only the simpler of the two, but, for that very reason, to go much farther than Dr. Tul-

loch's towards relieving minds from the temptation to throw themselves blindfold into the arms of the Pope—which bugbear Dr. Tulloch shakes in our faces. To say that a special Divine command would render the killing of Isaac not only not a crime but a distinctly righteous act—an act analogous to the judicial putting to death of a criminal—on the ground that God possesses an absolute right to dispose of the life of His creatures—is a clear and intelligible piece of reasoning, leaving the mind in no “helpless” state of impotence “before confessed difficulties,” but justifying the act upon moral principles belonging to all men always, and clear as daylight. To talk of “moral progress,” on the other hand, and thus to leave the impression that murder—simple unmitigated murder of an only son—was right to Abraham in his then moral state, and that state a preeminently righteous state before God, does, indeed, abandon us to an utterly “helpless” confusion of principle. Dr. Tulloch denounces the idea of “moral miracles,” apparently on the supposition that Mr. Mansel applies that idea to the suspension of primary moral truth itself—which he distinctly refuses to do—and not to acts the moral nature of which is altered *in toto* by the existence of a special Divine command. And then, to remedy this, the Professor suggests a theory of “moral progress,” unqualified by any such limitation. Mr. Mansel applies a theory to isolated acts. Dr. Tulloch utters a cry of horror, and proceeds to apply an analogous theory, by way of remedy, to the entire moral history of man. Mr. Mansel applies it to acts whereof the circumstances are altered at once by its application, and so the act becomes innocent upon general moral rules. Dr. Tulloch applies it to those rules themselves, and then turns round with virtuous indignation upon one of whose supposed offence he has himself been guilty without stint or excuse. Our own complaint against Mr. Mansel would turn in a different direction. As far as his doctrine goes, we accept it heartily, as resting upon sound moral grounds, and consistent with the plain principles of religion and with all historical canons. But it does not, to our mind, cover the whole case.

Mr. Mansel, however, is quite competent to fight his own battles, as perhaps Dr. Tulloch may find. We shall watch with interest, for our own parts, the fortunes of Presbyterianism, now that this cold wind of rationalism has begun to breathe upon its unsound walls, and to see the chinks and crannies of the untempered mortar with which they are daubed.

THE LEADING PRINCIPLES OF THE REFORMATION.¹

ALL Churchmen, and all lovers of truth, must heartily agree with the suggestion hinted rather than worked out in these well-written essays. Remembering the difficulties under which Collier wrote—remembering the endless blunders which critical examination detects in almost every line of Burnet's Documents, and in almost every sentence of his own interpretation of even his own texts—remembering that Strype is not many degrees less open to the criticism of a Maitland, than the contemptible pages of Foxe himself,—and advertng, on the other hand, to the mass of original papers discovered or rendered accessible since our standard Reformation historians wrote, and to the exceedingly improved condition of historical study generally at the present time—it is indeed much to be desired, that the same thorough rummaging of authorities, and the same scrupulous discarding of second-hand for original testimony, and the same ruthless annihilation of narrow modern or party traditions, which have been recently applied to secular history, should be extended to that of the Church. And this, not with the brevity of a manual such as Professor Blunt's or Mr. Massingberd's or the late Archdeacon Hardwick's valuable publications, and perhaps some others, but fully and at length. As with the picture of Mary of Scotland in the Bodleian Gallery, we should perchance find many a fair feature of the familiar face washed off by the ruthless hand of the cleanser, and discover a sadder and more haggard, but a more truthful countenance underneath. And while truth is worth knowing, bear which way it may, the result of such an investigation would probably rob the modern religionist of half his stock-arguments, and powerfully strengthen the historical position of the English Church both against Romanists and against her own degenerate children.

The essays of Mr. Blunt merely point the way to such a work. They are simply a sketch of those features which establish the generally Catholic character of our own Reformation. Without pretending to any original investigation, although intelligently master of the general facts of his case, Mr. Blunt writes with an

¹ "Three Essays on the Leading Principles of the Reformation; illustrating its Catholic Character from its Constitutional, Doctrinal, and Ritual History." By J. H. Blunt, Curate of Cowley, Oxford. Reprinted from the "Ecclesiastic." (Masters.) *Guardian*, Dec. 19, 1860.

historical and a philosophical power, which needs only the basis of a thorough investigation of documents to enable himself to do well the work, which he here only suggests to others. His view, as at present stated, is open to the remark that it leans too exclusively upon the first Reformation period, that of Henry VIII.; while the chief obstacles to the character assigned by him to the English movement lie in the second, that of Edward VI. He has, of necessity, massed together the whole case without sufficient discrimination of times, from pure want of space. And where, as in the third essay, his argument does carry him on to the days of Edward, a similar cause has prevented him from entering into details, and has confined him almost to one although that a very important document. On the other hand, the great merit of his papers appears to lie in the stress laid by him upon public and official acts and documents, as distinct from expressions of merely private opinion. The absence of any one or two absolute leaders, absorbing the whole movement into their own personal views and peculiarities, is truly noticed as the marked and valuable characteristic of our English Reformation. No one, accordingly, has ever dreamed of calling us Cranmerites, or Ridleyites, as German Protestants are called Lutherans; and the Swiss, Zuinglians or Calvinists. And while, of course, official documents, generally speaking, may be hypocritical, and recite falsehoods for a purpose,—a circumstance singularly overlooked by Mr. Froude,—the case is wholly different with the formal canons or service-books of a Church. In them, if anywhere, we must look for the true religious character of the age or body in which they were framed.

Turning, however, from his sources to his conclusions, we owe thanks to Mr. Blunt for a view, substantially true, and yet seriously differing from that which possesses the public mind at the present time. If any ordinary Englishman were asked now for his view of the Reformation, he would of course think at once of doctrinal questions, not of discipline or government. Historically the case was exactly reversed. Assuredly it was the last thing thought of by our first Reformers that they were striving to alter the doctrinal standards of the Church, or to escape out of the Churches in communion with Rome as out of Antichrist. They were simply endeavouring to do effectually what had been over and over again done in part by their predecessors. They were endeavouring to throw off the gross abuses of the Roman Court, such as provisions,

appeals, indulgences, and the like; or of the customary teaching and practices of authorised doctors or monastic orders, such as the excesses of pilgrimage and image-worship; and to establish an English Liturgy. Doctrinal questions grew up gradually, as men's minds became drawn to them by increased knowledge and freedom of discussion. Many points, indeed, of modern Roman doctrine were in Henry's time still mere floating opinions or practices unformalised and unsanctioned by distinct ecclesiastical authorisation. The Council of Trent, while cutting off some of the most indefensible, for the first time irretrievably adopted the remainder. And gradually doctrinal points became the hinges of the controversy. Now, what people forget—and what Mr. Blunt puts forward—is this non-doctrinal origin of the English Reformation movement. It was with us at first a question of money,—a question of civil jurisdiction,—a question of foreign interference with English law and English property,—a question of abusive and superstitious practices out of which a foreign Church made her gain,—a question of national independence in matters which concerned the English Church and nation exclusively,—a question of our national Liturgy and ritual. It became a doctrinal question, mainly upon topics spun out of the brains of mere mediæval scholasticism, and in the way of taking a side upon questions that had but recently been transformed out of floating opinion into formal dogma, and many of them, anterior to the Council of Trent, not even that. It never was, in the mind of our Reformed Church as a body, a question of the fundamentals of the faith; or of the extreme case of taking refuge in any Church organisation or none at all, rather than stay in union with an Antichrist. It was, in short, a dealing with questions that concerned ourselves, and neither an intermeddling with our neighbours nor an intrusion upon the functions of the Catholic Church. And the doctrinal severance arose in great part, although not wholly, from the movement of the Roman Church herself towards the one extreme, as well as from our own movement towards the opposite.

But if such are the facts, what is the value of them? Why is any particular score of years to claim to stereotype the Church for ever after its own accidental model? Why are we now to trouble ourselves about the contents of those goodly octavos of the Parker Library? If the Bishops of Queen Elizabeth's days liked Bulinger's *Decades*, what (*pace* Mr. Gorham) is that to us now?

And when the period in question was one of great excitement and imperfect knowledge and much party feeling, surely its claim to infallibility is still more feeble. Incidentally indeed, the opinions of the Reformation possess an adventitious value, as an element in determining the sense of documents which happen to be legally binding upon the Church of England still. And negatively it is of importance to shew that our Church did not, at that or any other period, forfeit her Catholicity by any acts of her own. Ultra-Protestants also, by elevating the opinions of that time into a kind of court of appeal, invest them for themselves with the force of an *argumentum ad homines*, whenever (as commonly happens) the testimony of their chosen witness is adverse to their own cause. And wiser and soberer men must needs feel a deep interest—quite distinct from a blind submission—towards a time when grievous errors were exploded, and most precious truths relieved from the load of superstitions that was choking them; even though at the price of a shock to Church discipline, which probably would have come anyhow with the increase of education, but from which the Church has never yet recovered. But all this is very different from raising such people as Bale or Becon, or Foxe or Bullinger, or the more venerable names of Cranmer or Ridley themselves, or even the collective judgment of the time in which they lived, to the infallibility of a Papal chair. So far as that collective judgment has stamped itself upon the present English Church, so far of course English Churchmen are bound to see that they agree with it. But we speak now of its abstract value as a standard of belief *in foro conscientiæ*. And it is obviously unreasonable to erect the *dicta* of so modern, and so distracted, an age of the Church into a kind of secondary Bible. As usual, too, such a proceeding would have shocked no one more than the chief Reformers themselves. Just as Wesley, by anticipation, condemned (as though he foresaw them) the precise errors of Wesleyanism—just as Calvin was the very man that denounced Sabbatarianism, and wished to change the Lord's Day to Thursday, and mourned over the lack of Bishops in the Churches he founded;—so here also. Cranmer and his coadjutors aimed at nothing more earnestly than the preservation of the continuity of the Church. Shallow people now regard them as the conscious founders of a new sect. To lose communion with the Pope, or to condemn foreign Churches, was the last thing they desired to do. Those who claim *par excellence* to represent them

now, regard the Pope as Antichrist, and the whole Church in communion with him, as worse than the very Mohammedans. The chief motives that actuated them arose from an honest and patriotic indignation against the abusive tyranny of the Papal Court. They are considered now as having rather contended for the very essence of the Gospel against the apostate Papal Church. In a word, their intention was to reform, not to rebuild; they aimed at getting rid of abuses of comparatively recent standing, first of a practical, and then in time also of a doctrinal, character; and the last thing they desired was to be made Popes of themselves.

Mr. Blunt, let us say in conclusion, need not make matters worse than they really are against Baxter and his new Prayer-book. We believe he took a fortnight—not “a single night”—to compose that unlucky production. The case is bad enough, even so. And both at the hands of opponents and of friends, poor Mr. Baxter speedily found that he had committed a blunder, as well as a fault. Some of our extremely foolish modern compilers of Revised Prayer-books might profitably take warning by the fate of one so infinitely superior to themselves, yet so pitifully below the task with which both he and they have presumed to meddle.

ENGLISH PURITANISM AND ITS LEADERS².

ENGLISH Puritanism was the sister of Scotch Presbyterianism, although, happily for us on the south of Tweed, their fates have been widely different. And plain marks of a bias against the English Church are accordingly traceable in the pages of these Lives, loosely as Dr. Tulloch sits to Presbyterian feeling or Presbyterian doctrine. The study of Puritan authorities, pursued under an inclination to find the Church in the wrong, would render it a hard matter for even a strong mind to preserve a consistent impartiality. Dr. Tulloch, for instance, would not so quietly assume the Thirty-nine Articles to be Calvinistic if he had really examined the question. Of course he never heard of Archbishop Laurence's conclusive book on the subject; or he would have known that they have just as much to do with Calvinism itself as with the Westminster

* “English Puritanism and its Leaders: Cromwell, Milton, Baxter, Bunyan.”
By John Tulloch, D.D., Principal and Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, in the University of St. Andrews, &c. (Blackwoods.) *Guardian*, Sept., 1861.

Confession—i.e. just nothing. Again, Dr. Tulloch endorses, with one word of mild qualification, the black picture drawn by Baxter of the state of the Church in Baxter's boyhood. We could find scores of Dissenters at this day, who could talk loudly of the unspiritual and dumb-dog character of the parsons and the Church-people. Would Dr. Tulloch accept their evidence? He would shew great ignorance of human nature if he did. And Baxter, it should be remembered, wrote this account in his old age, when soured by a persecution, unjustifiable indeed, but provoked by his own hasty and forward temper. That the results of such an earthquake as the Reformation must have included much unsettlement of old religious feeling, unsupplied by its newer forms and ways, is, of course, plain. It is plain, too, that there must have been broad defects in the power of religious teaching possessed by that Church, in which a Puritanism antagonistic to the Church grew to be popularly thought to be the great form of vital piety; just as it was subsequently with the Wesleyan movement, and (let it be added) as it has not been with that of the Evangelicals, many of the best of whom have been absorbed into Church principles, and who as a body have clung to the Church. But Baxter's picture is in itself a manifest exaggeration, and is contradicted as a picture of the Church in general by abundant counter-evidence. The most preposterous, however, of Dr. Tulloch's statements relates to Cromwell's Tryers. We look to the bottom of the page, and find Baxter's "*Unprejudiced Evidence!*" as the authority; and our wonder is transferred from the unfairness of Dr. Tulloch to his credulity. His account literally runs thus (let our readers note the euphemism in the way in which Cromwell's bitter and outrageous persecution of Episcopacy—i.e. the Church—is mentioned):—

"What to do, however, with the ecclesiastical arrangements of the kingdom, was a more difficult question (for Cromwell to deal with). Episcopacy was abolished: Presbytery had not taken its place; and great disorder and much inefficiency—

(Did Dr. Tulloch ever read Edwards's *Gangræna*? and does he think "disorder" and "inefficiency" adequate words for the hideous abominations that polluted the land now Puritanism had had its swing?)—

in the Christian ministry prevailed throughout the country. Cromwell very wisely did not attempt to set up a consistent form of Church government. He did not trouble himself with the mere machinery of Christian instruction: but

he determined to carry a thorough reform into the spirit and character of the instruction itself. He did not care particularly whether the clergy were Presbyterians, or Independents, or even Anabaptists—(Episcopacy, as identified with malignancy and royalism, was not embraced in his system)—so that they were faithful, peaceful, Christian men. With the view of securing such a result, he appointed a commission for the trial of public preachers, composed of the most distinguished Puritan clergy, with certain laymen added to them, and further appointed, in the same spirit, commissioners in each county, to inquire into 'scandalous, ignorant, and inefficient' ministers, and have their places supplied with faithful men. Arbitrary as such commissioners were in their constitution, there exists undoubted evidence"—

(i.e. Baxter says so: luckily other evidence exists to correct his "unprejudiced" evidence)—

"of the fairness and tenderness, as well as thoroughness, with which they executed their task, and the widely beneficial influence which they exerted. Able and serious preachers who lived a godly life, of what 'tolerable opinions soever they were,' multiplied throughout the land, so that many thousands of souls blessed God for what had been done."

It is hardly possible to transcribe this passage without adding to every clause and to every epithet what Dean Alford somewhere calls shrieks, in the shape of notes of admiration. It would be literally true if every word were exactly inverted. As it is, it is simply laughable. Dr. Tulloch had better read Walker as well as Calamy, and in general study the period through other spectacles than those of Baxter; and then he would find some other qualification of the above and the like passages necessary, besides the grudging admission in a note, that "no doubt, also, hardships were inflicted under such a system!"

We must not, however, refrain from testifying to the literary ability with which both Baxter, Milton, and Bunyan are treated by Dr. Tulloch. He has made also a kind of unity in his book, by treating of Cromwell "as the military and political genius" of Puritanism, of Milton as "the highest expression of its intellect," of Baxter as exemplifying its "ecclesiastical and theological spirit," and of its "spiritual and social character" in Bunyan. Nor could any one read his sketches of each without deep interest or without finding many pregnant suggestions of valuable lines of thought, however incapable of sharing even the critical and discriminating admiration for his heroes that is felt by Dr. Tulloch. It is true we cannot help the intrusion of a feeling of fear for modern Presbyterianism. As we do not regard the path from Romanism to the

Church to be through infidelity, or hold that a man who believes too much must come to believing what he should through believing nothing at all; so neither do we hold it desirable that a reaction from narrow and groundless Presbyterian dogma should take the shape of holding all or most creeds to be alike, so that the believer be "a faithful and peaceful Christian man;" if, indeed, such a conjunction of good life and false belief be a thing possible. We do not accuse Dr. Tulloch of having reached this point. Far otherwise. But his views incline in that direction. And those to whom his influence extends will go further than he does. We must candidly suggest to him, that true wisdom would not discard all dogma because some dogmatism has proved untenable, but would, in throwing aside the false, adopt the true in its place.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*.

PEOPLE have talked often of the fallacy of statistics. Mr. Stoughton's book is an instance of the parallel fallacy of documents. Taking great pains to quote from contemporary sources, Mr. Stoughton has compiled a history, which is his contribution to the Dissenting Bicentenary. He has made out a case for the heterodox, and against the Church, at the time of the Restoration. And he has done this in each point out of the mouth of some actual witness, writing of things, *quorum magna* (rather perhaps *minima*) *pars fuit*. Unfortunately for the inference which he intends, it would be at least equally easy and equally convincing to counterbalance his book by another, drawn likewise from the very words of contemporary documents, which should establish the exact contradictory of that at which he aims. Each class of witnesses bears testimony, first to his own side of the facts, because he knows them best, and secondly, in most cases to his own side of opinions, out of prejudice. And the impartial historian must do throughout what Mr. Stoughton only does in part—he must not only look up original documents, but must look them up thoroughly on both sides, and weigh their commonly conflicting testimony fairly.

* "Church and State Two Hundred Years Ago: a History of Ecclesiastical Affairs in England from 1660 to 1663." By John Stoughton. (Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.) Glasgow, June 25, 1862.

Mr. Stoughton's knowledge, indeed, is not altogether equal to his task. To note a few instances. He tells us in page 5, as if it was a discovery relating to the Independents of Newport Pagnell, and gleaned by himself out of a recondite old pamphlet, that marriage was there celebrated by the *magistrate*, after publication of the banns in the *market*, in the days of Cromwell. Does he not know that Cromwell had anticipated our religious modern legislators, and had made this the law of the land? After 1653 no other marriage, but such as is here described, was legally valid. Again, in p. 4, the dislike of using the singing Psalms felt by Independents is attributed by guess to fear of persecution. That dislike may be traced to a very different cause. It sprang from the direct objection on principle to the use of Jewish Psalms by Christians, an objection started by Cartwright, and maintained by writers like Howgil in the Commonwealth time. Edwards even tells us that sundry Independent congregations "clapt their hats on contemptuously" when Psalms were used; just as Dr. Owen, another of Mr. Stoughton's heroes, is said to have been wont to do at the Lord's Prayer, if ever any was rash enough to use it in St. Mary's at Oxford in his hearing. Again, in p. 18 we have Sanderson mentioned as tolerated by the Government, although an Episcopalian. Does Mr. Stoughton not know by what questionable equivocations alone, condemned by his own brethren, Sanderson contrived to hold on for a while, using a sort of Prayer-book in disguise? A pretty toleration truly. The fifties, too, were all very well for a pretext, and as an involuntary confession of wrong-doing. Mr. Stoughton's note shews how rarely any ejected Episcopal clergyman ever actually received them. And if it were desired to give a fair account of the kind of treatment meted out by Cromwell to the Church, it would have been somewhat better to print at length (what Mr. Stoughton says nothing of) the "Act for Ejecting Scandalous, Ignorant, and Insufficient Ministers" in 1654, the really operative act, followed by that for the Triers, which constituted the actual attitude of Cromwell towards the Church; wherein reading the Prayer-book service publicly is ranked with drunkenness and adultery and the like, as equally bringing the offender under the definition (and its consequences) of "scandalous." Again, although Baxter is better authority than the "experience" of one Baker, quoted in p. 10 (with, however, a slight sensation of incredulity in the quoter), yet Mr. Stoughton must be more content to read history through another man's spec-

tacles than we are, if he takes for true Baxter's assertion that "the Commonwealth Government was favourable to spiritual religion." If one would have devised an engine for promoting hypocrisy, none better could have been imagined than that of the Triers. And the actual result of the whole system—the very excess of the reaction under the Restoration—proves to demonstration the mischievous effect upon real religion, which was, indeed, the natural and only possible result of unmitigated Puritanism. That system, which literally produced in the northern kingdom the veritable Cant with a C himself, is answerable for the temper, of which that unhappy minister was, it is to be presumed, the personification. And the thing, though not the name, was not confined to the north of the Tweed. Undoubtedly many a piece of true gold was refined in the furnace of affliction, through which all sober and sound religion passed at that time. But no one can be acquainted with the painfully blasphemous religious literature of that date, without perceiving that Baxter simply judged by the partial success of his own side. George Fox, on the one hand, and Crisp and Eaton and the Antinomians on the other, are a tolerable comment on the hollowness of the Kidderminster Presbyterian's self-gratulation. And if Mr. Stoughton rests his faith upon Baxter's devotional works, we commend to him a perusal of Parsons' "Directory," and desire to know whether the truly religious tone of that book will make him believe the truth of the bitter and treasonable controversial statements made by the identical Jesuit Parsons who wrote it. In truth he might just as well believe the not uncommon assertion of Dissenting ministers at this day, that no Church clergyman ever converted anybody, and the spirituality is confined to the asserter's particular sect. Yet perhaps, again, one could not expect that Mr. Stoughton should refrain from calling poor Archbishop Sharp a traitor, although any fair judge (witness the statement of the case in Mr. Grub's recent history) must know that he was really not so. But it is an indication of the degree of confidence to be placed in our author's power of being fair, that he insinuates, without a shadow of ground for it, that the said imaginary treason began even in Holland, before Charles came over.

We drop in at random upon a later part of the book. At p. 208 we find a serious complaint of unfairness, because the Bishop of London passed over Baxter and Calamy in the election to Convocation in 1661. Mr. Stoughton is evidently ignorant that the Proc-

tors to Convocation for the diocese of London are elected two for each archdeaconry, the Bishop choosing two out of the whole number (at that time ten) so returned. Sheldon on this occasion chose Thorndike and Dr. Haywood. The remaining six might as reasonably have complained of being unjustly passed over as Baxter or Calamy. The latter part of Mr. Stoughton's work, however, although equally inspired by anti-Church feeling, is yet based on a more thorough and fair knowledge of facts than the earlier. We see no reason to complain of his account of the passing of the Act of Uniformity, or even of the facts of his narrative of the Savoy Conference, however widely different is our estimate of the relative wisdom and justice and sound reason in the two sides there opposed. The common outcry about the shortness of time between the publication of the revised Prayer-book and the day appointed for its signature—a thing, be it noticed, for which the Church of England as represented in Convocation is in no way responsible—is fairly silenced, by the fact that inability to have read the book before the day appointed was expressly allowed as a legal impediment requiring extension of time, and that such extension was, in some cases, actually granted. The alleged haste, again, in which the Prayer-book itself was revised in Convocation, is explained and accounted for by the laborious preparations already made by the leading Bishops before Convocation began. At the same time, with the full admission that Mr. Stoughton means fairness, it cannot be admitted that he has attained to it. He has found what he has looked for. He has put down, probably, nothing as a fact that does not rest upon evidence: and certainly nothing that he does not fully believe to do so. Yet a Churchman, looking up documents with an opposite bias, would find no difficulty whatever in making out a conflicting case.

And, after all, the real gist of the case turns upon principles which Mr. Stoughton would, no doubt, conscientiously ignore. The particular means by which the ecclesiastical settlement of the Restoration was brought about, the personal character of the leading men on both sides, the character of Charles, and his swerving from promises made when he thought Presbyterianism strong, as soon as he found it was weak, the inconsistency of the Presbyterians themselves, who hampered their own efforts to obtain toleration by nothing so much as by their own fierce refusal to include Romanists in the like (a point, by the way, of which Mr. Stoughton is very

shy),—all these are fair matters of historical discussion, and of infinite importance in regard to the persons themselves who were the main agents in the business. But our own question in this nineteenth century is with the settlement itself, not with the means by which it was brought about. And that settlement was, in effect, the very saving of the Church of England as a Church legally established. Any compromise would have hopelessly ranked the Establishment among the sects. That Establishment would have lost her position as against the Churches of the Roman communion. She would have forfeited—what is far more valuable—her right to be a branch of the one Church Catholic. That so much of earnest Christian piety should have been mistaught into a perverted opposition to such a settlement, is, indeed, to be unfeignedly regretted. But to have sacrificed essential truth to the perverse zeal of even good men, would have been none the less a weakness and a sin; such as Mr. Stoughton himself, judging by the tone of his book, would have been the last to approve, had he felt or admitted the importance of Church principles themselves.

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND^b.

MR. DEBARY has not added to our information respecting the Church history of the period he has chosen. His book is not one of research. He has turned over no pamphlets and searched out no MSS., and has drawn, indeed, from no new sources whatsoever. What he has done is to put us in possession of a readable and nicely written but sketchy chronicle of the main outward events of a period hitherto rather put out of sight by English Churchmen. He has written a candid and impartial compendium, from a Church (but by no means an extreme) point of view, of the revolution in the Church parallel to that of the same period in the State, which has arrogated to itself the name of *The Revolution*. He has given us a continuation of Collier, through years which we are accustomed to regard as the time of the birth of an infidel school, of the formal establishment of schism in the land, and of the gradual conversion of the Church herself (so far as could be) into a political

^b "A History of the Church of England from the Accession of James II. to the Rise of the Bangorian Controversy in 1717." By the Rev. Thomas Debary, M.A. (Bell and Daldy.) *Guardian*, May 10, 1861.

and worldly instrument of mere police, instead of a spiritual and divine ordinance for the salvation of souls.

It is time, perhaps, that our view of this period should be sifted and re-adjusted in a reverent and Church-like spirit. And we should have felt more obliged to Mr. Debary, if, instead of merely re-casting the old materials, and telling us the political history of the Church, he had worked up the hitherto overlooked evidence to her continued spiritual life, and had devoted his powers to the elucidation of that inward history of religion of which outward events are the mere mechanical framework. If a man were to judge of the present Church of England by the "Times" newspaper, or of the present tone and state of her clergy by Mr. Jervis's advertisements or by those in the "Record," or (on another side of the subject) by the two beneficed Essayists, or of the Universities by the exceptional and untrue caricatures of the author of "Tom Brown," he would form a notoriously wrong judgment. He would share in Lord Macaulay's most unhistorical defect, of drawing an uncharitable conclusion from partial and narrow premises—of filling up a full-faced portrait with no better data than a distorted caricature of a profile. Yet much the same kind of judgment we suspect has been passed upon the Revolution and post-Revolution periods. The irreligion and worldliness of most statesmen and of many divines at those eras, and the unhappy and mischievous measures dealt out to the Church both by friends and foes, have been the rule of men's judgments respecting the inner life of the Church herself. We feel convinced that a much better tone of religion could be traced, by those that would look for it, during those times of affliction and trouble, than we in our present self-complacency are apt to allow. And *this* is the line of inquiry which we should have indicated to the Church historian, who desired to carry on our Church history through these times. It is one of the best features of Dr. Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," that he bears in mind throughout that undercurrent of religious life, which often runs strongest when the surface is ruffled by political storms and worldly quarrels. Mr. Debary has not neglected the subject, but we could have wished that he had done more in the like direction than the too scanty mention of such topics in his volume supplies.

However, it is hardly fair to quarrel with a historian for choosing his own line. And if the merely outward history of the Church

during the period in question is political far more than theological, that is no fault of the historian himself. Mr. Debary brings, at any rate, a fair judgment and a reverent temper to his task. And he writes in unaffected and usually (not always) clear language. His book also fills a gap hitherto unfilled by Church writers. We are bound to say, however, that the mere outline of history, which the volume professes to give, is not sketched with the power of a writer so fully possessed himself with the details as to be able to compress without omitting what is essential. Of the short notices in the early part of the book, it would be unfair to speak. They are introduced with an apology. We will only say of that of Jeremy Taylor, that it is a pity the one portion of his life noticed should be noticed incompletely. Mr. Debary could hardly have read Taylor's own unhappy letter about his Irish Bishopric without discovering that he at least—the person most concerned—certainly did think a "slur cast upon him" by banishment to Down and Connor, even with the magnificent addition of Dromore. And looking at Taylor's writings, and the exceeding freedom of opinion contained in them, we do not think it hard to discover motives which may have swayed the orthodox divines who then influenced the Church, in designing such a banishment. Our remark, however, extends to the volume as a whole. Throughout, as it seems to us, the reader is continually brought to a standstill at the end of a narrative with *Oliver Twist's* famous question on his lips. Not only does Mr. Debary commonly refrain from expressions of opinion, or gently hint at the line his remarks would take if he made them; but his narrative itself appears to us rarely to convey a full, and never an impressive, picture of the subject in hand. He has produced a very useful chronicle, but hardly a history.

We extract one passage where, with a tacit reference, we suppose, to Lord Macaulay, Mr. Debary has accumulated a more than ordinary amount of facts to establish his point. The extract will serve also to give an idea of the style of the book :—

"The poverty of some of the clergy, the luxury of others, afforded in the time of Queen Anne a theme of general conversation. It was remarked that there were numbers of men but country curates, or the incumbents of insignificant livings, who, with the money spent upon their education, might long since have realised a competency in any other walk of life, such as they would as clergymen never enjoy. This is the same story so often repeated in our days, and we witness with little satisfaction the many straits to which

the clergy are driven to eke out their narrow fortunes. As was the case then, the total income of the Church, however equitably distributed, is insufficient for the support of so numerous a body, and the appearance which, notwithstanding these circumstances, the clergy make, must be attributed to causes in force even before the Revolution. Many of this body were then, as now, men of good families. There were then, as now, second sons in orders, to whom have reverted the titles and fortunes of their elder brothers. There were many possessed of private means, and being without preferment, were, as Addison expresses it, rather 'of the science than of the profession.' Others, again, there were of health too delicate to hold cures at all, and welcome in the best of all society, which is that of men of virtue and talent, where even rank seeks to be admitted, and cheerfully accords to genius a higher distinction than titles confer."

(We cannot forbear asking whether only the *sick* and unbeneficed clergy contained these virtuous men of good breeding ?)—

"For example, take the character, no doubt drawn from the life, of the clergyman of 'exact good breeding' and 'general learning,' who was so welcome at the Spectator's Club; or as illustrating the position of the clergy, we may refer to Dr. Robinson the diplomatist, or even to Dean Swift, admitted to the greatest intimacy with Ministers of State and courtiers. In a letter of the elder Atterbury to his son, afterwards so celebrated, we find allusion made to the custom of a young clergyman making his fortune by a splendid marriage. The Bishop of London of this time was sixth son of the Earl of Northampton; the Bishop of Exeter was Sir Jonathan Trelawney, the head of one of the most ancient families in the west of England; the famous Sacheverell . . . was of good family and fair position; and when we add these facts to those which have already been mentioned respecting the poor clergy, we shall be disposed to admit that in the reign of Queen Anne the general character of the English clergy, as far as their *status* was concerned, was, though very similar, if anything, higher than it is at the present time. Although we are accustomed to imagine the stately parsonage, which rivals the church in importance, and not unseldom excels it, is only the creation of recent times, it is certain that some of the most imposing parsonages to be found in the kingdom were erected during the reigns of William and Anne. Non-residence, however, it must be remarked, was far more prevalent than it is at the present day. The clergy flocked much to London, particularly the Nonjurors, many of whom were driven to great extremities to pick up a livelihood; and as in those days they walked the streets in full canonicals, the casual spectator was struck with the numbers of the clerical body. The reader is requested to bear in mind, that these facts are adduced simply as illustrating the social rank and importance of the clergymen of the time. Their learning, piety, and zeal form a question of another kind."

A note cites that amusing passage from Evelyn's Diary, which speaks of the discourse of the minister of Althorpe as the shortest

he (Evelyn) ever heard, but "what was defective in the amplitude of the sermon he supplied in the largeness and convenience of the parsonage-house," which he "had new built and made fit for a parson of quality to live in."

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY^c.

It is an old story, that one of Foxe's martyrs had the pleasure once of contradicting in his own person the circumstantial tale of his own death, when read out from Foxe by some zealous minister in church. We have no call to defend such a writer as Foxe. Yet, in books of a like order to his—we mean books which profess to be based upon a mass of personal details—mistakes are always inevitable to some extent, and in past times must necessarily have been numerous. A file of the "Times," supplemented and corrected by provincial newspapers of both parties, political or theological, would supply pretty fairly accurate information upon such subjects to a modern inquirer. Foxe in his time and his Romanist counterpart Bridgwater, or even Dod, and Calamy with his Puritans, and, still more, Walker, who wrote in a subsequent generation to that of which he treated, were driven to sources of information more fragmentary and less sifted by publicity. All we have a right to expect is, that a writer in such a case shall have taken the utmost pains in his power to ascertain facts, and shall shew a spirit of fairness in dealing with them. And if under these conditions he shall present a mass of evidence, too copious and gathered from sources too various to be explained on any other hypothesis than its substantial truth, then we are entitled, or rather bound, to admit him to have made out his case, even though there were here and there inaccuracy of detail. The present epitome of Walker's book shews him to possess these substantial requisites of a *locuples testis*. The collections made for that book still exist, buried among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, and disinterred thence in the course of the valuable labours of the recent and present Bodleian staff. An examination of them, of which the results are here given, proves—what alone we are concerned to

^c "The Sufferings of the Clergy during the Great Rebellion." By the Rev. John Walker, M.A., sometime of Exeter College, Oxford, and Rector of St. Mary Major, Exeter. Epitomised by the Author of the "Annals of England." (J. H. and J. Parker.) *Guardian*, August 20, 1862.

prove—the honest and diligent pains taken by Mr. Walker to collect and to sift testimony. It seems to follow from the nature and amount of his materials, that the veracity of his book, and its general conclusions, are henceforth established.

The book contrasts favourably with Calamy's in another point also. Mr. Walker deals in documents and facts. The Puritan list-maker goes off very commonly into laudations of his heroes. "Good old Mr. Simeon Ash," e.g., appears by that divine's own recorded words to have been a bitter and prejudiced railer. Calamy's eulogistic epithets afford no disproof of the fact, but simply recoil upon the general trustworthiness of Calamy himself. Contrast with this the documents in Chap. 5 of the present epitome: and little doubt can exist as to which kind of book claims most credence.

In truth, even upon the broad facts of history, it is patent that any comparison between the persecution of the Church during the Commonwealth time, and that (so to call it) of the Nonconformists under Charles II., must dwarf the latter into a comparative trifle; and that in particular the specifying the Act of Uniformity as an item in the latter "persecution," is simply the shallowest of all possible impudence. To take first the general case, there is, we suppose, some slight difference between being turned violently by usurpers out of rightful ownership, and being ejected by law out of wrongful usurpation,—between a wholly prohibited Prayer-book and an occasionally licensed meeting-house,—between being starved, banished from their parishes, and even murdered, and the being forbidden simply to live within five miles of a market-town,—between belonging to a proscribed party, and liable to be insulted and sequestered as "malignants" as well as "prelatists," and being the petted ministers of a minority indeed, but a minority of no small wealth and influence, and wielding considerable power both in the State and socially,—lastly, between the entire clergy of the national Church, including the Universities, 7,000 clergy at the least computation (and reckoned at 30,000 persons if their families be included), and some 2,000 ministers at most (to take their own round numbers), and probably several hundreds fewer. It is not for us to advocate either the wisdom or the righteousness of even the minor degrees of compulsion which Charles's Government chose to employ. But any one who compares the life, under Charles, of even Baxter, with that of English clergy under the Comm-

wealth, until Cromwell in some little degree protected them, will have no difficulty in adjusting the relative amounts of the guilt of persecution in the two cases.

The outcry against the Act of Uniformity is far more preposterous. Unless restitution be injustice,—unless the compelling the clergy to believe what they profess to teach, or to give up their office, be persecution,—unless the condoning of past usurpation on condition of present honest conformity be oppression,—unless the restoration of competent men, speaking generally, in the room of the ignorant, and of orthodox divines instead of fanatics, be an unjustifiable act of State power, giving force to the determination of the Church,—then was that much-abused act the most just, honest, merciful, and wholesome act the Legislature ever passed. Those who desire to hold office in the Church while disbelieving her doctrines, and those who desire to overthrow those doctrines and the Church herself with them, may very naturally combine to assail it. And the miserable temper of the present times, which rebels against the wholesome yoke of fixed objective truth, will lend its weight to aid the assault. But honest Churchmen who love the truth, and wise men who value a settled standard, and thoughtful men who consider that the State thereby simply sanctions what the Church determined, and that the formularies of the Church thus sanctioned open the widest possible field for freedom of thought consistent with the substantials of the Christian faith itself, will, we trust, rally the more to the defence of our present position, through the pitiful attack just now being made upon it.

The Epitomist appears to have made a fair selection from Mr. Walker's pages in the volume before us. It will supply a wholesome antidote to the absurd misrepresentations which the Bicentenary has called forth among Nonconformists. We, at least, have nothing to fear from the fullest search into the history of those unhappy times of the Commonwealth, when Dissent shewed by the actual results what are its natural tendencies when there is the fullest liberty to develope them.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THE
PIOUS ROBERT NELSON^d.

AMONG other desiderata in our English Church literature (acknowledged but not supplied by the abortive attempt made some twenty years since under the auspices of Dr. Newman) is a brief *Acta Sanctorum*—one that shall begin from the beginning, and vindicate to us the Saints of early and of mediæval England, the Bedes and the Bonifaces, the Willibrords and Richards, and again the Grostetes and the Peacocks, the Anselms and the Bradwardines; and this in a sensible and in a loyal spirit; and which shall also gather from their obscurity or from the scattered volumes in which they lie, the records of the good and holy men who have formed an unbroken series in England from the days of Hooker and Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar to those of many still spared to us. The two portions of such a work are alike needed, though for different objects. The former would link us by something of a living tie to the earlier English Churchmen who are our true forefathers in the faith. The latter, even if it were confined merely to laymen, would shew enough and to spare to vindicate us against imputations made too often by those whom delicacy of feeling as well as truth and charity should keep silent. It would meet also the precise difficulty that lies hardest upon some, not the least valuable, of our own communion, whose faith is of the heart more than of the head, and who are more apt to be shaken by an alleged poverty of good deeds among us than by abstract arguments. And it would reveal, moreover, an often unsuspected antiquity in many a modern scheme of charity, would encourage and guide us in our efforts by the tales of past successes and of past failures, and would too frequently be of service merely by shaming us into a higher tone of mind and one more forgetful of self by glorious examples of unselfish and lofty faith. We cannot but think, too, that the roll of "pious" men—the old-fashioned English for the ancient "Saint," and a word which we cannot afford to surrender to a narrow school within ourselves—would supply in its later centuries, a type of Christian character well worth studying, and peculiar to ourselves. The art of living a Christian life without any formal or violent disruption of social or family ties, and that of practically working out schemes of

^d "Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Pious Robert Nelson." By the Rev. C. F. Secretan, M.A. (Murray.) *Guardian*, April 4, 1860.

charity—the art, in short, of living as a Christian *in* the world, and not out of it—is not this, in the former portion of it, signally our own? and in the latter, is it not so in a high degree, although in this we allow that our dexterous French neighbours have often excelled us. Certainly, for the type of plain and sensible, and although unimaginative, yet sterling Christian worth, no one needs to search further than our English worthies, fitly so named. And any one would do service to the best of causes, besides producing a most interesting book, who should do no more than collect together in the briefest possible form all the schemes of charity and of religion, and a short account of those who devised or executed them, in our own post-Reformation communion. Their memory is, in many cases, perishing away, in many has long since perished; and the sources whence information may be gathered are so fugitive and so various that such a work would come, we think, with the effect of surprise upon many who are well read in ordinary Church history, and upon still more who are apt to cover all English religious efforts connected with the Church during the last couple of centuries with an indiscriminate and ignorant censure.

Mr. Secretan, meanwhile, has done Churchmen service by this excellent companion volume to Mr. Anderdon's "*Life of Ken*," written as it is with unaffected sense and feeling, and as the result of considerable research. His style is often involved, and he does not always tell his story lucidly. And there are occasionally what seem to us to be slight errors: as, e.g., the calling Lady Theophilus Nelson, who was an earl's daughter, simply Lady Nelson; which is a slip akin to the Gallicism of omitting a baronet's Christian name. But the work is well and carefully done as a whole, and is written with a right spirit and in a fair and sensible tone. The wonder, indeed, is, that it should have remained for a writer in the nineteenth century to execute the task.

For any detailed account of his more devotional thoughts and inner life, Nelson has left but little material beyond published works. But his writings, a considerable number of letters, the journals of the great Church societies, of which he was one of the originators, and the published accounts of the abundance of charitable schemes which arose in England in the early part of last century, and in all of which Nelson had a large share, leave us little to desire as regards the ordinary heads of biographical information. Nelson's letters, indeed, disappoint us, as much as his published

compositions do the reverse. There is a stiffness and a commonplace, yet unnatural, prosing in them, which is by no means relieved by the far-fetched quotations thrust in head and shoulders to fill up space. Thales, and Alexander ab Alexandro, and the Utopians, for instance, are laid under contribution to gratify a friend's marriage—nay, the writer even proceeds to the extreme of considering it possible that those may be right, who limit salvation to married men. But this, it must be said, was in the days of Nelson's zenith. Another letter jars upon more modern notions in a different way. One of Nelson's aunts was in poor circumstances, and by the intervention of a friend the nephew assisted her. But he considers himself, nevertheless, justified in taking her to task in the following style:—"I am sorry that reason has prevailed with my aunt to neglect her duty to God in the public worship. Pray satisfy yourself of her amendment in that particular, or else she will incur my displeasure; and, if you please, let her know, that, except I have a good account of her attendance at Church, I shall be discouraged in my kindness to her." It is to be feared that poor aunt Applewhite's subsequent attendance at "the public worship" was hardly likely to be really profitable to her: at least it was no fault of Nelson's if it was so. The bulk of his letters, however, are of a different tone. The temper of Nelson was of that affectionate kind which needs a friend and confidant; and to one of his pious tone of thought, that friend was, of necessity, one of a spiritual and devotional turn. First Tillotson, until his ill-gotten archbishopric shook the Nonjuror free from him (yet still an unbroken regard and love shewed itself both at Tillotson's death and in kindness to his widow); then Kettlewell, and lastly Hickes, occupied this first place in his affections; the last-named, until Nelson's formal severance from the Nonjurors and return to the communion of the Church. The account of Kettlewell's deathbed, written with a full heart and with the deepest sympathy and unity of religious feeling, reads very differently from the frigid commonplaces upon Dr. Mapletoft's marriage. We extract a portion of it. It sounds with something of the strain of a Christian Plato, or as if one was reading an episode in Bishop Berkeley's Dialogues; save the important difference that here we are reading the real words of a true Christian over an actual bed of death:—

"The afternoon before he died he was pleased to acknowledge my friendship towards him; but said his wife had no reason to expect the same to her.

I knew his concern for her, and gave him all the assurances of treating her as the relict of one whom I greatly esteemed and dearly loved. Some little time after this he turned to me as I sat by his bedside, and in a voice which I could hardly hear, said, 'Mr. Nelson, 'tis brave to go to a place where one can enjoy a friend without fear of losing him; where everything is agreeable, because neither sin nor sorrow enter; where there needs no sun to shine, forasmuch as God is the light of that place, and every saint is a star, each one's bliss is felt by every blessed inhabitant, and happiness is dispensed by a blessed circulation.' He added something about the New Jerusalem and the heavenly state, which I lost by the lowness of his voice and his difficulty in speaking. The same afternoon he desired his wife to read to him out of his book of Death, which she did at two several times; at which he was extraordinary devout, and very thankful to her, according to his usual custom, for her assistance. After this he called her to him, and said, 'Child, trust God with thyself; I trust Him with thee freely. God's providence is the best protection; and there is no such way to engage His good providence as by trusting Him.' Some time the same afternoon she asked him how he did; he answered her, 'Very praise-worthy well, I thank God, for one near departing.' The prayers in the last agonies were read to him, at his desire, out of that book which was made the companion of his sickness, and which was the last effort of his charity for the salvation of his brethren. He sunk all of a sudden; for being raised to take some chocolate for his refreshment, he died in a moment in that position."

We have no space to continue such extracts; and must refer the reader to the book itself for the interesting accounts which it contains of Nelson's private life and friends, including, in the list of the latter class, almost every one of note for piety and goodness at the time. A formal and casual contact and a cold demeanour towards Swift, to whom he once had occasion to write a note, bring out into stronger relief the affection and love of Nelson towards holier and better men.

But it is time to turn to that which makes this volume more than a biography, and gives it a title to be called a chapter in our Church's history. The revival of religion in the beginning of last century was marked by many striking features of similarity to that we have ourselves witnessed in the present. Differing outwardly in such points as æsthetics—the architecture of Queen Anne's churches would drive modern ecclesiologists into a fit of either laughter or indignation—differing also, as was but natural, in the readier employment of State interference in those days to back up (or rather, in truth, to mar) plans of charity or reformation, or again in the background of Jacobite and Nonjuror suspicions and quarrels, which served still more to complicate and embroil the

Church matters of that period, the two movements agree substantially in being distinctively Church movements. A stronger traditional Church feeling then lingered still in the country. On the other hand, politics were at that time more thoroughly mixed up with religious action. And a comparison between results leaves us with a mingled feeling of regret and satisfaction. On the one side, the late Bishop of London's churches were a distinctly successful work. What was projected was done; although, no doubt, much more remains, and ever will remain, to be done, to unravel the ever self-renewing web of spiritual destitution. Queen Anne's churches, on the contrary, which were the result, not of subscriptions, but of a vote of Parliament, were designed to be fifty-two, but only twelve were finished, and that at an enormous cost, and with an ugliness perfectly repulsive. On the other side, daily prayers and weekly Sacraments outnumbered any list to be produced now. There was none of that fratricidal and virulent opposition within the Church herself, which is the saddest feature of our own times. And a movement in the direction of encouraging personal religion took place throughout the country and within the Church, and in the middle classes of society, compared with which, in point of soundness and depth, our own Christian Young Men's Societies are as a tinkling cymbal or as a breath of empty wind. The movement then, indeed, was one of the middle classes, who were still attached to the Church. The wealthier class of merchants were not then outnumbered and outvoiced by the mass of smaller tradesmen, among whom lies (save in large manufacturing towns) the present strength of Dissent. And London, which is now far behind in the race of real religious improvement, then seems to have taken the lead. Many other schemes were set on foot at the time. And the two great Church societies, which date from that period, constitute its real and lasting fruit. The societies, however, for personal devotion, which were, in truth, a Church form of the subsequent Wesleyan classes, and which specially characterise that particular period to which we are referring, attract our interest more strongly. Such things do exist at this present time. But they have been almost always strictly private, and have not spread, so far as we know, very widely. Nor is there any publicly avowed society of the kind, we believe, except the very useful Guild of St. Alban:—

“In our enumeration (says Mr. Secretan) of these ‘ways and methods of doing good,’ as Nelson entitles them, the first place is due to the Religious

Societies of young men, which were founded in London about the year 1678. The narrative of their establishment recalls the circumstances under which the similar societies of St. Vincent de Paul were founded in Paris sixty years before. A few young men belonging to the middle station in life, impressed by the sermons of Dr. Horneck, the well-known preacher at the Savoy, and of Mr. Smithers, lecturer at St. Michael's, Cornhill, touched so with a sense of their sins, and earnestly desiring to live nearer to God, began to feel their need of closer and spiritual intercourse, and of mutual encouragement in the practices of piety. And they formed themselves, therefore, by the advice of some clergymen, into a religious society, the members of which agreed to meet together one evening in the week for religious conference; on which occasions they sang psalms and prayed, read portions of Holy Scripture, and discoursed upon some point of practical religion. They were all zealously attached to the Church of England, and when in King James the Second's reign they saw the mass celebrated daily in the Chapel Royal and elsewhere, they resolved, in a spirit of laudable emulation, to set up daily prayers at eight in the evening, at St. Clement Danes, when they 'never wanted,' we are told, 'a full and affectionate congregation.' Their earnest anxiety to guard themselves from declension in religion secured their frequent reception of the Holy Communion, and their carefulness to receive it with unimpaired reverence induced them to set up preparative lectures on the Sunday or Friday preceding its administration at many churches in town. And not content with receiving the Sacrament upon the holidays of the Church, they were in the habit of meeting at one another's houses on the vigils, or evenings preceding, in order to discourse piously upon the subject-matter of the day. To this anxiety to promote their own personal religion, they were not forgetful to add practical works of charity. Each member brought to the weekly conference a contribution proportioned to his means towards the common fund, out of which sums were granted for the relief of the poor, whom they sought out at their homes, for the maintenance of charity schools, in the establishment and management of which the members specially interested themselves, for the support of daily prayers and lectures, and for the promotion of Dr. Bray's designs in the American plantations. These societies did not pursue their path of piety and usefulness without having to contend against something of prejudice and suspicion. It was objected by men of duller sensibility in religion, who did not themselves feel the need of such spiritual intercourse, that their promoters were but setting up a Church within a Church, and refining upon the Christian communion, which was to be enjoyed at the Holy Table of every parish; while, with greater justice, the facility was pointed out with which such associations might be perverted to party purposes, and lead to the formation of sects within the Church, or of schisms from her pale. The unaffected piety, however, and the zealous labours of their members, prevailed over such contingent disadvantages, and obtained them the favour of Tillotson, Compton, and many other of the prelates; while the opportunity of sympathetic intercourse that they afforded to young men like-minded in religion, satisfied a genuine craving of human nature, and ensured them rapid increase and extension; so that at last as many as forty-two different associations held their meetings in London,

and similar societies were established at Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Drogheda, and many other large towns, and even in some rural parishes."

Nelson "gives these societies a foremost place amid the different methods which he enumerates, for promoting the life and spirit of Christianity at home; and, in the preface to his 'Festivals and Fasts,' he thinks proper formally to undertake the defence of their constitution." He tells us there that "there are two churches in London specially employed for their service," St. Mary-le-Bow and St. Dunstan-in-the-West, "where they as duly receive the blessed Sacrament upon all festivals, as they perform all the other acts of public worship." The "heartly thanks" of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were given to Nelson for his book, accompanied by special mention of his defence of these societies. And we find them mentioned in the next paragraph as existing at Sheffield, under the protection of the Archbishop of York, who had been "reconciled" to them mainly by Nelson's remarks.

We sympathise with Mr. Secretan's regret in having to record that "the sequel of these societies is melancholy and disappointing. They largely shared," it appears, "in the High Church enthusiasm of Queen Anne's reign, imbibed a tincture of Jacobite tendencies, became obnoxious to the new Government, and drew down some obloquy on the charity schools which they had supported. They perished in the decay of religion under the Georges, one of their last annual meetings at Bow Church being in 1738, where they listened to a sermon of Dr. Berriman, warning the members against being led astray by the irregularities of Whitfield. After that time, the warm piety which had animated these religious societies, and given such vigour to the Church's wish, was drained off into another channel."

What might not Wesley have done for the Church and for true religion, and for the mere cause of unity, had he followed the footsteps of these his predecessors in their earlier course, finding (as he might have done) abundant openings in their rules for the fullest exercise of personal religion and for the most intimate spiritual intercourse, without the perils, to which his own "classes" have given terrible opening, in regard both to personal sincerity and humility, and to the unity of the Church.

THE ORIENTAL CHURCH*.

THE relation of English Christians to those in communion with Rome has been too antagonistic to allow of forgetfulness on either side. Towards members of the Great Eastern Church it has been, on the contrary, one of pure ignorance, reaching in the minds of all except theologians (and they, too, are often not to be excepted), to the point of entire oblivion of their very existence. When doctors of divinity, indeed, were to be found in England who had never heard of the Scotch Church, it could not be the subject of much wonder if the millions of Eastern Christians, with whom we had, and could have, scarcely any actual intercourse, should have been as though they were not. And if the decay into which all real recognition of the bond of Church communion had fallen in England during the last century be taken also into account, together with that self-satisfied insulation, the reaction against which has had so much to do with recent Church troubles among us,—the little interest taken in the history and fortunes of that large (and, to our own theological position, most important) body of our Christian brethren, will excite small surprise. The real wonder is—and it is matter for thankfulness as well as wonder—that Catholic feeling continued sufficiently strong in the English Church to compel the founders of the Jerusalem Bishopric to pledge themselves, at least, against interference with Eastern Christians, however little that pledge may have been kept.

The course of events is bringing us now into closer contact with our Eastern brethren. Not simply, as in former times, is the Eastern Church dragged from obscurity, to supply mere paper arguments to polemical divines, seeking for facts to support foregone conclusions. Not simply—what was a more real step forwards—have we to do only with the isolated efforts of individuals of high station, possessed of wider and deeper views than their contemporaries—as of a Laud in his negotiations with Cyril Lucar, or as some later attempts of a similar kind. Nor with those, again, of bodies of Christians small enough to be looking round them for external support, as the Lutherans were when Melancthon tried to

* "Voices from the East: Documents on the Present State and Working of the Oriental Church." Translated from the Original Russ, Slavonic, and French, with Notes. By the Rev. J. M. Neale, M.A. (Masters.) *Guardian*, Dec. 14, 1859.

clutch at Eastern aid, or as our own Nonjurors, or as the Scottish Church more than once since the Revolution. Nor yet with mere private persons seeking to know the real truth about fellow-Christians, out of sympathy and Church feeling, as Mr. W. Palmer; or out of a spirit of mere honest inquisitiveness, as Canon Stanley. Circumstances, or rather Providence, is now bringing all the civilised world together, in a way in which it never was brought together before. And it is also bringing Russia and Greece, and Syria and Egypt, and the Christians of European Turkey within the sphere of the civilised world, as they never were brought before. And thus, though the event may not come yet, it must come, and that not long hence. And questions will have to be faced by Western theologians which have long gone to sleep among them. And elements will enter into Church disputes, which are not new indeed, because the facts have been there always, but which have not formed practical questions for centuries, if ever before at all. A great revolution cannot but result from such a re-casting of the relative positions of the different members of the one Catholic Church. It is quite impossible to forecast either the direction or the amount of the issues, which must result from the revival of the whole mass of Eastern Christians as a living element in the strife of Western theology and Western schisms.

What effect such a bringing together of the whole Church may have upon ourselves, is a question to make thoughtful men serious. It would seem to be a step, at least, towards the bringing about of that appeal from a part of the Church to the whole, which constitutes the true and defensible meaning of Protestantism, and which English theologians have always dwelt upon, as that whereon their case rested against the claims of Rome. But what of questions of a deeper kind than those of Church-order—of that of the Double Procession, for instance, in which our lot is cast in with that of Rome herself? Or that of baptism by aspersion, in which again, as an established practice, the Churches of the Roman communion and our own are together; and which, if our memory is correct, proved the obstacle in the mind of the Russian Church herself to the reception of Mr. Palmer into her communion? Or, again, of that Eastern *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin, which, indeed, differs wholly from that of Rome, yet differs likewise from the doctrine of the English Church? We cannot unite upon mere community of antagonism. The strength which we derive from the East against

the Papal Supremacy, or the Immaculate Conception, is, indeed, enormous; and the balance of comparative differences between the Eastern Church on the one side, and the Roman, or our own, on the other, would, we believe, turn out in our favour. Yet it is useless to shut our eyes to the difficulties that exist. It is useless to shut our eyes to broad external differences either in ritual or discipline, or in modes of thought and expression; still more to those which touch upon doctrine directly. And the greatest difficulty of all, perhaps, is one not hitherto mentioned, and upon our own side—namely, the amount of plausible grounds for confounding the English Church herself with the various Protestant sects which surround her, and the exceeding forgetfulness of all relations to the Church Catholic, which has unavoidably risen up from the practical independency of our own Church position.

However, of all the points we have named, we believe, and we heartily trust correctly believe, that not one involves a fundamental difference in the faith itself. Such has been the doctrine at all times of our great English divines, and, we trust, with good ground. And although it is to be feared that such men as Cyril Lucar, for instance, strained their own views, and unconsciously coloured those of their Church, in order to bring about an apparent harmony with Reformed confessions of faith greater than really exists, yet, if there be, indeed, no article of the faith in question, division would be a sin. And as regards other subjects, a Church like our own would possess an unanswerable claim in a General Council to retain her own national ritual and discipline, her entire English tone and modes of thought, so far as they are simply national; while Eastern and Western and Anglican alike must submit disputed questions of doctrine, apart from the faith settled once for all, to the collective Church. If such a day-dream as this shall ever, by God's mercy, come to pass, it is a comfort to remember, that in such special points as image-worship, the giving of the cup to the laity, compulsory celibacy of the whole clerical order, Transubstantiation, Indulgences, England and the East would be substantially united; while, on the main principle of Church authority, the East is so far from putting forward a claim to infallibility for herself, as though she alone constituted the Catholic Church, that (as is, indeed, remarkably and unmistakeably evidenced in the contents of the book now before us) she absolutely repudiates such a claim on her own behalf, and protests against it in the case of Rome. The account

of the Creeds and terms of communion in the Russian Church, at the close of the volume, is, in this respect, invaluable.

Mr. Neale's volume is one of his many precious contributions to a better knowledge of what the Eastern Church really is. His present publication relates to the Russian Church, and contains a selection of essays and letters written by Andrew Nicolaievitch Mouravieff, late Procurator to the Holy Governing Synod of the Russian Church, a form of prayer "in honour of the Divine Passion" of our Lord, by the late Archbishop of Odessa, and a summary of the Expositions of Faith employed by the Eastern Church. Of the essays, the first is entitled "Catholic Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism," and is directed against the Papal Supremacy, making considerable use of Mr. Allies's book. The second is a very jejune account of the great men of the Russian Church. The third describes the missions of that Church in Siberia, in order to disprove a statement common among Roman Catholics, and, we may add, not confined to them, disparaging to the missionary zeal of Russians. The fourth is the most crushing refutation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception that we ever remember to have read. The next two are letters, of no great interest. The prayers composed by the Archbishop of Odessa follow: in which—setting aside some five or six short addresses to the Blessed Virgin, and about as many brief conversations put into her mouth as one of the speakers, which are not recorded in Scripture—there is nothing that does not breathe the deepest, truest, and most Scriptural adoration of our Lord, and the most perfect dependence upon Him alone; while they are full of that real devotional spirit which does not shrink, although guided thoroughly by a chastened taste, from particulars; and dwells with a loving adoration upon the Scriptural details of our Lord's humanity and human life, such as we could wish had always distinguished English compositions of the same kind. We gather from the whole volume, not, indeed, any idea of the religious sentiment prevailing among Russians, clerical or lay, or of the social condition of the Russian Church, but a very fair knowledge of its controversial position as towards Rome, and of its dogmatic position generally. Passing over, with the briefest possible allusion, the change from Patriarchal to Synodical government in the Russian Church herself, and leaving wholly out of sight either the mode in which that change was accomplished or the present relations of Church and State in Russia, the writer of the first Essay conclu-

sively demolishes the Roman claim of Universal Headship; and does so upon grounds common to ourselves and to all Christian Churches, not by advancing rival claims, but by vindicating the rightful position of the other members of the one Church. We must look, however, for evidence of the inner life of the Russian Church to other sources than those (with the exception of the *Acathiston* or Prayers, above noticed) here given by Mr. Neale, in whose volume even the account of missions wears a dry and statistical aspect. Another volume is wanting to supply that which is a stronger bond of brotherhood than even dogmatic agreement—namely, evidence of a union in Christian love and spirit. And we know not where now to find such evidence accessible to English readers, except in the one little volume of “*Meditations*” which Mr. Malan recently translated.

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR †.

THIS deeply interesting volume is a sort of very short catechism “*On the Nature of the Syrian Church*,” composed by one of its clergy, and sent by him to Mr. Howard for publication, in an English translation made from the original Malayaline by the writer himself. It proves unfortunately, beyond a doubt, that the present Malabar Church distinctly means to be Jacobite, in that it not only uses the theological language which contains the Jacobite view, but also anathematises and rejects expressly the Council of Chalcedon. Theological language, in a subject so mysterious, has a meaning according as it is explained. But, as Mr. Howard’s thoughtful and charitable Preface points out and sets forth at length, explanations, which may still be possible if the question is confined to the usage of one or two technical terms, become excluded when the Council which gave those terms their orthodox meaning, and enjoined their use in that meaning, is rejected also. There would be other points upon which to come to an agreement, even if this fundamental one could be removed, before we could heartily co-operate with the Malabar Church. So much Mr. Philipos’s catechism, we are sorry

† “*The Syrian Christians of Malabar: otherwise called the Christians of St. Thomas.*” By the Rev. Edavalikel Philipos, Chorepiscopus, Cathanar of the Great Church at Cottayam, in Travancore. Edited by the Rev. G. B. Howard, B.A., &c. (James Parker and Co.) *Guardian*, Oct., 1869.

to say, reveals. But, no doubt, the maintenance of an error affecting the most vital doctrine of the Incarnation itself is the chief point to be got over. Others that do not touch the creed are but secondary. And even if the Jacobite heresy were healed by explanations, the *Filioque* clause would still remain between ourselves and the Syrians of Malabar, as unhappily it does between ourselves and all other Easterns. We do not say that this, too, could not be explained. But it would need explanation. However, we can still deal with them in charity and brotherly love, remembering our own shortcomings, not to add their weak and depressed state, and the worldly prosperity, comparatively speaking, of our own. It is to be feared that we have not always done so.

THE CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS AND THEIR LITURGIES §.

MR. HOWARD'S valuable little volume, as a contribution to our knowledge of Syriac liturgies, has taken its place in the list (no very long one) of trustworthy original authorities. He has given us a careful translation from original and in part newly obtained MSS., accompanied by useful notes, of six forms of the Syriac Liturgy, with some shorter forms appended. But we are principally led to draw renewed attention to his book, in relation to the schemes of re-union now so rife between the various separated branches of the Catholic Church. Mr. Howard has described, from personal observation, a Church, interesting in the highest degree in itself, and willing at first to welcome our own missionaries, but besides this, representing, and exclusively representing, the ancient Church of Southern India. Here, then, beyond all others, is *the* Church with which to begin to cultivate unity. We *must* come in contact with it, either as friend or foe. And upon any Church principle, its claim to the field stands *primâ facie* before our own. And even beside this, as a matter of self-defence, in the face of the myriad forms of a hideous heathenism, we ought to have grasped at

§ "The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies: comprising the Anaphoræ of St. James, St. Peter, the Twelve Apostles, Mar Dionysius, Mar Xystus, and Mar Evannis: together with the Ordo Communis: translated from Syriac MSS. obtained in Travancore." By the Rev. G. B. Howard, B.A., late Assistant-Chaplain in the Diocese of Madras. (J. H. and J. Parker.) *Guardian*, March 21, 1866.

the assistance of the one body of Christian men already in possession of the field. The Roman Catholics had been besieging that Church, and they have unhappily succeeded in it. It would have been, one might have thought, the instinct of self-preservation,—to say nothing of Christianity and the duty of unity,—to act ourselves upon wisely. And our Bishops, down to Bishop Wilson inclusive, and Heber, actually laboured to do so. We are now left with that Church. Rival missionaries set up their chapel with the Syriac churches, and, worse still, try to force upon them, at least, did at one time try to force upon them—the Catechism, and at this moment (as we learn from the *Church Chronicle*”) a Presbyterian minister is sent to the Church College. Why does the Bishop of Malabar sanction such proceedings?

There is, indeed, the question of Nestorianism, and of the one. But, in the first place, it is far from clear that the Church is formally or consciously committed to any heresy; in the next place, it is not this really fundamental error which in any way has led to the present miserable state. The alleged grounds of what is fearfully like a wilful schism on our parts, are of that character with which we are (perhaps, we may almost say, were) familiar enough in Eastern Catholic doctrines and Roman perversions of them hard enough to be confounded by the school whence most of our missionaries come, under one indiscriminate and deadly colour. And such accusations, therefore, are worthless until sifted.

It may turn out that the Syriac Christians are, after all, right, but in accordance with the real doctrines of our (the Catholic) Church. It may also turn out that they have fallen into corruptions and errors, owing to their isolation and other causes, which charitable and respectful discussion would give up. It may, no doubt, turn out also that the errors which we cannot at any price endorse by acquiescence, though even so there is a world-wide difference between remonstrance in love and a hard Pharisaic denunciation. We forsooth were all right and they all wrong. But at least quote Mr. Howard's account as the best evidence of the state of the case, written as it is in a spirit at once honest and honourable, and based upon a personal knowledge both of

and of men. And from this account we draw no such inference as would compel that last and most perilous step of withholding communion from an ancient and zealous and suffering Church.

Mr. Howard then cites from the "Madras Church Missionary Record" an indictment of eleven counts drawn up against the Syrian Church. These are—"1. Transubstantiation. 2. The Sacrifice of the Mass, in which it is said that the priest offers Christ for the quick and dead to have remission of pain or guilt. 3. Prayers for the dead. 4. Purgatory, or the possibility of a transition from an unpardoned to a pardoned state between the periods of death and judgment. 5. Worship of the Virgin Mary, supplicating her intercessions and observing a fast in her honour. 6. Worship of saints. 7. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 8. Extreme unction. 9. Attributing to the clergy power to curse and destroy men's bodies and souls. 10. Having pictures in their churches representing God the Father. 11. Prayers to the altar and chancel." The meaning of this last charge we must leave to the editor of the "Missionary Record" to explain. We presume he does not think the Syrians personify their chancels and make idols of them.

Mr. Howard, "in reference to the foregoing charges," observes, "that a belief in the Real Presence does not necessarily involve a belief in Transubstantiation; that the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th objections, and so much of the 5th as relates to worship, cannot, he believes, be substantiated by reference to any of the generally received Offices; and that while some of the remainder must be admitted, others are either frivolous or probably capable of satisfactory explanation." While, of "the tenth very serious charge," of which one instance is known to exist, it can only be said that "we ourselves might not without cause be charged with this very offence, and yet it would be a gross libel on the Church of England to represent her as ordinarily chargeable with such things because one or two instances of them are to be found." Translating this into the dialect of Anglican polemics, it appears to mean that the Syriac Church holds High Church doctrine, which may or may not have been pushed by them into untenable extremes, but of which we only know at present that the school in England, which denounces the substance as well as the perversion of that doctrine, makes also against its Syriac parallel the like indiscriminate onslaught that it is wont to make at home. Perchance the attack may turn out to be like foundation, or want of foundation, in both cases.

THE SO-CALLED JANSENIST CHURCH OF HOLLAND^b.

A CHURCH, like that of Holland, which combines in its own single history troubles so various as those which afflicted the Gallican Church in its relation to Rome, those of the Jansenists who were finally eliminated from her communion, those of the Roman Catholics in England under Elizabeth and James I., of the Episcopal Church of Scotland during the earlier Hanoverian reigns, and of the English Church herself in respect both to the continuance of Episcopal succession under Elizabeth and to recent Ultramontane invasions of her diocesan independence—to say nothing of the evil spirits of worldliness, simony, and pugnacity, through which, in common with most mediæval Churches, especially in Germany and the Empire, her very being as a Church in pre-Reformation days narrowly escaped being merged in a mere feudal barony—such a Church cannot but have an interesting and eventful history. And when it is added that in the bosom of this Church, in reaction from the combined secularity and ceremonialism of her mediæval state, sprung up the Brethren of the Common Lot (called by Mr. Neale Brethren of the Common Life, we know not why—community of goods was their rule, and thence their name), and from these Thomas à Kempis, and the tract *De Imitatione Christi*, the deeper interest arises of an eventful inner history touching the deepest springs of the Christian Life. The sympathy which can scarcely fail to be roused in English Churchmen by the present condition of this same national Church of Holland lends Mr. Neale's theme yet another ground of lively interest. And the almost entire silence of English books on the subject (even the Lutheran Mosheim, deposed, we hope, now effectually from his former position, kills off the whole history since the Reformation in one short sentence) gives to the present work an adventitious value, with which, however, its intrinsic merits would quite enable it to dispense.

How many English people, even educated English Churchmen, are aware, that there exists in Holland still, although numbering but three bishops and some 5,000 priests and laity, a Church

^b "A History of the So-called Jansenist Church of Holland; with a Sketch of its Earlier Annals, and Some Account of the Brothers of the Common Life." By the Rev. J. M. Neale, M.A., Author of "The History of the Holy Eastern Church," &c. (J. H. and J. Parker.) *Guardian*, April 14, 1858.

lineally descended from the ancient Archbishopric of Utrecht—i.e. the ancient Church of Holland? Roman, indeed, she is in doctrine, as Rome was reformed by the Council of Trent, but cut off from Rome against her own protest by the schismatical arrogance of Rome herself. A Church, the existence of which was preserved with difficulty at the violent period of the Dutch Reformation, under the *alias* of the Archbishopric of Philippi, being then still in communion with Rome, yet never sunk to be a mere Apostolic vicariate, and differed from the analogous case (in England) of the see of Chalcedon, in that the Utrecht see *in partibus*, was merely a pretence, to quiet their High Mightinesses the States, while the Archbishops were really consecrated all along to the see of Utrecht. A Church which gave birth half a century afterwards to Jansenius, and shared all the fortunes of Jansenism; save that in France infidelity in the interest of Rome expelled Jansenism, while in Holland the Church stuck to its colours, and was excommunicated in consequence, and then, in order to regain union, vainly denounced Jansenism, while maintaining, as she does to this day, that Jansenius was *not* a Jansenist in the sense of the celebrated Anti-Jansenian Formulary. A Church, lastly, which, after stretching words in the second Council of Utrecht in 1763 as near as they would go to Ultramontaniam without actually being Ultramontane, in order to appease Rome, and after seeking with pertinacious humility at each successive consecration of a Bishop down to the present moment to obtain reconciliation, and yet ever rebuffed with language the most insulting, has at length settled into the true Gallican position of protest against Ultramontaniam—whether of doctrine or of discipline, whether embodied in the decree of the Immaculate Conception, or in the absolute Papal fiat which now claims Divine infallibility:—while the Pope on his part has, in 1853, formally superseded, or tried to supersede, her by a new hierarchy of his own creation, precisely after the manner of a Papal aggression of similar date nearer home.

Let us note briefly the points of interest to us as English Churchmen, in the Church to which Mr. Neale introduces us. That Church is precisely in the position which the English Church would have occupied if the latter had either never reformed her doctrine, or had receded from such a reformation, and the State had also disestablished and persecuted her. Or, again, the Church of Utrecht is as the Scotch Church now is, save that the former retains Roman

doctrine, as Roman doctrine stood prior to its recent development. And here, indeed, the parallel is closer in detail than between her and ourselves, for as the Synod of Utrecht suffered through being mixed up with the expelled Spaniards. And in both cases, French aid to the protestants brought a temporary relief to the ecclesiastical, to be followed by a worse persecution. Yet, again, the English parallel is complete in one singular point of resemblance, viz., the narrative of the complete escape in both of a flaw in the Episcopal succession. The Bishop of Babylon was the Utrecht Barlow, or Kitchin, who consecrated four Archbishops in succession, from 1724 to 1734, in answer to Parker's consecration among ourselves. We find in the so-called National or Jansenist Church a Church that has taken her stand upon the Gallican, or English, principle of national against Roman, Councils against tradition against development; that has forced Rome to take the initiative in the schism, by persevering, in the face of every possible rebuff and insolence, in refusing to accept the offer of a truce; and that maintains herself consequently, setting doctrine in the very position which the English Church herself occupies in the position of protest and appeal, the position of perpetual schism, and that adopt a schism which she maintains that Rome causeless, and that the same Rome wilfully, by her arrogant persistence, continues.

The story of the Bishop of Babylon is odd enough—so odd that it must suggest the idea of a providential interposition in the midst of the besides blind admirers of the Church of Utrecht. Rome meant to deal with Holland as she had dealt with Portugal in the previous century—viz., to extinguish opposition by refusing to allow consecrations, and thus suffering the Episcopate to fall into disrepute. At the very crisis there drops from the skies at Amsterdam a man able and willing to frustrate the scheme. Dominique Martin, a French priest, had been a missionary in Canada, and then General of Louisiana, under the Bishop of Quebec. In 1724 he was made Bishop of Ascalon *in partibus*, and coadjutor of the Bishop of Babylon, had returned to France for consecration, passing through Amsterdam on his way by Russia to the East, and had been caught by an active priest of the Dutch National Church, who persuaded to confirm several hundred candidates. He passed

to the shores of the Caspian Sea to the scene of his mission, being by this time Bishop of Babylon, by the death of the prelate to whom he had been named coadjutor. While there, in consequence of his unconscious (so he said) intermeddling with Roman schemes at Amsterdam, he is suspended unheard, and returns forthwith to Europe by Amsterdam in order to appeal. And thus the Church of Utrecht finds a bishop ready to its hand, in a position at once of undoubted (Roman) orthodoxy, with a suspension issued against him, it is true, but by a notoriously uncanonical sentence, and ready to take any steps in favour of fellow-sufferers against the Popes who so unjustly wronged him.

Of Mr. Neale's execution of his task, it is sufficient to say, that he has searched all available sources of information for the special history of the later Church of Utrecht, and has produced a learned and adequate and well-written book. He is too fond of attempting the dramatic, or rather the "novel," style of introducing his personages in "situations," and then giving up the attempt in a line or two, and going back to narrative. But the great subject of the book is worthily handled; and, like his "*History of the Eastern Church*," this smaller work will become the standard book on its subject. The introductory chapters, however, are singularly sketchy; and that on the Brotherhoods of Gerhard Groot's founding especially so. But the interest of the book is in its subject, and in the bearing of that subject upon actual controversies and divisions in the Western Church. That those religionists in England who prefer an Evangelical alliance with Prussia should not feel much interest in anything tending to a like possibility with Utrecht, is likely enough. Those who feel towards the Dutch now, as they did towards the Gallican Church of Bossuet and his compeers, will turn with deep sympathy to much of what Mr. Neale's pages contain. And at least the Utrecht Church, whatever its future history, is more real and solid than that of which it reminds us, the Moravian Episcopate and Comenius in 1660. And our sympathies with the Dutch Bishops are something more substantial than the clutching in the hope of real external support at what turned out to be a mere shadow, on the part of Comenius' English friends.

From other interesting and little-known facts in Mr. Neale's work, we select the following amusing and yet sad account of the Roman Catholics of Holland, about the period of the Synod of Dort, when Calvinist persecution of them was at its height :—

"The churches, if so they may be called, constructed during this period some of which still remain, afford a lively picture of the dangers to which the Catholics were exposed. A house in some remote and unfrequented district of the city was selected; the whole of its interior was gutted, galleries of four or five, or even six stages, erected from top to bottom, every possible space of cornice or window-sill made available for auditors, while transverse apertures were opened in all directions, in order to afford for the faithful a view of the mysteries of the altar. Small round holes, concealed by sliding panels, commanded a view of all the passages by which the officers of justice might be expected to arrive. It is very much to be hoped that some of these curious buildings, which may still be seen at Amsterdam, at Utrecht, and at Haarlem, may be preserved to posterity, as a proof of the fidelity of the persecuted Church in Holland, and of the boasted toleration of Protestant rulers. They were frequently attached, or adjacent, to some tavern: thus at Amsterdam there were the churches of the Pigeon, the Moses and Aaron, the Green Tree, and the Parroquet. In summoning the Catholics to their meetings, and in giving warning of any danger, the Klopjes, or knocking sisters, were of the greatest use. It was Rovenius (Archbishop of Utrecht, 1620—1651) who gave form and consistency to this order. Religious communities and a marked dress were, of course, out of the question. The Sisters resided at home, went out into the villages, nursed the sick, catechised, gave alms, and effected more conversions than the priests. They were the subject of the most furious placards (i.e. decrees, Placaerts) on the part of their High Mightinesses; they were forbidden, under pain of imprisonment, to assemble in any number exceeding two; they were incapable of making a will, or of inheriting real or landed property. These laws, however, were not universally carried out: there was in the seventeenth century a kind of Béguinage at Amsterdam, in which, through the connivance of the magistrates, one hundred were permitted to reside; at Haarlem there were three hundred; at Delft more than fifty. At Utrecht they resided near the church, called then, as now, St. Gertrude in den Hoek, a kind of strange, out-of-the-way corner on the western side of the city, and not far from the road which leads from Amsterdam to Gorcum. Any one who has attended service in this church must have wondered at the innumerable passages, gates, and doors which afford an outlet to the Vredenburg on the one side, and to the Marie Plaatz on the other. I have been informed that the last surviving Klopje died at Utrecht in the summer of 1853. The name of Klopjes, though other derivations have been proposed for it, is undoubtedly taken from the Dutch verb, *Kloppen*, to 'knock,' because it was thus they gave warning in case of sudden danger. Each Sister had her own peculiar article of Church furniture—chalice, corporal, paten, cruet, or whatever else it might be—which it was her duty to remove, should the magistrates obtain information of the meeting; and thus, in an incredibly short time, all traces of service were taken away, and the officers of justice found nothing but bare walls and empty galleries."

One more extract before we have done. What would we give for one hour of Pascal, to exhibit in its full raciness the combined

cunning and childishness, the exquisite union of ostentatious obedience in word with flagitious disobedience as well as dishonesty in fact, contained in the Jesuitical side of the following argument. Truly Liguori is not dead in spirit, although it may be a little gone off in ingenuity. The Jansenism of the Church of Utrecht has dwindled, as we have seen, in the course of time, into a simple refusal to subscribe, besides the Bull Unigenitus, the Formulary—i.e. the declaration that the celebrated Five Propositions are in Jansenius' book; or, in other words, the question of doctrine, as regards Jansenius, has disappeared, and the question of "fact" alone remains. No longer since than 1827, in this very nineteenth century, the still living Archbishop of Utrecht, Van Santen, is holding a conference just over the Channel, in Utrecht, with the Papal Nuncio Capaccini, their subject the last attempt that has been made to effect a reunion between the National Church and Rome. The Archbishop declares that he "*knows* the Five Propositions not to be contained in Jansenius' book;" and asks, thereupon, the unanswerable question, "How can an honest man and a Christian subscribe a declaration as true which denies a simple fact?" Hear the answer:—

"*The Nuncio*—'You see, M. Van Santen, that the table at which we are sitting is covered with a *green* cloth. Now, supposing that the father of a family were to prohibit his children absolutely from entering this room, or even looking into it—well, but if one of the children were to look in through the keyhole, and were thus by disobedience to acquire the knowledge that the cloth on the table is *green*, how, then, would the case stand? If the father were to make out an inventory of the furniture in the room, and if he were (whether by mistake or by design, it matters not) to describe this *green* cloth as being *red*; and if he were, on the ground of his parental authority, to require each of his children, as relying on their father's information, to subscribe this inventory as perfectly correct, it would not be competent to the child who had *seen* the cloth to act upon the knowledge he had gained by disobedience, and to refuse to subscribe the statement in which its colour was said to be *red*. The father had a right to forbid his children to look into the room; he had also a right to prescribe to his children what they should sign: and no act of prior disobedience on the part of any of them could take away the obligation of unhesitating compliance.' The child 'ought to say, the command of God requires me to obey my father: I must, therefore, obey him in this point, which involves the sacrifice of my own opinion; and as I am bound, in duty to God, to declare my belief that the cloth is *red*, I may reasonably suppose that my eyes were mistaken when I saw it. Perhaps a sunbeam hindered me from seeing the colour correctly; or perhaps, in punishment for my disobedience, an optical illusion was sent to deceive me.'"

Van Santen asks how the illustration applies :—

"*Capaccini*—'Listen, that I may instruct you. You are well aware that no theological virtue shines more brightly than *implicit obedience*,' &c. Now, 'obedience would require that *The Augustinus* should not be read. . . . Any knowledge, therefore, which any person now has of the contents of that book, must have been obtained through a transgression of that obedience to which he was bound. No one can have a right to know what the book contains, any further than as relates to the condemned propositions, and that only from the Constitution which condemns them,' " &c.

And so he proceeds to draw the now obvious conclusion.

Truly we cannot but sympathise with the Archbishop's manly indignation at such sophistry. Any English child, we should hope, under such circumstances, would have enough of the spirit both of obedience and honesty, to tell the truth both about himself and about the cloth, and take the consequences.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CONNECTICUT¹.

DR. BEARDSLEY's work claims a hearty welcome from English Churchmen, although it tells a tale not creditable to English rulers and statesmen of bygone days. It is a solidly written, although not always lucid history, based upon documents and upon personal and family knowledge, of one important portion of that Transatlantic Church, which, frowned upon, slighted, starved, wronged, yet, more than any others of her daughters, proves by its indestructible vigour the vitality and strength of the Church of this land. And even apart from such national grounds of interest, it is a history of a Church which, up to the close of last century, occupied the position of Nonconformity, in a land where Nonconformists of the bitterest type occupied, and used without mercy, the powers of an Establishment. It is a living example of what would follow were Dissent paramount. And while it may teach ourselves a lesson by this inversion of relative external position, it shews also, by contrast, how far more equitable and more generous has been the conduct of the Church, when tempted by the possession of civil

¹ "The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, from the Settlement of the Colony to the Death of Bishop Seabury." By E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., Rector of St. Thomas's Church, Newhaven. (New York: Hurd and Houghton; London: Sampson Low and Co.) *Guardian*, March 20, 1867.

privilege, than that of her adversaries. The Five-mile Act was nothing by the side of the whippings and hangings of the New Englanders. The inherited church-rates of later date, even if they were in truth what the Liberation Society calls them, would be but a trifle compared with the heavy taxes imposed illegally in Connecticut upon Churchmen for the support of Congregationalist ministers, and enforced by imprisonment. And far worse than any unjust extortions of money, or even bodily persecution, certainly nothing except the Scottish League and Covenant ever equalled the outrageous interferences of the American Puritans to starve the religion of their Church fellow-countrymen by hindering them from following their consciences in obtaining Bishops,—interferences to which, alas, home statesmen truckled with a cowardly, and in the result a useless, servility.

The two great eras of the Church in Connecticut are the conscientious conforming to the Church of Mr. Cutler and the leading scholars among the ruling sect of the Independents, in 1722, and the Scotch consecration of Dr. Seabury, with the happy settlement, which ultimately ensued, of a firmly-grounded Episcopate and a well-organised Church, in the decade of years from 1786 to 1796. The ordinary course of her history is the detail chiefly of the struggle, almost an individual one, to find standing-room for the Church in the face of a dominant and intolerant Independency. The ideal of the first settlers was that of a downright theocracy, only one of very human invention—a State in which no member should ever be allowed to dwell unless he was a full “Church-member” as well. And dire were the strife and the groanings of heart, when the unavoidable working of human wills and minds, not to say the spread of lax ways of living, absolutely forced a grudging relaxation of the full rigour of the law, so as to allow upon tolerance a kind of qualified “Church-membership.” And what must have been the indignant horror, in such a state of society, when men, in spite of all, *would* be, not simply nominal or lukewarm Congregationalists, but the actual, and fearful, and genuine thing itself—downright zealous Churchmen. A worse blow was in store for the dominant sect in 1722. The leading minds among the Independent ministers, uninfluenced by any external pressure, and in spite of the inevitable penalty of bitter social excommunication that awaited them, read and reasoned themselves in that year into a conscientious renunciation of Independency in favour of the Church. The quiet

resolute declaration of their minds, read in the library of Yale College, of which their leader, Cutler, was the respected and learned President, must have burst like a shell upon the assembled governors. And thenceforth, as the religion of the land, Independency was doomed. Unhappily, the Church at home did her best to harden the vigour of Connecticut Church-people, on the principle of a harsh discipline making hardy plants, by depriving them of Episcopal government, by compelling their candidates for ordination to cross the Atlantic by the most dangerous of voyages, in order to find a Bishop to ordain them, and, lastly, by denying to their catechumens the rite of Confirmation altogether. And the untoward course of public events aggravated the mischief, by leading the home Government to truckle to American Puritans, and by mixing up the Church-people in America with the unpopular side of colonial politics. Through all, the Church held its ground, and increased perhaps in the end, like the Catholic Church at large in the first centuries, none the worse for its infancy of persecution. We must refer to Dr. Beardsley's charitably written and able pages for ample details of its growth.

The settlement of the Episcopate after the Revolution is also fully told by Dr. Beardsley, Bishop Seabury having been the Bishop of the Connecticut Church, which thus enjoys the honour both of having been the first American Church which culminated into the full ripeness of the Episcopate, and of having been the instrument of securing to herself and her sister Churches the Scottish form of the Liturgy. Here again we refer to the pages of Dr. Beardsley for an account of the charitable and unselfish gentleness with which the unreasoning prejudices were met of those who insisted on an Anglican succession also, and with which also the difficult question of lay interference in Church government was settled in a way which, at least, has worked well for three-quarters of a century.

A remonstrance of Dr. Johnson, a leading clergyman in the middle of last century, addressed in 1754 to the then President of the National College, that at Yale, deserves mention, if only to rescue the precedent from being pressed into the service of the Conscience Clause. "What we must beg leave to insist on," says Dr. Johnson, in the name of his brethren, "is, that there ought not to be any such law in your college as forbids the liberty we contend for, . . . unless you can make it appear that you ever had a right to exclude the people of the Church belonging to this colony from having

the benefit of public education in your college, without their submitting to the hard conditions of not being allowed to do what they believe in their conscience it is their indispensable duty to do —i.e. to require their children to go to church whenever they have opportunity, and at the same time a right to accept and hold such vast benefactions from gentlemen of the Church of England, wherewith to support you in maintaining such a law in exclusion of such a liberty." The Connecticut Independents took Church money, and yet would not admit Church pupils to their college unless they conformed to Independency. The Dissenters now (or rather the Government in their name) wish to force schools, which are founded by Church money, to admit pupils whether they will or no, without educating them as Church-people; nay rather, in such a manner as will practically interfere with the education as Church-people of the Church children who are there already. The parallel case would have been, had Yale College been wholly the creation of Independent purses and Independent exertions, and had Churchmen *then* insisted upon partaking of its advantages upon their own terms, and upon shutting the mouths of the Independent teachers.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH*.

WE demur to the epithet by which the Layman chooses to distinguish that Church in his title-page and elsewhere. It is intended, of course, to indicate the unity of the two Churches. But it reminds us too much of the "English Church" in Scotland, the sectarianism implied in which phrase must be as little to the Layman's taste as to our own. Nor are our American cousins in the habit, so far as we know, of distinguishing themselves from Spanish, or still less Canadian, inhabitants of the New World, by the epithet of Anglican or by any kindred term, Latin or Saxon. But the book itself will supply information not elsewhere procurable. It is a somewhat enthusiastic account, by an eye-witness and an active participator in much of what he relates, of the progress and proceedings of Churchmen in the revival and extension of the Church

* "Recent Recollections of the Anglo-American Church in the United States." By an English Layman, five years resident in that Republic. Two Vols. (Rivingtons.) *Guardian*, Jan. 8, 1862.

movement in America. An effort, happily not thwarted by those in Church authority, analogous to the St. George's Mission in London, is the part of his labours on which the Layman dwells most at length. A chapel in a neglected part of New York, where a thoroughly perfect ritual and choral service were established, with schools and other institutions annexed, appears to have taken root and prospered. It strikes us with something of astonishment to learn that a choir of boys in surplices was seen in this chapel for the first time in America. Bishop Seabury's actual physical mitre is a quaint relic of an opposite kind, equally singular. The chapel in question was much such an experiment as St. Barnabas'. And the temper in which the attempt has been met in New York may well be a lesson to ourselves in England.

An account will be also found in the book of the attempt made by several American clergy, eight or nine years since, to widen the American Church formularies in a latitudinarian direction, with the strong counter-memorial called forth by the attempt in the direction of reaffirming or restoring the points changed for the worse in drawing up the American Prayer-book. And in this, as in other matters—as e.g. in the election of Bishops—a strong inference is drawn in favour of the unshackled condition of the American Church on the side of the State. Union with the State, however, must be allowed to have helped, in our own case, towards a conservatism with respect to the Prayer-book, as in other things. And a distinction must, in fairness, be drawn between the theory of Church and State among us, and the practice; or again, between the general principles laid down, and particular points in which modern legislation has acted in forgetfulness of those principles, though without repealing them. In truth, our position seems to be one where a strong vantage-ground is already ours, and where the progress of thought and of political liberty must inevitably end, if wisely used, in making the present paper theory a real working one, freed from the defects that now clog and mar it. But in respect to election of Bishops, we have not one word to say, except that the sooner the present mockery of the thing in England is altered the better for honesty.

Education, the Revival, the Slavery question, are severally discussed at some length by the Layman; in the last case, with a vehemence that would almost satisfy Mrs. Beecher Stowe. It is painful to learn that an orphan asylum, richly endowed, was founded

at Philadelphia in 1832 with the express conditions, not only that no religious education whatever should be given, but that no religious minister of any denomination whatsoever should enter its doors. The character of the State common schools, where they exist, throughout America is godless enough; but this out-Herods Herod. It is satisfactory to see that the Church is doing what she can, by schools of her own, to remedy the evil; the extent and poisonous results of which all parties appear to be forced to confess.

We find in these volumes also a short account of Mr. Eleazar Williams, whose pretensions to be identical with the poor Dauphin of the Temple celebrity made some noise a short time since. He himself was a missionary clergyman among the Indians, and had but little ambition to exchange his useful and quiet life for a disputed claim to be one of the many dethroned Bourbon princes now scattered through the world. The evidence adduced for his case is certainly stronger than in many like cases, but is far from conclusive, granting its genuineness. Yet if the Prince de Joinville did really offer him a pension to make a formal surrender of his title to oust the Orleanists, one would be apt to think there was something in it. As the matter stands, we are tempted rather to rank it with those stories of the prolonged lives of our own Richard II., or of the Portuguese Sebastian, where there is a strong predisposition to believe a romantic tale, of which the hero is the subject of excessive or undeserved misery, and contradictory to the common evidence and accepted belief. Happily, a dethroned prince in these days is no certain cause of political danger, with or without his own will. And Mr. Williams's son seems to have been less ambitious even than himself.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH AND THE AMERICAN UNION¹.

THAT the American Church will escape the disruption that has befallen the sects by reason of the slavery question, is as much to be expected as hoped. It is of more importance to see that this will not be the guilty reward of a dereliction of duty. One cannot

¹ "The American Church and the American Union." By Henry Caswall, M.A., D.D. of Trinity College, Connecticut; Prebendary of Sarum, &c. (Saunders, Oley, and Co.) *Guardian*, June, 1861.

help a slight sensation of amusement at finding the sermons of *the* Spurgeon ignominiously burnt, with sundry contumelious epithets and big talk about a halter, by the slaveholding Baptists of Montgomery. But if the Church had really truckled to slavery where slavery contravenes Christian principle, our chuckle over the uncertainties of Dissenting popularity must have given way to a feeling of shame for the Church herself. Dr. Caswall shews that the Church in slaveholding states does not, indeed, preach a crusade against the institution of slavery as such—by every sober man she is absolved from all duty so to do,—but does, nevertheless, distinctly enforce the sanctity of slave marriages, and the obligation of training up slaves to be Christian people, administering to them, as to the whites, without distinction, the sacraments and rites of the Church: while the effect of the Gospel in gradually removing an institution so full of mischief to both master and slave, may be traced in the Southern States, much as was the case in England and other European countries during the middle ages, in the practical influence exerted on behalf of Christian treatment of slaves, and in the examples of emancipation where practicable, and of amelioration in other ways of the condition of the slave, by Christian Bishops and clergy and Christian laymen individually. It is of value, also, that a competent and calm-judging spectator should point out, as Dr. Caswall does, to English people, that *their* great act of emancipation was of other people's slaves, not of their own,—and to those of the Northern American states, that the "secondary slavery," as he names it, of free blacks among them—i.e. the social degradation in which blacks are there held, is little less unjust and much more galling, than the downright slavery of the South. And other considerations—such as, e.g. the impossibility of wholesale emancipation without utter ruin to the slaves themselves, and the relative superiority of their condition in America compared with that of their kinsmen in Africa itself, the fact that the South has already emancipated 300,000 slaves, a number largely exceeding in value the compensation made by ourselves to the West Indian planters, the extremely recent extinction of slavery in the Northern States themselves, the need of a total change in American feeling before free blacks could live happily in America, and the unhappy connection in point of fact of abolitionism with unbelief—are very valuable just now, as checks upon the over-haste with which all English people are apt to take up the anti-slavery cause. At the

same time, Dr. Caswall does not for a moment blink the intense evils of slavery, while he points out that the *Church* is only responsible for a portion of it, and does plainly do her part within the wise limits of the truth to alleviate and remove its evils.

Of course, the civil war must suspend active Church intercourse between North and South. All that can be said is, that, if the disruption be completed politically, the Church would still remain in unity ecclesiastically, while her position aloof from all fanatical excitement and extravagance must tend to strengthen and increase her.

Dr. Caswall's testimony is valuable on another subject which the American Church necessarily suggests. And with Dr. Caswall's undoubted Church principles that testimony is the more valuable. With every disposition to give full credit to our sister Church in the States for the noble efforts she has made, and for her astonishing growth when once set free from the bonds for which the mother country is mainly responsible, the unhesitating evidence of Dr. Caswall is given against all hasty wishes on this side of the water to be freed, as she is, from the trammels of an establishment. The voluntary system, the lay element, the revision of the liturgy, the opening of the Church system so as to admit Dissenters, are all questions in which the example of the Church in America is a prominent element. Dr. Caswall points out well that the lesson of her example is one of content with our own position without censuring hers. That she has risen by the mercy of Providence from the pit of degradation into which English neglect and English sectarianism thrust her, is a reason indeed for thankfulness as regards herself, but none for desiring that a like spirit should succeed in subjecting the Church of England to a like series of trials.



IV.

THE PRAYER-BOOK.

THE PRAYER-BOOK.

IT is not surprising that much of the revival of theological learning in the Church of England, in the present century, should have expressed itself in Commentaries on the Prayer-book and Articles. As the subjects of Subscription, every intelligent and honest clergyman of the Church of England is bound to make himself acquainted with their history and contents; and in the case of the Prayer-book especially, there are what may be termed artistic facilities for conveying a great mass of theological instruction of no ordinary kind. A book of devotion,—in which the piety of most of the centuries of Christianity is represented, the *Sursum Corda* of the primitive Liturgies, the *Gloria in Excelsis* of the third century, the Roman Creed of the fourth, the Constantinopolitan of the fifth, and the Psalm *Quicumque* of the sixth, have been preserved for us,—in which the Rogation Days recall to us the storms of thunder and rain which afflicted the province of Vienne in the time of S. Mamertus, and in which the sequence *In Media Vitâ* of St. Notker Balbulus, embalms, in the devotion of the ninth age, that potent spell which Councils regulated and Canons prescribed,—in which the treasures of the devotion of the Gelasian, Leonine and Gregorian Sacramentaries have been opened up to the capacity of the humblest Christian in the matchless English translations of the Collects,—in which the Eastern Church herself has been taxed to secure to us the Prayer of St. Chrysostom,—in which the Kalendar embalms, as in a compendium of history, the record of the noblest fruits of Christianity, even the mention of the Saints,—in which the Schoolmen are represented by the august and solemn service for Trinity Sunday, the Order

of the Cistercians by the Feast of the Name of Jesus, and the good side of the Reformation by the Collects for many of the Saints'-days,—must supply no common assistance illustrating the devotional life, and the dogma which underlies the devotional life, of the Catholic Church of Christ. Moreover, the revival of the religious life in England in the last half-century has followed so closely on the deepening of the sense of clerical responsibility, that no one, who has borne his part in directing and sustaining the intellectual life of the movement, as Mr. Haddan did, could fail to turn his thoughts in the direction indicated. Accordingly, we shall see that the papers on the Prayer-book and ministry have a fulness and vigour which will repay perusal; while his own practical life as a parish priest at Barton will commend what he lays down on the more practical topics touched upon.

ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOK^a.

AT length the desire of Mr. Blew's heart—not to say, also, that of all Catholic-minded Churchmen—is accomplished; although (and very possibly so much the better for that reason) not from the quarter whence Mr. Blew looked for it. We have now a Latin version of the Prayer-book, made, independently of all societies, by two thoroughly good scholars, who are also well provided with theological, and above all, liturgical learning; and a version therefore, which, while it will do credit to our reputation for scholarship among learned foreigners, will serve also the far higher purpose of fulfilling the one great present object of such a version, that of rendering our Prayer-book accessible to foreign ecclesiastics, and thereby shewing to them both the Catholicity of its contents and structure, and its essential connection with the earlier Liturgies. Of course it is obvious that to accomplish this object, or, in other words, to exhibit distinctly the simple truth of the case, it is not

^a "Liber Precum Publicarum Ecclesie Anglicanae, Versio Latina." A Gulielmo Bright, A.M., et Petro Goldsmith Medd, A.M., Presbyteris, Coll. Univ. in Acad. Oxon. Sociis, facta. (Rivingtons.) *Guardian*, Feb. 14, 1866.

pre-eminently a translation into classical Latin that is wanted: although the more scholarlike the Latin, subject to plain limits of good taste, so much the better. But the main thing must be, both in general to render Liturgical phrases by their appropriate Latin, and, in particular, to reproduce in the identical original Latin the numerous older portions of previous Liturgies which are not only embodied in our own, but form the substance and pith of its structure. Such careful reproduction is essential, not only to satisfy the reasonable wishes of those who may desire to use in private devotion the very words hallowed by centuries of Christian use, but in order to the honesty and truth of the translation itself. And in this latter and very important point, the difficulty will be to draw the line correctly between changes made by our Reformers with the intention of varying the sense, which, of course, must be rigorously preserved in the translation, and such as have arisen merely from the substitution of some idiomatic English phrase for an equivalent, but perhaps not literally identical Latin one, where the framers of the Liturgy themselves would probably have turned their English back into the original Latin, had the task been laid upon them. The distinction was drawn in effect as early as by Whitaker in 1569, and is indeed obvious. And we are confirmed in our impression that the present translators have carefully borne the subject in mind, and have adequately attended to it in the execution of their work, by the pitiful results of the plainly careful and hostile scrutiny to which their labours in this matter have been subjected. An ignorant objection to the word "*mereamur*," which a reference even to such a well-known book as Ussher's would have set aside, is the one doctrinal residuum sifted out of a seemingly thorough examination of their translations of the Collects. The remaining results of that examination are, in fact, substitutions of the terse original Latin for the diffuser English equivalent. And the naïve admission that the Collects for the saints' days have been more exactly translated than the others arises simply from the fact that these Collects are almost wholly compositions of the Reformers, while the Sunday Collects are commonly the old ones, and there exists therefore a Latin original of the latter though not of the former.

The use of the word "*sacerdos*" and its derivatives, in connection with the office of priest, while the order of the priesthood is designated by "*presbyteratus*," is a more important matter. Both words, however, are used in the early Latin versions of the Prayer-book

which possess any authority. And to exclude either would have been an unwarrantable exercise of authority on the part of translators. It would have been simply a ruling in the negative of a question which our Church has (to say the least) not ruled in the negative. Beyond all question, to have rigorously excluded the term "*sacerdos*," would have *mis*-represented the Prayer-book to foreign ecclesiastics. And we are glad to see that the present translators have done their duty by retaining it. The exceptional use of "*pontifices*," in the Prayer for Clergy and People, is, of course, simply due to the fact that it is used in the Sacramentary of Gelasius, from which the prayer comes.

The great question, however, still remains—Are our translators right or wrong in employing for all passages of Holy Scripture, not a Latin version made from the English, but the Vulgate? In the Morning Prayer, indeed, they have retained the *Venite* in the form in which it appears in the Sarum Breviary, omitting, of course, the Invitatories. And this, we presume, upon the principle of reproducing the old services wherever there was no change of meaning intended by the revisers: the same principle which, we suppose, has led our translators also to restore tacitly the "*sanctam*" before "*Catholicam Ecclesiam*," in the Nicene Creed. But the Psalter, the Epistles and Gospels, and all formal citations of Holy Scripture, except the Invitatory Psalm, are conformed to the Vulgate. Now, with those who object to this on the ground that the Vulgate is a corrupt translation made in the interests of Popery, or that to intermeddle any how with it is to accept Papal infallibility and all the rest, there can be no argument. The absurd ignorance of the assumptions implied in such reasoning suffices to put it out of court. It happens, indeed, to be particularly absurd in that which forms the principal part of the present question; inasmuch as the Vulgate Psalms themselves, so called, are an instance of the like compromise with our own Prayer-book version, and are, in fact, the older Latin which the newer Vulgate itself failed to displace. Neither can they be treated with much more deference who regard the adoption of the Vulgate as a deliberate fraud upon foreign ecclesiastics. Surely no one can imagine that any foreign ecclesiastic will be beguiled into thinking that we actually read in our churches either the Vulgate itself or some literal English version of it. The defence of the translators rests upon this, that there was really no other course to take, except one involving a pure waste of good

time and scholarship. Their choice lay, not between a correct and an incorrect version. Our Prayer-book version of the Psalms is still retained by us, not because it is accurate,—still less as involving any doctrinal superiority of reading; but on the ground of its being an older translation than that in the present English Bible, and one which had grown into accustomed use between 1539 and 1661; and as being also smoother in its rhythm, and so more adapted to chanting. Surely, then, it would have been a waste of time to turn *this* version into Latin. Its use in our Prayer-book has no polemical object. It was not adopted as antagonistic to the Vulgate. A translation into English was wanted, and was supplied by Cranmer out of a revision of the previous English versions. The Church of England does not put forward that translation as so exactly Scripture that all other discrepant versions must be condemned. And what, then, could our translators do but take the standard Latin version, announcing in effect that they were conveying to foreign Churches a reproduction of our liturgical changes, but did not enter upon the question of varying versions of Scripture? The Vulgate, in truth, is in some places a more accurate version than our own, even if we take the Bible version and not that of the Prayer-book; in other places it is less so. But the defence of the translators—and it seems an adequate one—does not rely upon a comparison of degrees of accuracy; but upon the fact that the difference of versions of Scripture does not constitute any part of the polemical differences between foreign Churches and our own, however justly we prefer our own English to all other versions, not only as being English, but for its merits as a translation. And the ground, therefore, remained open to them, to permit and justify that same concession to feelings and associations which is our own ground for retaining the Prayer-book version itself, and to allow the retention in a Latin Prayer-book of the time-hallowed Latin version—viz., the Vulgate.

As to the title of the book, *Liber Precum Publicarum* is the only title authorised by the quasi-authoritative translation of 1560; which there seems to be no adequate reason for setting aside in favour of the simply exact translation of the English title which occurs in the (1661) rubric before the Form of Prayer to be used at Sea.

We do not know, however, what reasons have moved our translators to choose some of their renderings—e.g., in the first prayer

in the Baptismal Service, while their correctness in the first clause is proved by the Prayer-book of 1549, and they are accordingly right in attaching *in aquis* to *perirent*, and not to *conservasti*, we are at a loss to know why they should render *safely* in the next clause by *in spe*. We give this as a specimen, but are free to own that their general carefulness and exactness is such as to make us give them credit for having some reason for the change, although we do not see what.

THE PRINCIPLES OF DIVINE SERVICE^b.

THE course of Mr. Freeman's argument, in this learned completion of a learned work, leads him in the first portion of it to a theory which is at least unusual. It is introduced, indeed, by the very bold avowal that no English or German theologian has had even "the most remotely just apprehension" of the truth upon the subject; a defiant prelude, which should, at least, have induced Mr. Freeman carefully to advance formal arguments in favour of his own view, instead of almost contemptuously taking for granted the absurdity of that, which has undoubtedly been held by the very large majority of divines. The sacraments of the Old Testament, indeed, have been placed on a level with those of the New, by an older school than that of Mr. Freeman, and with an extremely opposite purpose. Calvin, and the Westminster Confession, and the like, have asserted such a parity, in order to infer the absence of grace in the one from its assumed absence in the other. Mr. Freeman reverses the inference. He asserts the reality of the sacramental grace of the older rites, in order, by a like assumption, to infer the same with respect to those of the New Testament. The question still remains, whether the common premiss for these two very unlike conclusions is well founded. The subject is, no doubt, a difficult one. Yet St. Paul's reasoning in the Epistle to the Hebrew is certainly, at first sight, hard for Mr. Freeman to get over. T

^b "The Principles of Divine Service: an Inquiry concerning the True Manner of Understanding and Using the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, and for the Administration of the Holy Communion in the English Church." By the Rev. Philip Freeman, M.A., Vicar of Thorverton, Prebendary of Exeter, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Exeter. Part II. (J. H. and J. Parker, and Macmillan.) *Guardian*, 1863.

broad question is, whether the Law is simply a system correspondent to the Gospel, superadded to it for temporary reasons, and also a type and shadow of it, but no more; or whether it be not also an imperfect but real commencement of the Gospel in itself. Did the ritual and other precepts of the Law convey only temporal blessings to those who rested in the letter of them, suggesting Gospel truth and grace to those who had faith, but no more conveying those gifts than a donation of the land of Canaan conveyed admission into heaven? Or was the Law an imperfect Gospel, teaching Gospel truth directly, only in the obscure language of sensuous imagery, and conveying implicitly Gospel grace? Was it parallel to the Gospel, but a shadow of it? or was it the Gospel itself rudimentally? Was it added on to the Gospel "because of transgressions," and nothing more? Or was it the Gospel itself, only under another form? Let it be observed, that the other relations in which the Law is represented as standing to the Gospel remain the same in either case. The inability of men to keep the Law, and the consequent necessity of the Christian dispensation in order to procure salvation for men, remain alike established, whether we regard the promises which a perfect obedience to the letter of the Law would obtain, as temporal or as eternal. For if men could not keep the conditions upon which an earthly inheritance was suspended, much less could they keep those whereon depends the reward of heaven. In either case, also, the Law is equally available as prophetic of the Gospel; and as training men in a system of ideas introductory to the Gospel; and as preparing a state of things under which the Gospel could be readily preached. The question refers, not so much to the relation of the Law to Christians, as to its relation to the ancient Jews themselves who lived under it. Was there, to them, an esoteric system of truth, handed down from the beginning and imaged in the Law, but not the literal sense of the Law, by which the faithful attained to eternal life, while those who lacked faith possessed the promised land and no more by virtue of the letter of the Legal Covenant: or did the Law itself convey, under carnal and earthly language, heavenly promises? We confess to retaining the former and more common supposition. In either case the Law would necessarily have ended its functions, and would become obsolete and pass away, when the Gospel came. But both the natural meaning of the language of the Pentateuch, and the tenor of the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews appear to

us (in spite of Mr. Freeman's explanation of the latter) to restrict the Law in its proper and literal intention to temporal and earthly things. Neither can we understand the difficulty, which Mr. Freeman finds, in the assumption that eternal salvation, and the real graces which are the path to it, came under the Law by anticipation of Christ—i.e. by implicit belief in the Messiah to come. After all, this is but saying that both the sacraments of the Old Law, so to call them, and all its sacrificial rites, conveyed grace really to those who looked through them to Christ, and constituted also for the same reason a real offering of Christ to God; and so were by anticipation, both sacramentally and sacrificially, not empty shows. And what more do we want, in the way of anticipatory and prophetic type, in the Old Testament, of the sacraments of the New? The Christian sacraments, it may well be argued, are not simply *as* real as their types in the Old, but more so. And Mr. Freeman's conclusion, therefore, is safe, even if we do not accept the whole of his premisses.

Setting aside, however, the theoretical question, the bulk of the first portion of Mr. Freeman's volume is occupied with a singularly profound and learned examination,—not the less satisfactory, though the special theory above mentioned be laid aside,—of the Jewish sacrificial system in its relation to the Eucharist. Throughout the whole of this carefully elaborated and thorough discussion of a complicated but most important Scriptural topic, we follow Mr. Freeman's able guidance with an ever-increasing interest. We quite agree with him that enough has not been made of late of this particular source for illustrating Eucharistic doctrine, any more than had been made, until within this few years, of the equally fertile source for the same purpose of liturgical lore. Mr. Freeman's work will make an era in the history of Eucharistic doctrine in the Church of England. It will render it quite impossible for any one of sober judgment and fair knowledge any longer to ignore or depreciate the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Sacrament; while at the same time it will protect that aspect of the doctrine from dangerous and self-destructive extremes. It is true, that in some points, e.g. in respect to adoration, while agreeing with Mr. Freeman's conclusion, we do not see the force of his inference from the absence of adoration of legal sacrifices. The difference between his view of the Law and that which approves itself to us, of course, cuts away the ground for such inference. But barring this and one or two

like points, the whole application by him of the Mosaic sacrificial institutions to Eucharistic doctrine is pregnant with valuable results.

The second part of the volume is equally satisfactory, and (if we mean by originality a powerful revival of old but neglected truth) equally original. The illustration from the Jewish domestic ritual, so to call it, of the particulars of the Last Supper, and the happy explanation of the difficulty respecting the day of it, drawn from Jewish customs, are as excellent as they are, to English students, new. And the same may be said of the minute and detailed comparison between the successive acts and words of our Lord in connection with the Supper, and the several portions of the Eucharistic Service.

The third part of the volume discusses the history, the fourth and concluding part the structure and details, of the English Communion Office. And with these we cannot profess our complete satisfaction. Mr. Freeman appears, to our mind, to be under the influence of two unfortunate habits in the course of them. He is apt to jump to ingenious conclusions upon insufficient evidence. And he is so impressed with his own profound views of the meaning of the Liturgy, as to become obscure and perfectly enigmatical at times in his utterance of them. The Ephesine Office, for instance, is attributed always to St. John. Mr. Freeman is determined that it shall be St. Paul's. He has nothing but conjecture to put against evidence; yet he sets aside summarily all contrary probabilities, and leaps to his own conclusion, to his own satisfaction far more than to that of his readers. Again, he allows himself to be beguiled by the groundless tradition about the British mission of Aristobulus, and sets him forth rather grandly as the originator of British Christianity, proceeding even to talk of the "Aristobulian date" of our liturgy,—upon the evidence of the Greek *Menæa*, and of their echo in the Welsh Triads. He should know, by the way, that the Mr. Williams who wrote the *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry*, was not the late Archdeacon Williams, and though a painstaking writer, is one also quite incapable of discriminating history from legend. And to turn to his earlier and original authorities, really a scholar ought to know by this time, that Gildas is worthless as an evidence to the date of the conversion of Britain. Confessedly knowing nothing about the matter from British sources, he chose to fancy that some words of Eusebius included Britain within their scope, which obviously do nothing of the kind. Mr. Free-

man's manifest inaccuracies, indeed, on this incidental subject go further than we like towards shaking our confidence in him as a judge of evidence in other things. Yet, again, it is rather a leap to assume a "Eucharistic" use of the Decalogue in the ancient British Church, from the circumstance that Welsh Christians used to swear by it. It would be as reasonable to infer a Saxon "Eucharistic use" of the Decalogue, from the fact that Alfred prefixes it to his Laws.

The last portion of the book is that to which we chiefly refer as bearing out our remark about the obscurity of Mr. Freeman's expositions. One comes, in earlier pages of the volume, across such strange enigmas as the calling one thing "fontal to" another, by which we incline to imagine it possible that Mr. Freeman may mean that the second of the two was derived from the first. But independent of particular phrases, there appears to be a lack of lucidity and of precision in bringing out and enforcing the exact drift of Mr. Freeman's views respecting our English liturgy. In the last part of the book, moreover, in addition to the style, it strikes us that the author is labouring under a slight fear of being stigmatised as an Anglican optimist; and that he has consequently hinted rather than plainly expressed certain views which bear in that direction. It may be that he is sometimes disposed, with Mr. Palmer, to catch at remote or vague or far-fetched precedents for peculiarities in our own liturgy. But, undoubtedly, his wide learning has elicited much in the way of both illustration and defence of those peculiarities. We wish he had put forth his case in more decided and intelligible form.

ORDINUM SACRORUM IN ECCLESIA ANGLICANA DEFENSIO^c.

THE specialty of this handsome volume is the *fac-simile* of the entire register of Archbishop Parker's Confirmation and Consecration, most beautifully and exactly reproduced by photozincography

^c "Ordinum Sacrorum in Ecclesia Anglicana Defensio, unacum Statutis, Documentis, et Testimoniis, Ordinum Anglicanorum valorem probantibus, et Registro Consecrationis Archiepiscopi Parkeri, in Bibliotheca Lambethæ asservato, Photozincographice expresso, cum permissu Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Dom. Domini Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis." Editore T. J. Bailey, B.A., e Coll. C.C. Cantab., Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Sacerdote. (Londini et Oxonii, apud Jacobum Parker et Soc.; Brighton, apud Georgium Wakeling.) *Guardian*.

by the officers of her Majesty's Ordnance Survey. This elaborate *fac-simile* brings before the eyes the actual record, which is not a sentence or two, but some dozen or more folio pages, entering into precise detail, and embodying the documents, commissions, &c. at length. It forms also the commencement of a thick folio of several hundred pages, which contains the first half of the business records (consecrations of Bishops, institutions and ordinations in his own diocese, or in those of the province when vacant, Visitations, &c.) of Parker's Archiepiscopate. It presents at first glance a strong *primâ facie* case of genuineness, and will at any rate shew the nature of the case to those who will take the trouble to look, better than any amount of letter-press, or than the mere printing of the document in common type, which has been done already more than once. Mr. Bailey, however, has not simply produced this beautiful *fac-simile*. He appends to it, in Latin and in English, a summary of the corroborative evidence, first to Parker's own consecration, and next to the consecrations of his consecrators, including Barlow. As regards English readers, his work contains specially two new testimonies—one to Parker's consecration, which is curious; the other to Barlow's, which (if, indeed, further evidence were needed on the subject) is conclusive. The former is a memorandum, drawn up at the beginning of last century, by the son of the Earl of Nottingham's chaplain, and carefully preserved by the chaplain's descendants, a private family now resident in Sussex. The Earl (as is stated in Mason and Bramhall, and elsewhere) had been present in James the First's Council, when the Nag's Head Fable, then first invented, became a subject of discussion; and had then at once given his testimony, that he had himself been present at the (genuine) consecration, and had also seen a transcript then and there drawn up of the record of it, which transcript had been at the same time deposited in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where, indeed, it is to this day. Thereupon that transcript was sent for by the King and Council, and produced, to the abundant confirmation of the real facts. The memorandum, here and now printed, is to the effect that the chaplain had repeatedly stated in conversation with his family that the Earl of Nottingham had related all this to him.

The testimony in Barlow's case consists of a series of letters to Cromwell from Barlow himself, during the first years of his Episcopate at St. David's, relating mainly to his efforts to keep his

Chapter there in order (one of them being concerned apparently in acts of piracy), but especially of a letter from Barlow's brother, also to Cromwell, of the same date—i.e. within the first three or four years after Barlow's consecration; all of them preserved in the Public Records, and brought to light in the cataloguing of them. This letter discloses the facts that the Chapter (who had been for years left to themselves) were demurring violently to the Bishop's assumption of one of the Prebends as belonging to himself as Bishop, and also to his claiming to preside as Dean and Chapter, there never having been a Dean, properly so called, at St. David's, and the Bishop (who occupied his place) having been so long absent that the Chapter rebelled against Barlow's resumption of the office. But it appears that the Chapter had duly enthroned him both as Bishop and as Dean, and that they accepted his Episcopate as all in due course. And obviously, in the years 1536—40, while they were urgently desiring to get rid of him if they could, it had never crossed the mind of his own Chapter that he had never been consecrated. On the contrary, they had duly enthroned him, which implies of itself that they had received formal and legal intimation of his consecration; and they received him as Bishop without one syllable of hesitation or doubt. The inference is inevitable, and would of itself set the question at rest. So far, we say, for English readers. But Mr. Bailey is ambitious of bringing the case also and chiefly before Papal and foreign authorities. And he compiles accordingly, in Latin as well as English, a *précis* of the entire evidence with which, in England, all who chose to look for it have been long familiar. It were to be wished that the "customary ecclesiastical Latin" had in this case been a little more in accordance with grammars and dictionaries. But, this apart, the book is a great attempt to enable Roman authorities, if they will, to see the conclusive character of the evidence to the facts which exists. And it would be a point gained, for their own credit quite as much as for our own peace or safety, if they should be brought to give up their hitherto, perhaps, somewhat excusable hesitation as to the facts—excusable, we say, on the ground of inability really to understand or know what the case is. Of course, other questions, of a broader kind, remain behind. But one step, at least, would so be gained towards a better understanding hereafter. We owe thanks to Mr. Bailey for this handsomely printed and great effort to lay the case fairly before foreign Churches.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER ^d.

THE first of these publications—all of them of value as indicating the prevalence of a real and sensible study of the Prayer-book in a right way—is as yet incomplete. It extends at present only to the close of the Epistles and Gospels. It contains first a brief historical account of the modifications which our Service-books have undergone from the beginning, so as to shew the structural connection of our present Book, as a whole, with its predecessors; followed by a very interesting account of our Church music, and a (naturally at this time) argumentative Essay about our Ritual. But its specialty lies in the textual reprint, step by step, in parallel columns with our actual Book, of the originals of every portion of it, so far as such originals exist, together with (in the form of notes) the Introits, and references to the Hymns, of the Sarum Missal, the necessary information respecting the history and contents of the Prayer-book text, and a theological *rationale* of the several Epistles and Gospels. It sets forth, therefore, to the eye of the reader, the actual amount of positive agreement of our Book with the Sarum Books, although necessarily not setting forth, negatively, the particulars of text or ritual of the old service dropped in our own; so that readers will find in it a plain and detailed proof of the substantial identity of the new with the old, but only a general statement of the differences between them. Of course, the only way to exhibit the whole case would be the superfluous one of reprinting both side by side; superfluous because the Sarum Books are now accessible to any one in the Latin, and partially so in an English translation. Yet it is only fair to remember this, in con-

* "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer: being an Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England." Edited by the Rev. John Henry Blunt, M.A., Author of *Directorium Pastorale*, "Household Theology," &c. Part I. (Rivingtons.)

"The Prayer-book Interleaved, with Historical Illustrations and Explanatory Notes arranged parallel to the Text." By the Rev. W. M. Campion, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of Queens' College, &c., and the Rev. W. J. Beament, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, &c. With a Preface by the Lord Bishop of Ely. (Rivingtons.)

"The Liturgy of the Church of Sarum; together with the Calendar of the same Church." Translated from the Latin, with a Preface and Explanatory Notes. By Charles Walker. With an Introduction by Rev. T. T. Carter, M.A., Rector of Clewer. (J. T. Hayes.) *Guardian*, July 4, 1866.

sidering a publication, of which the result, and to some extent the object, is to establish the continuity of the Books. Undoubtedly Mr. Blunt's labours bring out palpably,—what all, indeed, knew before who knew anything about the matter, but what people in general do not know even yet,—that our Prayer-book (omitting for the moment the Communion Service, which Mr. Blunt has not yet reached) is precisely and historically a simplification and compression of the older services, consequent upon the rendering them into English for congregational use, and with of course also certain alterations of a doctrinal kind. Mr. Blunt has well brought out this side of the question in his historical introduction. He has there pointed out,—strengthening his case by the parallel attempt in Continental Churches at the same period of which Cardinal Quignon's* abortive work was the main result, and by the curious fact that our Preface of 1549 was principally borrowed from that of the Cardinal,—that independently of doctrinal changes, two circumstances guided the modifications of the Sarum Books into our present Book, one the desire of so combining and so simplifying services, henceforth to be in English, as that ordinary congregations might be able to follow, and might be induced to attend them, the other the aggravation of the existing impossibility of doing either (an impossibility practically but very imperfectly met by accumulating services) through the destruction of the trained choirs of the monasteries. Of course, all scholars who had looked into the matter have known long since that the Prayer-book is the Sarum service arranged and modified upon these two principles, and with the further omission of certain erroneous accretions of false doctrinal import. But it is far from being the case that the English public know this. And our main ground of thankfulness to Mr. Blunt lies in the plain and patent prominence given to this fact by his volume.

The sources of the Collects and other portions more recently added are also diligently investigated by Mr. Blunt. And his notes are in general brief and adequate. We have noted a few (mostly trifling) errors: e.g. in speaking of the Commissioners to examine and certify the Sealed Books, Mr. Blunt gives seven names, which happen to be (except that his Madling is a mistake for Stradling) seven out of the eight attached still to one particular Sealed Book;

* We follow Mr. Blunt's spelling, not having a library at hand wherein to find the original book itself. The name is usually spelt Quignonius.

but the Commission was really "addressed" to no less than twenty-five clergymen, not to those eight only. Nor do we know why Mr. Blunt has omitted the eighth name in the document itself, which appears to have misled him. Again, we do not quite see that he has really any foundation for tracing a resemblance in Bede's Calendar to that of the Eastern Church. And (a more serious matter) he seems to mean in his notes on the Easter services, that the ancient British Church kept Easter on any day of the week that chanced to be the fourteenth day of the moon—a statement (if he does mean it) distinctly against the plain historical fact; for, beyond a doubt, that Church always kept the feast upon a Sunday. Neither do we know why Mr. Blunt should call the ecclesiastical sect which did what he erroneously imputes to the Britons, and which had to do with a fourteenth day, and were called *Quartodecimans*, by the word which is classically applied to the soldiers of a fourteenth legion, and is spelt *Quartadecimans*. And to turn to larger matters, it is but too probable that Mr. Perry's portion of the Preface about Ritual may have to be re-written, even before the second Part of Mr. Blunt's book is out. And, under any circumstances, it is more distinctly polemical than perhaps it is desirable it should be, in a work which deserves to become the standard annotated edition of the Prayer-book. With a few exceptions, however, of the kind we have noticed, the matter of the Introduction and of the Notes seems thoroughly well got up. Dr. Dykes's name is a guarantee for the musical part of the former, Mr. Perry's for the learning of its ritualistic portion (which, by the way, rather keeps incense in the background). And Mr. Blunt himself is a good name to answer for the remainder.

Mr. Beamont's and Mr. Campion's work is of a different kind. The sole question respecting the merits of their well-intentioned attempt relates to its plan. The names of its compilers are sufficient guarantee both for learning and accuracy, and for a sober and scholarlike tone. And to originality it lays no claim, inasmuch as its professed object is simply to combine and present in accessible form the contents of the many and often not easily accessible commentaries already existing. The question then is, whether, taking even any one limited department of illustration, the requisite information can conveniently or even possibly be exactly commensurate, page for page, with the text; much more if the attempt be made to combine all or even many departments of such illustrative

knowledge. Incomplete statements here, and blank pages there, reveal the impossibility of such a coincidence. The book does not give us the materials for a complete comparison of the Prayer-book with its original sources, or with its own successively varying forms, or with the parallel service-books of other communions: although it attempts, and in a confused and imperfect way performs, all these things: while, in the Psalms, for instance, we have scores of pages wholly or almost wholly blank. The "quarries and veins of the Prayer-book," to use its own rather odd phraseology, are only half quarried or half traced—which ever metaphor may be preferred. We cannot see, accordingly, to what class of readers it will be useful. The real student will, of course, prefer the original works. The ordinary reader will still be at a loss without them. Its best points are the condensed summary of Mr. De Morgan's not very commonly known or easily understood statements respecting the calculation of Easter (a subject, by the way, upon which Mr. Blunt is rather summary), and the tables of Psalms as used by the Greek Church, by the Benedictines, in the Ambrosian Liturgy, according to the present Roman use, and lastly the modern Jewish use. And of course, to those who have no other book, it will give much information on other points also. For the derivation of the word anthem, we can but recommend Messrs. Beamont and Campion to refer to the Introduction to Mr. Blunt's Prayer-book.

The third book on our list is a valuable step towards making English readers acquainted with the real origin of the Prayer-book. And an acquaintance with the sources of the book is, no doubt, a great safeguard against the rash and ignorant tampering with it which is in vogue with shallow people like the present Revisionists. It will hardly serve as authority for restoring those rubrical or other features which in the Prayer-book have been intentionally dropped, although, of course, it will help us to realise with something of accuracy what those features were. It will assist people towards knowing what they are about. And therefore we welcome, heartily, as on the one hand the recent careful edition of the text of the "Sarum Missal," so on the other this translation of the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass from the same rite. The book, however, is not simply a translation, except of the liturgy itself. The rubrics are arranged by the translator, we believe, after his own judgment—at least, they are certainly not as they stand in the Liturgy itself as printed at the Pitsligo Press—with large omissions and trans-

positions and with additions from other authoritative sources, so as to convey to ordinary readers an intelligible account of the service. The task seems to be faithfully and fairly done, and to represent the actual state of the case. Nor is any other complaint to be made of it than that sufficient notice does not appear to be given of the changes made. The natural inference from the book as it stands would be that the rubrics were translated as they stand in the original, and illustrated by additional matter in the notes; whereas, in point of fact, the rubrics are wholly recast in point of arrangement. We notice a little inexactness also here and there in the translation of the liturgy itself. Of course, the capital letters in "He Who by the tree overcame," in p. 60, are a mere oversight. And the restriction of the book to the ordinary service may excuse, what is a more serious matter, the omission of the clauses interpolated into the *Gloria in Excelsis*; although, considering the nature of these clauses, it does seem as if they ought to have been mentioned in a note. But here and there is an inaccuracy which ought not to have been allowed: as e.g., the omission to translate "novum" in the Prayer of Oblation in p. 51; or, again, in the Proper Prefaces, the rendering of "reparavit *in* novam lucem" by "renewed us *by* the new light," &c., and of "virtutem et præmia" by "rewards of virtue," and of "super omnes cælos" by "into heaven," or, worse still, of "operis Tui vicarios" by "its (Thy flock's) vicars;" or, again, the omission of "our" before "death" in the Preface for Easter, and of "revelante Te" in that for Whitsunday. The last two of this list are due of course to the like omissions in our own Prayer-book, but a translator has no right to omit. Neither are they generally speaking of much further consequence than as affecting accuracy. The Kalendar has been prefixed to the book, and at the end is given also the "Mass of the Presanctified as it used to be sung on Good Friday." The Preface enters largely into the question of the colours of the vestments. But the special rubric on the subject is one of those omitted in the body of the work.

THE ANNOTATED BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER!

MR. BLUNT, and his learned band of coadjutors, have now completed what will certainly be henceforth the standard annotated Common Prayer-book. We say this advisedly, notwithstanding an ill-natured and ill-grounded remark that has been made upon the book as representing the views of a particular school. A Commentary on the Prayer-book that should represent no theological principles whatever, would simply accomplish very badly one only, and that the smaller, half of its work—viz., the bare historical accumulation of facts, undigested and unapplied. And the charge of partisanship, to be worth anything in the present case, must go to the extent of proving that the work is coloured with the extreme and temporary crotchets of an eccentric few, whose claim to represent the English Church would be a mere impertinence. Now, whether or no there be such a knot of men in the Church at this moment, and in what degree of proximity, if any, Mr. Blunt's coadjutors, one or more, may stand to them, are questions we shall not here discuss. But, first of all, it is preposterous to hint at such a charge on the mere ground that a book is honestly based upon Church principles—principles which happily still hold their place as "orthodox" in our branch of the Church; we mean, the reality of Sacramental grace, Apostolical succession, and the like. And, next, the charge is doubly refuted when we turn to the portions of the book to which we suppose it refers, and perceive the carefully reserved and cautious spirit of the article, e.g. on the "ornaments" of the Church. If any one turns from the pages of this article to the Calendars and pamphlets of ultra-ritualists,—even omitting the extremer class of them, as, e.g., those which, with a spice of comicality, claim the Sarum colours in the tone of a "freeborn Briton" standing up for his native rights of trial by jury, or Magna Charta,—he will feel himself in a very different atmosphere, no matter what name is appended to the article in question. We cannot affirm an unqualified assent to every proposition advanced either there or elsewhere in the book. But, as a whole, the work represents, simply, fairly, and independently, not a passing phase of

¹ "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer: being an Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England." Edited by the Rev. J. H. Blunt, M.A., &c. Part II. (Rivingtons.) *Guardian*, April 17, 1867.

party, but that great school of English divinity which won the English Church for itself in men's minds in the first half of the seventeenth century, sealed its hold upon her by the sufferings of the Rebellion, and has never since lost its conquest. The one exceptional sentence in this connection that has caught our eye relates to the rather Big and Little Endian controversy about the "north side," and assumes a little trenchantly the questionable *dictum* that it means the northern half of the west side of the altar. To which may perhaps be added, as rather shaking the red rag in the bull's face, the pictures of the vestments which close the volume, and which we own have considerably cleared our own previously misty ideas of the shape and nature of chasubles and the like.

This objection being disposed of, the ill-tempered critic himself who made it allows not only the bookseller's merits of a handsome volume to the publication (and the volumes,—size, type, and arrangement—are both handsome and full of matter), but also more substantial and essential excellencies. Whether as, historically, shewing how the Prayer-book came to be what it is, or, ritually, how it designs itself to be rendered from word into act, or, theologically, as exhibiting the relation between doctrine and worship on which it is framed, the book amasses a world of information carefully digested, and errs commonly, if at all, on the side of excess. An elaborate proof, for instance, of the Apostolical origin and necessity of Episcopal government is—not, indeed, thrown away in these days, but—perhaps a little superfluous in a commentary on an Ordinal which takes the doctrine for granted. The Introduction to the Psalms strikes us as less pretentious and more to the purpose. The actual history of the Jewish and of the Christian use of the Psalms is there stated with great learning, and the principle is elaborated upon which alone that use in Christian worship is intelligible. The spiritual sense of the Psalms, and that only, fits them for the common worship of the assembled Christian Church. And while he entirely appreciates the other and manifold private uses of the Psalms, this their liturgical use is exhibited by Mr. Blunt more fully than we remember to have seen done elsewhere. But, after all, the great gain in this edition is the carrying into detailed and complete execution of what Mr. Proctor and others initiated, and, as far as a book *about* the Prayer-book could do so, accomplished—viz., the exhibiting in actual collation or contrast the originals of the different portions of the book, side by side with

of London, lingered on in use in St. Paul's, we are surprised to see, until so late as 1859), the Scottish and Irish Prayer-books, and the additional services in the latter, some of which, or services analogous to them, it were well we had in England also. Mr. Macray, we perceive, has euphemistically concealed, under the vague phrase of "full of the strongest expressions," reinforced by Burnet's equally vague description (that they are "in a high strain"), the singular fact that in the original Form of Prayer for the Restoration, as issued by Royal authority and prior to the revision and sanction of it by Convocation, there occurred an actual and formal prayer for blessings to be gained by the intercession of Charles I.; to whom, it may be remembered, one church at least then built (at Plymouth) was actually dedicated.

We must demur to the tone of Mr. Blunt's remarks upon the Judaic tone of the Communion Service, which certainly surprise us as coming from him; especially when noting by way of contrast the specially fair and considerate tone of his notes on the Burial Service. But taking the volume as a whole, we cannot part from it without congratulating its compilers upon having produced a real and valuable permanent addition to our stock of knowledge, and power of intelligent and devotional use, of the Prayer-book of our Church.



V.
MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

MR. HADDAN'S historical studies did not unfit him for the study of philosophy. On the contrary, his acute and accurate mind was eminently fitted for the treatment of abstract subjects. Called upon to take his side in the great controversy between Faith and Reason, which divided the intellect of Oxford after the lamented secession of Mr. Newman, while he unhesitatingly cast in his lot with the maintainers of that traditional Christianity in which he had been trained, he did justice to the sincerity of his opponents, but never spared what he thought looseness of reasoning or logomachy. His essay on Rationalism, in the "Replies to Essays and Reviews," exhibits in a measure his mind on the subject; but there is much that is valuable in the critiques now printed. Still, it cannot be said that the bent of his mind lay in the direction of mental science. The estimate of the success of these studies since the day that the witty Frenchman penned the words, "Il savait de la métaphysique ce qu'on en a su dans tous les ages, c'est a dire fort peu de chose," has been considerably modified; but it cannot be doubted that philosophy had not the same charm for Mr. Haddan as history. Perhaps the sense of uncertainty—caused by the claims of different schools, and the impossibility of finding any authority to determine between these—threw him back upon the certainty of the facts of history. His mind rested in the actual. Leaving the schools of Hegel and Mill, of Maurice and Mansel, to adjust their differences, his true rest was in the records of the past:—

*Μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερίσκεται,
'Αγένητα ποιεῖν, ἅσθ' ἂν ᾗ πεπραγμένα.*

The following series of miscellaneous articles exhibits Mr. Haddan's views on some questions of the day which are not likely soon to lose their interest. Events march very fast, and speculation soon finds its solution in practice; but much of what he has written on these subjects will continue useful, inasmuch as he lays down general principles which are of universal application. The size to which the present volume has attained has constrained the Editor to reject many papers which would have illustrated the great extent of their author's reading, as well as the soundness of his judgment. On secular subjects, too, there will be many that have been reluctantly sacrificed. Enough, however, has been preserved to shew that Mr. Haddan was emphatically what a great author of the Elizabethan age calls "a full man," and that beyond the specialties of his profession, there were many subjects on which he thought and wrote with vigour, clearness, and intelligent interest.

THE LIMITS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT*.

FIRST we owe to Mr. Mansel a distinction formalised by a nomenclature. That all practical truth, as apprehended by man, refuses to admit of analysis according to the laws of the human understanding, and while adapted perfectly to its proper object of directing conduct, lands the investigator, if submitted to an intellectual test, in a mass of contradictions—is a doctrine as old as Aristotle. The religious form of the same doctrine—that all divine truth is a mystery to man past finding out—is as old as the oldest book extant, the Book of Job. But still it is something to have the doctrine signalised, and crystallised into a convenient phrase-

* "The Limits of Religious Thought Examined, in Eight Lectures, preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1858, on the Foundation of the late Rev. J. Bampton." By H. L. Mansell, B.D. (Oxford: printed by J. Wright, Printer to the University, for John Murray.) *Guardian*, Jan. 12, 1859.

And Mr. Mansel has done this by his distinction between "regulative" and speculative truth. But will he forgive our suggesting that he has hardly guarded his true and valuable statement of the distinction with sufficient clearness, at least in its application to moral truth, specially so called? "The moral sense," he most truly explains, "is not designed to tell us what are the absolute and immutable principles of right as existing in the eternal nature of God, but to discover those relative and temporary manifestations of them which are necessary for human training in this present life." And in a note, in reply to Mr. Maurice's strictures on the subject, it is further specified that the "manifestations" intended are relative to the constitution of man *as man*, and not to that of this or that individual man or body of men, and that the "time" to which they belong, is the whole time of the duration of the human race upon earth, and not this or that century. But we desiderate a principle on which to rest the limitation. Once launched upon the principle of *analogous* truth, why are we to stop at any irrelevant limit drawn from the mere number of those whose subjectivity compels this analogousness? Why are adaptations to man as man admissible, and adaptations to individual man, and still more to particular periods of development in the human race, not admissible? Or where are we to draw the line? The outward training of each man—including under the phrase not only external events, but the subjective modifications imposed upon his views of truth, and this not only by the universal laws of human thought, but by his own individual phase of life and education—this whole outward training rests, down to a certain point at any rate, upon the same footing. So far as it comes from God, either the whole or no part at all of it is an economy—an adaptation of truth whereby Providence seeks to mould the individual man to good. We only know by a moral instinct, that truths as they seem to man as man, must possess a real analogy to the absolute truths of which they are the finite modifications. And how can a step further from the absolute truth make that truth cease to be analogous which in the first stage was confessedly so? Why are adaptations to man, truths, though partial ones, and so allowable (as they are, at any rate, unavoidable), but adaptations to the Jews in the period of the Judges, no analogies to truth at all, but false and inadmissible? Or, to put the matter in other words, if the All-wise sees it to be good for man that he shall have such and such beliefs about morals, and if these

beliefs are to him accordingly first truths on which he rightly rests, why should it be impossible that certain further modifications of these beliefs should be seen to be good for men under particular circumstances, and should therefore be to those men true, although to other men, at other times, they would be false? At any rate, Mr. Mansel shews us no reason for drawing the line where he does draw it, beyond the inconvenient inferences to which the latter of these views appears to lead, and the undeniable mischief, of which, when rashly applied, it has been the source. And his account of Old Testament ethics, imperfect as space necessarily makes what is of course only a *πάρεργον* to the book, is rendered more imperfect by this defect. It is a complete vindication of isolated commands to individual patriarchs, but it hardly meets (rather it distinctly fails to meet) the fact of the existence of a certain general moral phase in the Jewish mind of different periods, as, e.g., that of the Judges, or the permission of certain general practices for long periods of time, as, e.g., of polygamy. Now we do not venture to say that we can in these columns supply the defect which we seem to ourselves to have indicated. No doubt the analogous truth must still remain analogous. The reflection must not so far recede from the image of the primary and absolute truth as to convey an impression contradictory to that primary truth. But how far may we go in the process? The line may, perhaps, be best drawn by distinguishing the voluntary from the involuntary; inasmuch that all modifications of the moral sense which arise, directly or indirectly, from the wilful act of man himself, may be set down as false, or mixed up with falsehood; while those which an outward providence imposes, must be held to be true in the way of analogous truth. But we content ourselves here with pointing out a gap in Mr. Mansel's statement, which, to our minds, needs filling up, in order to make his distinction a safe and useful one.

But to turn from this minor topic to the great subject of the book—the true limits and nature of man's knowledge of God. In the great conflict, the theological phase of which is represented by Bishops Browne and Berkeley, and the philosophical by Sir W. Hamilton, *versus* Victor Cousin, Calderwood, M'Cosh, and others, Mr. Mansel unhesitatingly casts in his lot with what may be called the negative side. He would adopt, we suppose, even Bishop Berkeley's hostile version of the view defended by Browne, and boldly declare the fundamental belief of all religion to be a belief in

an "unknown Subject of unknown Attributes." Yet at bottom we fairly believe that the combatants we have named practically agree. The one side would not doubt that the attributes, for instance, of the Most High really, although analogically, correspond to the similar attributes of which human consciousness supplies the idea. While the other side would readily admit that no theological proposition concerning the acts or qualities of the Almighty could properly or safely be subjected to a logical crucible and driven out into all those issues which, considering it as a human idea, it would apparently contain or imply. The really important points appear to us to be, first, the mode of stating this characteristic of theological truth; and, secondly, the practical application of it in detail. And with regard to the first of these, we prefer Cousin's way of stating the matter to Sir W. Hamilton's. It is better to say that man *can* know God, but that his knowledge is necessarily analogical, than that man *cannot* know God, but that his knowledge is such as to imply an Infinite Being beyond that knowledge. Now Mr. Mansel, as might be expected, takes in general the Hamiltonian line in the matter, yet not with any startling harshness of language; on the contrary, he so enunciates his view as rather to reconcile and adapt the two modes of statement. Nor is the difference, in reverent hands, one that would lead to practical bad consequences. Yet we confess that the general line of Mr. Mansel's lectures leaves a sort of undefined impression upon the reader, that really, after all, Atheism and Pantheism have a great deal to say for themselves, and if logic were to rule would be unanswerable—an impression which a careful study of the real argument of the book will indeed effectually dispel, and which the earnestly religious tone of the sentiments that are elicited as the argument proceeds, counteracts in a thoughtful reader, but which is possibly due to the thoroughly Hamiltonian form into which Mr. Mansel's speculations are cast.

The main value of the book, however, lies in the rigorous analysis which in Lecture II. demolishes the philosophico-theological conception of the Almighty propounded by Kant, Hegel, and Schelling, and which underlies almost the whole of the dangerous neology of our modern American, and, alas! also English schools of infidel religionism; and in the illustrations of the true limits of a sound and really rational philosophy of theology contained in the sixth and seventh lectures. In the latter of these lies the portion of the argument which will be most effective. And we should willingly have

seen this portion expanded into far greater dimension in the rest, we recognise a worthy offspring of that p invaluable work of almost superhuman wisdom, the Bishop Butler. We find the all-important, yet ever-forliminary questions urged with a master's power upon the ready combatants in the theological disputes of this as of Is your question one that human faculties *can* solve? that man has any right to ask? Is it not one which i cases you yourselves are content to leave unsolved? T deed, which Mr. Mansel puts into our hands is one of cability. It unlocks a wide range of theological diffic supersedes and shelves a wonderful number of compli logical hypotheses. Heresies, from Arius down to O been almost proverbially the offspring of logic applied to with the tacit assumption of the capacity of the huma define and syllogise upon the acts and attributes of the And modern heresies are no exception to the rule. Prov capacity of logic to deal with the subject at all. And the c cuts them all off by the roots. And that proof Mr. M ably elaborates. He has given us the most philosophical ever remember to have read, that while human instinc a belief in a Personal God, human reason itself proclaims God is, and that the reason of man cannot conceive of H is. And if there is an objection to be made to the fo argument, it is one perhaps which lies also against Bishc and which is inherent in all argument upon such subject simply that the negative force of the reasoning is stronger positive; and thus that we close the book with the feeling direct evidence for religion is not there, but that we hav a greater clearness of view in dealing with that evidence works which profess to contain it. We feel that philosop nothing by rejecting religion. They are encompassed, in t realm of thought, with the identical difficulties which they escape by scepticism. We feel also that the force of those ties is reduced to nothing, in that an objection confessedly in philosophy cannot be worth anything in the analogous in theology. And here, as in Butler himself, is the true the argument. In a word, we gladly recognise in Mr. work another chapter of Butler's great argument ably wo a Third Part of the Bishop's immortal work. We find

analogy between the phenomena of philosophy and theology, applied with a masterly ability both to demolish philosophical objections to the latter, and to establish in both the true limits of the sphere of reason in dealing with them.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE INFINITE^b.

IN the midst of the very absurd logomachies of which Professor Mansel's Bampton Lectures have been made the occasion, a very serious and pregnant difference of opinion undoubtedly exists. The Maurices beat about the bush in a vain and wordy strife. And the Edinburgh Reviewer of the Essayists, and other fautors of the same side, condescend to endeavour to make capital out of popular misconceptions. Perhaps it was too much to expect greater fairness or more depth from either quarter. Even Dr. Young, if we read his book aright, misses the real point of difference, and concedes qualifications of his own position which almost pare it down to a merely different side of Mr. Mansel's. But a real and important question is undoubtedly hidden under all this smoke and dust. And Mr. Calderwood, by bringing it forward in a philosophical way, has, to our minds, done his best to discomfit his own view of it by plainly stating what that view is. That we *can* know the Infinite but only with a partial knowledge, and that we *cannot* know the Infinite except under the conditions of the Finite, are statements respectively involving an assertion or denial of this proposition—that the Infinite is merely an expansion of the Finite;—that, e.g., Eternity is only Time prolonged without end. Mr. Calderwood asserts this. Professor Mansel denies it. And the whole dispute hinges on this issue. Mr. Mansel, we apprehend, equally with Mr. Calderwood, would affirm that in thinking of God, our thought is a "clear" thought, if by "clear" is only meant that the object of the thought is distinguished thereby from all other objects; and that it is also a "distinct" thought, if by "distinct" is only meant that the several attributes connected by the word are distinguishable from one another; and, of course, beyond a doubt, that it is also an "inadequate" thought, because "our power of cognition is insufficient to

^b "The Philosophy of the Infinite: a Treatise on Man's Knowledge of the Infinite Being, in answer to Sir W. Hamilton and Dr. Mansel." By the Rev. H. Calderwood. Second Edition. (Macmillan.) *Guardian*, Sept. 25, 1861.

embrace the Infinite in the fulness of His Immensity." But when the nature of this "inadequacy" comes in question, then there arises a difference. For while Mr. Mansel would hold the human conception of the Infinite to differ in kind from its object, Mr. Calderwood appears to maintain that the difference lies simply in quantity, and that if the limitations of finiteness were removed, the one would expand at once to the fulness of the other. Now, so stated, we can have no hesitation—the case strikes our minds as not admitting of a doubt—in siding with Mr. Mansel. And if the main popular objection to this conclusion were removed by a statement of the positive as well as the negative side of the view, we feel convinced that all accurate thinkers would ultimately do the same. For when the question is asked, *what* relation does the Infinite attribute bear to the finite conception, to answer simply that such relation is *not* one of identity, or even, without further explanation, that it *is* one of analogy, is to cut us off apparently from all power of thinking of the Infinite at all. And if men are frightened, in addition to this, by phrases such as our inability to know God, or that religion is not a subject of thought at all, there can be no wonder if they start back from what looks like cutting off every bridge whatever between earth and heaven, between the intelligent soul and God. But the real danger proceeds from the other side. If Mr. Calderwood's view is demonstrably untenable—and we think it is—then to make religious belief depend upon its truth is, indeed, to involve that belief in serious peril. What is needed, is, that the *positive* side of Mr. Mansel's view should be brought out. We do not see grounds for exempting *moral* attributes from the general principle. And take justice, then, for an example. Is the justice of God utterly unlike that of man? Surely not. That would be destructive, indeed, of all religion. Is it, then, so like human justice, that the inferences we can legitimately draw from the latter may be unhesitatingly drawn also from the former? Surely this is as untenable as the opposite extreme. We may not dare to draw such inferences further than God's own revelations leads us by the hand. The foundation and basis of our conception of justice in man corresponds to that of justice in God. We are sure that for all practical purposes the likeness is sufficient. But there we stop. An absolute likeness, such that the human conception, applied to God with the one change of infinite extent, may be drawn out into all the results that to human logic seem to be bound up in it—such like-

ness surely even Mr. Calderwood would not maintain; although this principle seems to imply it. A likeness such as may be conceived to exist between the attribute as existing absolutely, and the same attribute as viewed under the conditions of our vision of it, such that the latter practically is a true representative of the former, Mr. Mansel, we apprehend, would maintain as decidedly as Mr. Calderwood himself; although he would demur to the word likeness.

In some minor points Mr. Calderwood has, we believe, caught his opponent tripping. That "religion is no function of thought," is, of course, a curious statement to drop from a writer who has published an octavo volume on "the limits of religious thought." And a more serious incompleteness rather than error seems to exist, when Mr. Mansel implies apparently that the knowledge of God, to be possessed by saints in heaven, is a knowledge free from the conditions of finite being—a knowledge of the Absolute in itself. Doubtless he must have meant no more than that human knowledge then will be that of a higher order of intelligence than is vouchsafed to man now. But his language (in the end of Lecture V. of the Bampton Lectures) is constructed certainly upon the other supposition.

The religious thinker, however, let Mr. Calderwood's general failure to fix error upon his opponent be what it may, owes thanks to him for a philosophical and calmly-written volume, which ventilates the subject on that positive side of it upon which we hold Mr. Mansel to have insufficiently dwelt. He would, in our judgment, have done more service had he supplemented, instead of endeavouring to controvert, Mr. Mansel. But it is to be owned candidly that a full statement of the real nature of human knowledge of God in relation to Mr. Mansel's positions is wanted at this present moment, and that, properly made, it would do greater service to no one than to Mr. Mansel himself. It would free his theory from popular objections, and add to it that constructive character in which it is now not altogether without defect.

WHAT IS REVELATION?^c

THE passages in Mr. Mansel's lectures against which Mr. Chretien's principal criticisms are directed, are those which lay down a distinction between "regulative" and "speculative" truth—which extend this distinction to all truth, moral as well as metaphysical—and, finally, deny to man the power of attaining to "speculative" truth upon any subject, and confine the range of his knowledge to that which is, in Mr. Mansel's phrase, "regulative." In assailing this point, however, Mr. Chretien does in fact assail the main position of Mr. Mansel's entire argument. For Mr. Mansel maintains that all human knowledge must be not limited in range only, but constituted by human faculties; that human faculties are, in kind, and not in degree merely, incapable of knowing things "in themselves," and necessarily know, not a part clearly, but all that they know at all, under the form which their own subjectivity imparts; that such incapacity extends to moral and religious as well as to purely intellectual ideas; that ontology by consequence—and a *science* of theology must needs fall under the head of ontology—is not indeed a science which has no existence at all, but is a science of the relative, not the absolute, and of a negative, not a positive character; and finally, as the result of this, that neither our moral nor our religious conceptions correspond to the absolute truth—we neither know goodness nor God himself, save under modifications resulting from ourselves—and, as the practical conclusion from this, that we may not venture to judge of revelation as though we were masters of its principles, although we have a sufficient knowledge of its matter to be able to guide our conduct. Now the assumption which underlies the whole of this (to our minds, unanswerable) train of argument, is, that the relation of human conceptions to the realities which they represent, is a relation—of analogy, or of sign to thing signified, or of type and symbol to

^c "What is Revelation? A Series of Sermons on the Epiphany; to which are added Letters to a Student of Theology on the Bampton Lectures of Mr. Mansel." By the Rev. F. D. Maurice, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's-inn. (Macmillan and Co.)

"A Letter to the Rev. F. D. Maurice on Some Points suggested by his Recent Criticism of Mr. Mansel's Bampton Lectures." By the Rev. C. P. Chretien, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. (J. W. Parker and Son.)

"An Examination of the Rev. F. D. Maurice's Strictures on the Bampton Lecturer of 1858." By the Lecturer. (Murray.) *Guardian*, Dec. 7, 1859.

antitype and to the reality symbolised, or whatever other inadequate expression may be chosen to suggest it—but at any rate, *not* of conformity or exact correspondence. And those conceptions are, therefore, not “true,” if we require such an exact conformity as the very meaning of truth, and if we regard them in themselves, i.e. “speculatively;” however it may remain possible (although a possibility still requiring proof), that they may lead us right in practice, and therefore may be called true “regulatively.” But such knowledge is precisely that kind of knowledge which, by a rhetorical artifice (for it is no less in fact, although doubtless not so intended), Mr. Chretien denounces as “false;” borrowing the word, not from Mr. Mansel, but from Bishop Butler, and using it to express, not a moral quality of intentional deceit, but an intellectual incapacity, producing incomplete apprehension. Mr. Mansel in effect limits all precise human “knowledge” to phenomena; but asserts a blind, yet trustworthy consciousness of the existence of realities underlying phenomena, and denies only that we can so “know” those realities as to be able either to define or to reason about them, unless where, and exactly so far as, revelation has removed the veil; pointing out also, that revelation does not change man’s faculties, but supplies information adapted to them. Mr. Chretien calls such knowledge of realities falsehood, and argues accordingly. Mr. Mansel affirms (although his argument kept him from dwelling upon that side of the truth), that the analogies supplied by humanity itself, applied to interpret revelation, enable us, in a certain degree, sufficient for faith and practice, to penetrate the veil thus thrown over these absolute realities, but that of course we may not take analogies for exact resemblances, or assume that we know the reality itself, even in part, with a direct and exact knowledge. His critic declines to accept such analogous knowledge, upon religious subjects, and denounces it as equivalent to no knowledge at all. Yet surely our eyes are not blind, because we have not either a telescopic or a microscopic vision; and common sense bids us both act and reason on what we see, although we know that sight is imperfect, and that we not only do not see all that is within the range of vision, but literally see nothing as it really is.

Mr. Chretien argues his point—1, upon quasi-logical grounds; and 2, (notwithstanding an unintelligibly zealous protest on his own part against judging theological questions by their moral

tendencies, the relevancy of which to Mr. Mansel we are at a loss to understand) upon moral grounds. That human knowledge *must* be limited by human faculties, he admits. That the consequences drawn from this admission respecting the nature of human knowledge do not follow from it, he makes no attempt to shew. The problem of an absolute knowledge of God or of goodness remains in his pages without a solution, and without one word to prove that solution possible. We cannot see that Mr. Chretien either possesses himself any conception of the absolute, or that he points out how such conception is attainable by man. He remonstrates against the alleged sceptical result of the Bampton Lecturer's doctrine, but gives us not a particle of light by which to see our way out of it. He recoils, indeed, from the caricature of moral indignation which has betrayed Mr. Maurice into the at once ludicrous and shocking assertion, that the Bampton Lecturer cannot honestly speak of knowing God in prayer. But he takes for granted that such kind of knowledge as Mr. Mansel allows is delusory, and, in a practical sense, untrue; and founds thereupon a more sober, but for that reason a more weighty, protest against its moral, while he yet offers no grounds for impeaching its intellectual, character.

Now, the answer to Mr. Chretien seems to be, first of all, that he has no right to raise a cloud of moral reprobation around Mr. Mansel's position until he has first shewn that his position really involves the moral consequences which he imputes to it; and if it does, then, further, that it is not true. If we *are* in that dreary abyss of scepticism to which he holds the Lecturer's theory to condemn us, it is no use to lash our prison bars with a mere impotent despair. But surely we had better, first of all, inquire whether that theory *does* condemn us to such scepticism; and, if it really does, then next, whether we cannot prove it false. There are plenty of people in the world—partly from lack of habits of accurate thinking, partly from lack of opportunity to become familiar with metaphysical inquiries, partly from such less creditable reasons as appear to influence Mr. Mansel's other assailant—who will readily join in an outcry against a position worded in terms so startling as that man cannot know God. But Mr. Chretien is a scholar, and an able and a thoughtful and a Christian man. And it does surprise us that *he* should have lent the weight of his name, with whatever qualification, to a cry which is founded upon a mere paralogism; which the necessarily paradoxical appearance

to the popular mind of scientific truth scientifically stated was sure to raise; and which he himself makes no fair effort to rest upon a sounder foundation.

For *does* Mr. Mansel's doctrine involve scepticism as its natural result? Is it true that the kind of divine knowledge which the Lecturer affirms to be alone possible, is really in such sense false as to be equivalent to no knowledge at all, or to none worth having for practical guidance? We admit that, in our own judgment, the Bampton Lecturer would have done better, had he not dwelt so directly and expressly upon the negative side of the case, while he confined himself to suggesting and admitting the affirmative. He has proved at length that the relation of human thought to divine thought,—or, what comes to the same thing, of the subjective conception to the objective reality—is *not* that of conformity, while he has rather left it to be gathered from his language than expressly worked out the counterpart truth, that such relation *is* that of analogy; or if we prefer so to state it, that the human conception is not indeed the exact representation of the objective truth, but is the nearest to that representation which man's Creator saw to be possible for man himself to have, or is that mode of representation which, assuming human faculties to be what they are, would best convey the whole amount of truth of which those faculties are capable. And therefore (as we remarked in substance when reviewing the Lectures themselves), we should have preferred a difference of tone, or of arrangement, or in the relative prominence assigned to the several parts of his view. We should have felt better satisfied had the Lecturer dwelt more upon the power we have of knowing God, although his very argument, we admit, required him to lay the principal stress upon our impotence of *not* knowing Him.

But an author must be judged by the whole of his view, not by a part of it. And can Mr. Chretien really think that there is no difference, morally as well as intellectually, between an equivocation and an analogy, between absolute unlikeness and partial likeness, between a delusion and a shadow, or between a sign which has no relation at all to the thing signified beyond arbitrary appointment, and the image of that thing reflected through a medium that partly cannot transmit it, and partly lends to it a colour borrowed from the medium itself? Must knowledge be wholly (so far as it goes) the clear representation of absolute truth in itself, in order to be

(so far as it goes) knowledge at all? And then further, whatever be its speculative value, is imperfect knowledge really valueless in moral relations? Assuredly we have not so read either our Ethics, or what is of more consequence, our Bible. Cannot man be fired with a real zeal for truths which he knows that he imperfectly apprehends? Is not "a knowledge of a person as by a person" a sufficient basis for faith to act, and not only to act, but to *repose* upon? Is there any better kind of religious knowledge to be desired? Does Mr. Chretien "know" his own friends among his fellow-men in any other way? He knows them "as a person knows a person;" and never, we are sure, felt less love for them because his knowledge of them was "a sham and a delusion, regulatively true but speculatively false."

Look, too, at the conditions of our sensuous knowledge. The case with them may be pushed far beyond the point to which Mr. Mansel pushes it in that of our moral or religious knowledge. And yet no one lacks faith in his senses sufficient for practical guidance, however accurately he may be aware of their inability to convey the truth itself to the mind. The objective conditions which produce a sensation, the sensation itself as impressed upon the organs of sense, the representation of that sensation in the thinking mind—(we use the terms that appear most intelligible without reference to metaphysical technicalities)—would all be unhesitatingly confounded together by popular thought; and, if distinguished, would assuredly be affirmed, with something of Mr. Chretien's indignant zeal for truth, to be exact repetitions one of the other. Yet all thinkers know, none better than Mr. Chretien himself, that there is no ground for believing in the very least resemblance between any two of the three. And here then is an impression on the thinking mind "speculatively false," for it is utterly different from that for which it stands, yet "practically true." We guide our actions according to the information which our senses convey; and the guidance is a true guidance *practically*; yet the information, speculatively considered, is *not true*. We see white, or whatever it may be; but it is only white to us. In itself the quality in the object which produces the sensation of white in us, may be, and very probably is, something wholly different from our sensation. And our sensation as existing in the sensuous organ is utterly different again from that sensation as transformed into a thought in the mind. But each is to us as if it were the same. And the

result is a "speculative falsehood" which is "a practical truth." Can we take, then, any longer the *à priori* moral ground, and denounce as an impiety or a sham the doctrine that man is piloted through the world by relative truths which are not absolute truths? He *is* guided in matters of sense by successive sensations. And these sensations are a series of blind indications of something without him wholly differing (so far as we can possibly tell) from themselves, which yet we habitually and naturally identify with those external and objective things, which they signify, and of which we have no other knowledge, and which reflection tells us we have no ground whatever for identifying with them. In a word, we grope our way through the sensuous world by the help of a series of beliefs, which are, indeed, in a degree far beyond what Mr. Mansel asserts of our religious conceptions—practically true but speculatively false.

And turn from analogies to intellectual conceptions themselves. Attempt to analyse the conception man forms of any supersensuous object. Attempt to analyse any act of man's consciousness unconnected with the impressions of the senses. And be the consequences of the statement what they may, *is* not the result a series of negatives, if regarded in the abstract, and if regarded practically, a series of propositions sufficiently near the truth to guide action, but obviously not exact representations of the truth itself or of any part of it, or in other words, what Mr. Chretien—not, be it repeated, Mr. Mansel—denominates speculative falsehoods? Take any one of such propositions; and *is* it true *as far as it goes*?—that is, is it in such sense true as that it *only* requires some other additional truth or truths to be added to it, without any change whatever in itself, to be rendered a complete statement of the whole truth? The omnipresence of the Most High, for instance, as coexistent with the real existence of that which is *not* God, the created universe—is this (the primary root out of which Pantheism has grown) a true statement so far as it goes? or is it not rather an approximation to the truth, the nearest, no doubt, that man's faculties can receive, but one which must be translated into the language of a totally different and higher kind of thought before it can become an exact representation of the very truth? All truths harmonise. But the two positions of the omnipresence of the Creator and the distinct existence of the Creation are logically contradictory; or rather, if we overlook the truth, which

Mr. Chretien does overlook, and treat these two propositions as really expressing the exact truth as far as they go, then they become contradictories. And they are only harmonised, when we remember their real nature, and refuse to treat human conceptions of truth as though they answered to the truth itself with a prosaic conformity; or to argue from them, as though the finite conceptions, of which they consist, were exhaustive definitions of the essence of things, so far as they went at all, every logical result of which, when subjected to the rules of human thought, was as literally true as the basis of the conceptions themselves is true.

Or take again the conception of Eternity. How can that conception come within Mr. Chretien's account of "limited" but exact knowledge? Does he really hold eternity to be merely time prolonged without end? Or does he believe it to be (as it surely is) a somewhat out of and above time, and of which indefinitely extended time is only our nearest but consciously most inadequate representation? He is too deep a thinker to subscribe to the former view, yet the latter is diametrically opposed to his own doctrine as he here sets it forth.

We cannot, then, subscribe to Mr. Chretien's inference as to the moral tendencies of the Bampton Lectures in this point, and, on the ground of these supposed moral tendencies, condemn a position which does not lead to them, and which we should have no right to condemn, even if it did, without examining first the intellectual grounds on which that position rests. And as to the quasi-logical ground upon which this same position is assailed, we are equally in astonishment that a logician like Mr. Chretien should have adopted it. There are regulative truths which are speculatively false (Mr. Mansel, by-the-by, never does speak of speculative *falsehoods*, to the best of our observation); and there are speculative truths which are regulatively false. But there are to man no such truths as those last named. Therefore, argues Mr. Chretien, the division into speculative and regulative is an illogical division. But does Mr. Mansel, in the outset, divide human conceptions into these two kinds at all? He certainly distinguishes two possible kinds of knowledge in the abstract—knowledge which sufficiently approximates to the truth to serve as a guide in practice, and knowledge which corresponds exactly with the very truth itself. And he restricts human knowledge to the former kind; and affirms of it, that if men treat it as though it were identical with the latter,

and forget its imperfectness, it will, so treated, lead to falsehood. True or false, we cannot discover any lack of logic in such a division as this. There is a knowledge that is human, and there is a knowledge that is superhuman. But to man the latter is as though it were not. *Therefore* the division is illogical. Is that conclusion logical?

There remains, however, we do not deny, an important question still at the bottom of Mr. Chretien's grave remonstrances. To be guided by pure delusions, consciously held to be such, would indeed be a miserable condition. To rest content with such a pitiful defence of truth as that which resolves it into a system of deceit by which man is blindly guided for his good, is a position which, strange as it must be to Mr. Chretien to remember, Mr. Mansel has censured in words quite as strong as his own. But what, then, is the guarantee of our consciousness? That consciousness need not, indeed, be clear and precise (as Mr. Chretien holds and Mr. Mansel denies) in order to be trustworthy. But if it have not this guarantee, it must have some other. If it be admitted that our present knowledge is of necessity not identical with perfect knowledge, but differing from it, as the product of a subjectivity differing fundamentally (as regards the knowing faculties) from that of the Perfect Knower, then what ground have we for believing anything at all? If I know ten pictures out of a series correctly, I am in possession of some exact knowledge of that series, and on my way towards more. If I know no one picture as it lies in the collection itself, but every picture even down to the last, as they have presented themselves to a disordered and discoloured vision, what ground have I for even hoping that I know, or ever shall know, anything at all about the matter to any good purpose? Such an illustration would, we suppose, fairly chime in with Mr. Chretien's views. How are we to answer it? Grant, in the outset, that our view of truth is *not* true, and who is to place the limit upon the degree of its untruth? Now reason certainly cannot place that limit; for the impotence of reason is assumed in the very hypothesis. And we turn for our solution to the deep religious philosophy of that very passage of Dr. Newman's which Mr. Chretien criticises. We look, for the foundation, and for the limit, of our belief in our own faculties, to the deep-seated instinct which tells us that God cannot deceive. Reason cannot guarantee itself. Nay, it carries on its face the proof of its own imperfectness. It discerns

blindly an ocean of infinite truth, ranging into boundless space around its own little islet of seemingly firm land, but into which it cannot penetrate, nay, cannot firmly gaze at all. And who shall guide its faltering steps within that boundless ocean, and give it firm footing? Surely the religious instinct which bids us trust to God, is the one prime premiss of *all* truth. Neither sense nor reason can warrant themselves. We believe them *because* we believe that God gave them, and that in giving them He must needs have given us truth—not all truth, not perfect truth, but that amount and kind of truth which He knew to be the best for our practical guidance; in a word, regulative truth and not speculative. And, therefore, we believe them—not to be infallible teachers of absolute truth, but to be trustworthy guides in practice—not to be, what He knew we needed not, but to be what He knows we need—not to be revealers of truth as it is, which is to us unnecessary, but to be adequate exponents of truth relative to ourselves, which is enough to bring us through the world to heaven.

There are other points noticed in Mr. Chretien's pamphlet, and noticed (as it strikes us) in a way widely open to a rejoinder. But this one point—of the falsehood of our religious knowledge, and of the consequent moral hollowness of conduct founded on positions which are all along held to be a deceit and a sham—this one point, we say, satisfactorily explained, Mr. Chretien's objections shrink into a manageable compass, and would probably never have been published to the world at all. There is a strange gentleness in the tone of his remarks upon Mr. Maurice's excesses of style and deficiencies of accuracy, regarding them apparently as amiable peculiarities in which it was allowable for the individual to indulge himself unblamed. And, in fine, we cannot help expressing our regret that so much of hearty kindness of feeling, and of noble zeal for honesty and reality, and of truthful labour to estimate an opponent correctly, should be thrown away by him so effectually in an exposition of fears that have no foundation, and perplexities self-caused.

Mr. Maurice's lengthy and (he must forgive the epithet) wordy volume, and Mr. Mansel's crushing rejoinder to it, need less notice.

We have read the former with very mixed feelings—admiring the energy of its author's protest against supposed vital error, yet wondering more and more at the confusion of thought which has conjured up out of its own mistakes such a hideous phantom of

an unreal foe, displeased at the self-sufficient arrogance of much of his language, and at his inability to distinguish between the vulgar and the vigorous, and painfully suspicious, at the close of the book, that the random blows of his rhetoric had (perhaps unconsciously) hammered out an error on his own part, that is in truth vital, supposing Mr. Maurice seriously to admit, now it has been pointed out, that he designedly means to hold what his words imply. As an answer to the Bampton Lectures, Mr. Mansel has spared reviewers the trouble of criticising the book. Arguments that are proved to be directed against assertions that have never been made, and in refutation of doctrines that exist only in the assailant's own imagination, need no further notice. Yet there is a word to be said for Mr. Maurice. His *forte* all along has not been logic or metaphysics. His true power lies in hearty and really noble sentiment, and in brave defence of what he deems to be truth, under whatever circumstances. It is therefore possible that his strange distortions of Mr. Mansel's words may have arisen simply from a want of the power of reasoning. We can say no more for them. Nor do we underrate the strength of the temptation which they gave to such a logical mind as Mr. Mansel's to put forth a complete unanswerable reply, couched in language as sharp as a keen perception of an opponent's blunders, even had self been no party to the matter, would provoke from such a master of dialectic weapons. Yet a kindlier tone would, we venture to think, have lent more real power of conviction to Mr. Mansel's defence of himself. We cannot blame him. But we remember older controversies in which Oxford bore no small part, and which touched on more vitally absorbing interests than self-vindication on questions primarily intellectual, and yet controversies where the gentle words and utter forgetfulness of self which characterised some, and pre-eminently one, of the disputants, have borne more lasting fruit than the keen logic, keener even than that of Mr. Mansel, which distinguished another among them.

There is, indeed, another question raised in the dispute, as we have already hinted, of more general and deeper interest than the personal one, and which we prefer laying before our readers in Mr. Mansel's words, giving it (as he does himself) as our own as well as his honest impression respecting Mr. Maurice's teaching, but subject to correction, should Mr. Maurice repudiate it. "I believe," says Mr. Mansel (speaking of himself), "that God is revealed

in Christ." But "I do not regard the manifestation of God in the flesh as a direct manifestation of the absolute and eternal essence of the Deity; but as the assumption of a nature in which the manifestation is adapted to human faculties, and limited to a mode in which man is capable of receiving it." But "Mr. Maurice's teaching, on the other hand, so far as I can understand it, appears to be this. He holds that the incarnation of Christ as a man was not the assumption by the Son of God of a new nature, but the unveiling to man of that which had existed from all eternity. He seems to maintain that God the Son is, in His eternal and infinite essence, very and perfect man, and that in His manifestation to the world in the likeness of sinful flesh, He did not 'empty Himself, taking the form of a servant,' but manifested His divine glory in all its infinite perfection. Mr. Maurice does not indeed tell us wherein that infinity consists, or by what means we are to be assured that it is the Very Infinite. 'Christ,' says the Article, 'in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, sin only except.' Our human nature is finite; are we to say that the absence of sin constitutes infinity? It would seem to do so according to Mr. Maurice's teaching, since he apparently regards Christ's incarnation as a direct exhibition of the Infinite. Such, however, is not the usual meaning of the term, nor is it in this sense that I have said that the Infinite is inconceivable. If this is his meaning, he is fighting with a shadow of his own creation. If this is not his meaning, I have yet to learn what constitutes that human infinity which he proclaims as the substance of his revelation."

THE WORK OF CHRIST ^a.

AT any rate there is plain speaking, both in the sermons themselves, and above all in the Preface, of this volume. Whatever doubt Mr. Maurice's peculiar style of language and sentiment may throw over the views of the master, those of one, at least, of his compeers in doctrinal teaching are here boldly and unequivocally set forth in the precise and adequate terms which are wont to be used by a well-trained thinker, who knows what he means, and why

^a "The Work of Christ; or, The World reconciled to God." Sermons preached at Christ Church, St. Marylebone. With a Preface on the Atonement Controversy. By the Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies, M.A. (Macmillan.) *Guardian*, Oct. 10, 1860.

he means it. The volume is not, indeed, the work of a man well read in the theology of his subject, or of one accustomed to weigh his own speculations by the judgments and reasonings of others. It is stamped with the crudeness of a theory thought out by the writer for himself. But it expresses the more clearly what that writer means to say; and will do more to bring the controversy to a sharply defined and therefore decisive issue, than either the sentiment with which Mr. Maurice has hitherto overlaid it, or the painful unsettling insinuations which inward struggles rather than clear conviction seem to force from Professor Jowett.

The peculiar view now advanced, with a flourish of trumpets about freeing timid consciences from the shackles of bigotry, is, indeed, nothing new. It is familiar to readers of the Grotian controversy against Crellius and the Socinians; although it is but just to say that it is not that of Socinus, except negatively, and in part. Its very arguments may be found in the pages of Crellius: its verbal subtleties, and shallow logic, and almost in terms, its indignant claim for its own use of Scripture words and phrases, followed by an ingenious interpretation of them in its own sense. It may be found, also, almost in terms among the compromises by which men strove in the last century to meet Unitarian arguers, and as such has been long since answered by Archbishop Magee. Affirming in Scripture words the need to man of the One Great Sacrifice, not as an example merely, or as a necessary step to the exaltation of the Saviour Himself, but as that which alone renders human repentance and good works acceptable, this revived hypothesis of older philosophers singles out for denial the one point of vicarious punishment. The *morality* of the Sacrifice, not the death or sufferings of the Victim, is affirmed to be the one quality in that sacrifice, which gives to it a redeeming and saving efficacy; and this, apparently, in the way of operating a moral change in man, not a removal of wrath against sin in God. And the negative side of this doctrine is defended partly by *a priori* arguments, drawn from human views of justice, and partly by the bold assertion that the denial is a mere return to the simpler Christology of the primitive Church. We do not feel it right to enter into such a question in this place. It belongs to divines, and not to a newspaper, to discuss in detail a subject so sacred. Let it be said only, with respect to the latter of these arguments, that Lactantius, Pelagius, and Abelard constitute the entire list of Patristic "authorities," whom the learning of

Crellius could rake up in behalf of a like denial; and the first of these wrongfully: and that a reference to Grotius' *Testimonia Veterum*, at the end of his answer to Crellius, will amply shew the boldness of the assertion advanced by Mr. Davies, and bolstered up by the authority of Professor Stanley, which is not in such a matter so high as in some others. The answer to the former lies in Butler's profound remarks upon those who so deal with the love of God as to forget His justice and His hatred of sin. And, further still, there is a previous question in both cases. And it is one to which Mr. Davies attempts only a cursory reply. The one answer which displaces both arguments, antecedently to any exposure of their particular faultiness, turns simply upon the fact that the doctrine assailed is in Scripture, and therefore on the one hand must be reconcileable with *right* reason, and on the other, forms part of the *most* primitive Christology. Until Mr. Davies shews that a doctrine, which even he allows to be the natural first-sight meaning of many passages in Scripture itself, is, after all, in truth *not* their meaning, his other arguments are irrelevant, except as subsidiary to the interpretation of Scripture. And meanwhile, what has been truly said of Socinus, is equally true of Mr. Davies. In all that he says of Scripture, he is not so much occupied in proving from thence his own view as he is in explaining so as to suit himself those Scriptures which condemn it. The general aspect of his book is undeniably that of an argument, framed upon grounds of supposed reason, to which it is the writer's object to reconcile, on the one hand, the Church, and on the other, Scripture itself.

We demur also to the ingenious view of the position of himself and his fellow-workers which Mr. Davies (we must say, unfairly) strives to make us accept. That a defective appreciation of the present and living value of the Incarnation, as involving a moral recreation of man, is a primary defect in modern (so-called) Evangelical theology, we fully admit. But upon what conceivable ground can Mr. Davies claim for his special theory of the Atonement the merit of counter-working this dangerous error? Howsoever the Atonement is to be analysed, it must be presupposed to the doctrine of man's moral regeneration. And Mr. Davies's view stands in no closer relation to that doctrine than the orthodox view does. We may, perhaps, welcome him and others as fellow-workers in reviving in religious minds a due sense of the value and meaning of the Incarnation. But his own special error (as we must take leave to

call it) has nothing in the world to do with the matter, beyond creating a prejudice against the truth in the popular mind by associating it with error. And without professing to explain the vague charge of Neoplatonism, which he so deservedly ridicules, and which, doubtless, is in the mouths of many men who are destitute of the faintest idea of its meaning, we protest altogether against the preposterous insinuation that opposition to the true doctrine of the Incarnation is the real ground of the aversion felt against the school to which Mr. Davies belongs.

There is another subject incidentally introduced into the volume, upon which a word of notice must be bestowed. Mr. Maurice some time ago revived a Rabbinical (which is akin, at least, to a Neoplatonist) crotchet, and tried to evade the difficulties of the literal interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis by an hypothesis distinguishing the generic from the literal Adam. Mr. Davies clutches at this crude dream; and supports it by arguments which remind us of Mr. Maurice by their combination of false logic with obscure fine writing. Sir W. Hamilton's speculations respecting the intellectual impossibility of conceiving the act of Creation are alleged as a reason why the Bible *could* not record the fact of the Creation! Theories respecting the fluxion of matter, which displace old conceptions of the being of the present system of things, are made to do duty as reasons for disbelieving any account of the actual origination of that system itself! The believers in the literal act of Creation, as recorded in Genesis, are actually assumed to be *ipso facto* disbelievers in a continued Providence! The first chapter of Genesis is affirmed to relate to the ideal Creation in the Divine Mind, because it is wrong to take the account of Creation there given to be "a piece of chronology:" yet the second chapter is in the same breath declared to contain an account of the literal creation of man, male and female—that is to say, of a creation which is a "piece of chronology!" There may be difficulties in the way of the orthodox interpretation; but it is a strange confusion of thought which could find them in such unmeaning sophisms as these, or could fancy them removed by a crotchet worthy for its absurdity to have been devised by the Gnostics themselves. And we can but recommend Mr. Davies for the future to be on his guard against speculations suggested by Mr. Maurice, and to keep rather to those which commend themselves to his own usually clearer and more logical head. At least he will, in that case, err intelligibly.

ON PARTY SPIRIT IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH*.

THERE is a way of maintaining truth, even when truth ought to be maintained, which is that of a partisan. There is a wrong tone and spirit in which men hold aloof from each other, even when they ought so to hold aloof. And *this* is party spirit, and to be condemned, like any other phase of sin or selfism, absolutely. But the abuse does not take away the duty. There *are* cases in which controversy is an obligation, and to separate is right, and party (so to call it) becomes inevitable. And the present age is quite as much in danger of error in denying this as of sinning in the other direction. A sentimental bond of union, which condemns dogma, and strives to substitute some form of emotional ethics for a creed, and professes to agree to differ upon all truth, is the modern rendering of the Communion of Saints, and the great speculative falsity of the age. It is true that in practice the times give the lie to themselves; and that opinions, sincerely held and sincerely believed to be important, do actually sever men as widely and as bitterly as ever. The Evangelical Alliance, for example, only holds together at all, because the points on which the members differ are simply truths they none of them care about, and which form no part of the real creed of any of them. Anti-slavery, which does constitute an article of the creed of most of its members, and one which ranks with them in fact above Church or sacraments, would split them inevitably, were their sittings held in America instead of England; and has very nearly done so, as it is. But the talk of latitudinarianism still remains. And the question at the root of it—one of no small importance—is one lying further back than Mr. Robins reaches;—is it or can it be right to combine in religious action with those who differ from us (and, as we hold, from the truth) in religious creed?

Mr. Robins however assumes—tacitly—that within the Church our differences cannot be (as indeed they ought not to be) so fundamental as to forbid combination. And a few paragraphs in the latter part of the essay shew that he felt this to be a point which he ought to prove. Without it, indeed, to exhort people to unite, is to exhort them to that sentimental indifferentism which is the talk of the day; and the exhortation will fail in proportion to the real ear-

* "On Party Spirit in the English Church." By the Rev. Sanderson Robins, M.A. (Bell and Daldy.) *Guardian*, April 10, 1861.

nestness and conscientiousness of those to whom it is addressed. And to enlarge, therefore, first of all, as Mr. Robins does, upon the mischiefs of disunion, is simply to miss the point where the shoe pinches. Truth first, and so peace. Agree in the truth of God's Holy Word, and then we can rightly hope to live in unity and godly love. And it seems, therefore, that the sound way to bring about a diminution of party, must be by laying the foundation in those topics, and similar ones, which are only incidentally noticed in the latter part of this essay. Is it true, indeed, that the English Church is really split into two or more irreconcilable parties, held together by the mere outward compression of endowments and an Establishment? Does it not seem a very mockery to doubt whether those who are bound to the same formularies, of a Church that really has formularies, and formularies containing dogmatic statements, however tempered by moderation, *are* at one upon fundamentals? Is the Church of England sundered by differences more wide than can be accounted for, and limited, by the necessary varieties of the type of the human mind—by that absence of discipline and that absolute freedom of speech which bring opinion to the surface among us, with something too little of the balance-weight of responsibility to sober and sift it—by the different degrees of prominence given to complementary and opposite sides of the same doctrine by varying circumstances—by the essentially many-sided character of religious truth itself—by the inability of men to see the results of their own positions—by verbal or inferential differences hiding real and fundamental agreement—by the merely moral dividing causes of precipitate, or conceited, or crude, or ambitious party spirit? This is the question that wants an answer, before we can surrender ourselves to the sorrowful lamentations of the present essay. No doubt, if we are indeed rent in twain by a division that reaches to the very foundation, our lamentation ought to be sadder still. But in that case the ground is shifted. Mr. Robins's rebukes are then out of place. It is only if we are *not* so divided, that party, apart from partisanship, becomes a sin. We wish we could feel that Mr. Robins's assumption of this as a fact, were as plainly well grounded, as we believe it to be in the main true. It is on such an assumption only that we can enter thoroughly into his book. To point out, as forcibly as is here done, the dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions, may set us seriously to work to answer that primary question. To exhibit the preposterousness of such pheno-

mena as, e.g., *two* societies for each Church purpose, severally kept alive by party zeal, and incapable of co-operation,—to awake us to the terrible phantom of Infidelity, and to the sad struggles and apostacies, which a united Church alone could meet, of thousands of souls in this land—to measure the appalling difficulties and the enormous extent of the work before us—to point out how personal wills and tempers are marring our efforts for good,—all this is in its place most useful. It is high time we all thought more of such topics. And Mr. Robins deserves the hearty thanks of all for bringing the influence of his great abilities and respected position to bespeak our serious attention to his remarks upon them. But if men are in earnest, the only way to unite them, either solidly or at all, is to prove to them that they can be honestly united. And the first great work, therefore, must be to prove in detail that actual points of difference are not of a kind to sever a practical union within the Church herself of this land.

And looking back over past history down to the present time, is it not so in fact? We will not say merely, that differences similar to our own, as wide, as narrow-minded, as excited, have existed in all parts of the Church from almost the beginning. We will not dwell upon the additional momentum which such differences have now the power of attaining, through the insulated condition of our own branch of the Church; an evil for which public opinion is a poor substitute of a remedy, in lieu of that united Church which was itself public opinion and a great deal more; but which the existence of our sister Churches in America and Scotland, and of our Colonial Churches, is really helping to remove, though hitherto imperfectly enough. We do not deny again that cases emerge, from time to time, within the pale of the Church, of differences from Church teaching so diametrically opposed to first principles as to come within the range of no palliation or excuse at all. Neither would we maintain for an instant that divisions of such extent as our own actually are, belong to the normal state of a Church; or that we ourselves are not very far—sadly and terribly far—removed from that degree of unity which ought to exist, and for which we ought to strive. Nor, further, is it quite safe yet, although matters are tending towards it, to assert that the bitterest of party strife among us is over, and that the Church movement has accomplished its work (as the Evangelical movement did before)—that the bulk of the Church have been lifted by that movement into a substantial

orthodoxy;—that even its opponents of to-day are occasionally more orthodox upon disputed points than some of its supporters of thirty years since;—that the centre of dispute, indeed, is shifting; and partly a new and dangerous adversary, mainly (alas! not wholly) without the Church, partly a real approximation of opinions, resulting from controversy, partly a sheer weariness of strife, partly the mere lapse of time and change of persons, have really rendered much of Mr. Robins's book appropriate to 1840 more than 1860. But take the broad question as between High and Low Church, apart from extremes and from personal feeling, as it is substantially and in the abstract, and may we not comfort ourselves with thinking that the difference is far from fundamental? The real High Churchman holds the entire cycle of doctrine upon which the Low Churchman insists; though he holds it in language more consistent with itself and with Scripture, and balances it by the counterpart doctrines which the errors of past times have led the other to leave out or obscure. And when the Low Churchman comes to act, he is forced by his position to fall in, in the main, with that Church system of which he is a part, and which he cannot shake off. Take the very question of Baptismal Regeneration. The Low Churchman shrinks from the words, and abhors most righteously his own caricature of the doctrine. But except extreme men, the bulk of the school surely approach towards a belief in what the words really mean. Are there many clergymen who would deny outright all grace attached to the sacrament? We hope we may safely doubt it. Or take the other sacrament. We remember with sorrow, that, about ten or a dozen years back, some twenty or thirty clergy were found to affirm some such proposition as that there was in this sacrament no Presence in any other sense than that which ordinary prayer, for example, may be said to bring about. We measure by this scanty number the extent of downright fundamental denial of the truth at that time. Short of this, it is not to be denied that there are numberless shades of error still. But if a man believes that there *is* a peculiar Presence attached to the Eucharist—and may we not feel sure that all, save some such pitiful handful, do believe this?—then at any rate we can act with that man. And meanwhile, upon the entire doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement (barring explanations of it), the necessity and work of grace, the necessity of good works, even the doctrine of Justification as regards practical teaching, and omitting

verbal and technical differences, the Resurrection of soul and body, the Judgment,—all are without dispute at one. We may dislike and disagree with, and condemn as in error, the Low Church school. We may (and do) think that it cannot vindicate to itself, so far as its formal omissions go, a rightful place in the English Church system. But as a tendency, its line of thought is founded upon human nature, is a reaction from opposite and equally dangerous errors, holds fast the kernel of the faith, and so long as theology has two sides, and men's reasons are finite, cannot but exist in the germ, and form a wholesome check upon tendencies of an opposite kind.

We feel that we almost owe Mr. Robins an apology for thus sketching a preliminary chapter to his book. It is a work that he could do himself if he chose, with a largeness of observation, and a depth of thought, and a well-balanced judgment, to which we beg to offer our tribute of admiration as shewn in that which he has already done.

THE CHURCH AND THE CHURCHES¹.

WHAT does Dr. Döllinger say of our own Church? And what does he say of the Papacy? These are the questions which rouse our reasonable curiosity, with respect to the work of one who is the most candid as well as the most learned of living Romanist theologians, and who of all others seems almost alone on that side to keep the spiritual wholly apart from the temporal. The main object indeed of Dr. Döllinger's book is to establish, by a review of actual results, the speedy and necessary downfall of Protestantism everywhere, and the equally certain persistence of the Papal system in its essentials. He would judge the tree by the fruits. He would retort upon opponents a current topic of past Protestant declamation; and establish the thesis, that liberty, charity, morals, and the very preservation of belief in any creed at all, follow the lines, not of Protestant but of Romanist communions, as unerringly as the verdure in the desert follows the stream. An invidious task at best; and on one side of it, in the face of the present condition of the Papal dominions, not an easy one: yet one, too, which ought to be

¹ "The Church and the Churches; or, The Papacy and the Temporal Power: an Historical and Political Review." By Dr. Döllinger. Translated with the Author's permission by W. B. Mac Cabe. (Hurst and Blackett). *Guardian*, 1862.

performed if there be indeed a clear and decisive result to obtain in either direction, and one which Protestants have themselves essayed too often and with too hearty a chuckle of expectant success, to allow of their demurring to the principle of the inquiry when thus repaid in their own coin.

The facts, however, remain a perfectly fair field for discussion. And interesting as they are throughout, they are of course doubly so to us in the special cases of our own Church, and of the present position of the Papacy. Are they then, in these two cases, as Dr. Döllinger, honest-minded, liberal, and learned as he is, represents them to be? Is his description of our own Church, for instance, a picture or a caricature? And even were it substantially true, what is its real significance? Does it disprove her Catholicity, or, still more, the possibility of her much longer existence? Such are Dr. Döllinger's anticipations, expressed with a rather rash absence of hesitation or doubt. We do not think it is any undue blindness in our own cause, which leads ourselves, on the other hand, to deny both the substantial truth of his premises and the legitimacy of the conclusions which he draws from them. First as to the facts. There is not a single statement, as far as we see, in Dr. Döllinger's chapter on the Church of England, for which he could not produce an English authority, or which does not at least resemble the truth. Yet no better instance, we believe, could be found of a picture tolerably (by no means wholly) true in its separate parts, but utterly false as a whole. Omit everything whatever, of any date, that indicates life and elasticity, or soundness of doctrine, or depth and Catholicity of devotional feeling. Select everything, throughout all centuries since the Reformation, all mixed together, over which either querulous friends have sighed or virulent enemies have triumphed—everything that earnest men have ever set themselves, often with partial success, often with no success at all, to remedy—everything that has been the subject of that continual protest which is, indeed, the attitude of truth at all times—everything that the course of worldly events has forced upon the Church, treated as though it were suicidal treason in the English Church, but the mere unavoidable intrusion of a foe in all other branches of the Church. Take, in a word, the black side of the shield only, and intensify its blackness by the hue of the beholder's spectacles. And you have the character of Dr. Döllinger's sketch of ourselves—of a sketch of the Church of England, drawn by a foreigner and a Romanist, but by one who

has evidently taken pains both to learn facts correctly and state them fairly, and whose knowledge is as light to darkness, compared with the ordinary conceptions of foreigners on the subject. We extract a few of his statements as they occur in his pages, the italics being, of course, our own. "At least half—in fact a much larger number—of the population, do not belong to the Anglican Church." A foreigner may be excused for continuing to believe in the exploded religious census. His English friends should have set Dr. Döllinger right. "The Anglican Church *does not trouble itself* about the mass of the poor population, factory workers and others." "The rich and distinguished go to church, *the poor* and the low *stay away*." "There is a *subordinate poor class* of clergymen, the curates, who perform service for the *more numerous* class of sinecurists and pluralists." Dr. Döllinger writes, too, as if he thought curates remained curates all their lives, as a distinct caste of clergy, in the regular order of things. "The Anglican Church clergyman does not preach, he reads a speech or an essay; he reads the lengthy Sunday Liturgy, and *he visits the boys' school*; but the people are not specially fond of these lectures in the churches; and with the prevailing system of hired seats and pews they cannot even find room inside the churches." "The English clergyman is therefore" (because of the absence of the Confessional) "*a lecturer, and in general nothing more*; whilst to the lower classes his manners and his modes of expression are strange, unintelligible, and repulsive." The Anglican religion is that "of deportment, of gentility, of clerical reserve. Religion and the Church are required to be, above all things, not troublesome, not intrusive," &c. "It [the Church] claims no high authority, is no inconvenient disturber of the conscience, but *keeps within the limits of general morality*; and whilst retaining *some* Christian doctrines, seldom wounds the hearts of the hearers by an application of them." The lower classes "see in the Anglican clergyman *only the elegant gentleman*; he is *not a friend, not a messenger of God*; and what is worse, he has no fixed doctrine to proclaim to them, for the Church he serves has none." "There is little prospect of its becoming the Church of the lower classes and of the poor." Some unbelieving sneers from daily London papers follow, which there is no need to reprint. It is enough to suggest to Dr. Döllinger the (one would have thought) unnecessary caution, that political articles of irreligious prints are to be interpreted as caricatures. The abuses of patronage, e.g. are

great. But it is *not* true that "any blockhead can be forced into the cure of souls by a wealthy father," though the "Times" thought fit to say so. The University degree and the Bishop stand in the way, and if the obstacles thus interposed are not what they ought to be, they are obstacles, nevertheless, and formidable ones. We are not going to defend the present state of things, but it need not be painted in blacker colours than the truth to please the scoffer or the adversary. But enough of quotations. In estimating their value, it must be remembered also, that Dr. Döllinger's particular statements are to be judged by the light of his throughout assumed principle—that the Confessional is essential to any true cure of souls, and constitutes the differentia between a priest and a "lecturer." Yet, even so interpreted, the only criticism to be made upon them is, that they are, at best, simply a collection of the bitterest things that either worldly politicians, or discontented or despairing Churchmen, ever have said, or could say, of the English Church, without one intimation that there can be other features in the picture, the addition of which would wholly change the general result. And, further, that they contain a pretty copious sprinkling of assertions which err, not simply in the negative or qualified way of omission or exaggeration, but in that of outright and positive mistake.

Respecting the temporal position of the Papacy, Dr. Döllinger is on ground where he is more at home. He is not dependent on the prejudiced statements of narrow-minded partisans, which he, as a foreigner, and one alien to our home religious feelings and position, is unable to correct. And his views are consequently more trustworthy. Their *intention* is as liberal and candid as we believe to be the intention of his remarks upon ourselves or upon Protestant bodies. But he is able in this part of his subject to *be* candid as well as to mean to be so. Accordingly we find no such sickly sentimentalities as those with which Dr. Wiseman catered for the palates of old women. Nor, again, have we any such brave defiance of plain facts, as other describers of Rome as it is, have occasionally hazarded. The accidental nature of the temporal position of the Pope, the mere result as it is of historical circumstances, here boldly and vigorously traced—the utter impossibility of a working and good government, wholly in the hands of ecclesiastics—the practical evils, both to the laity and to the clergy themselves, in Rome, resulting from the present form of government—the inability of Popes with the best intentions to remedy these evils—all this is

not only acknowledged, but powerfully enforced. What Dr. Döllinger expects—we may almost say, what he hopes, although only as the least evil possibility under present circumstances, and as that which presents the best chances of a permanently good eventual solution—is, that the Pope should leave Rome for a time, that the Italian Kingdom should try its hand (with Rome in its possession) at the experiment of a united Italy, that this experiment (a thing Dr. Döllinger regards as certain) should fail, and then that the Pope should return to his States with the entire present order of non-secular government and all its evils blotted out, and should resume his temporal position, relieved by the sponge of the intervening revolution from those inextricable difficulties which now beset him. In a word, his anticipations regard Victor Emmanuel as a convenient knife to cut the Gordian knot, which he admits that no milder measure can untie—a knife to be thrown away again when it has done its part. He may be right as a matter of fact in these anticipations. But they overlook one difficulty, at least. They take for granted that Papal rule without ecclesiastical government—without at least the present evils of such a government—is a possibility. It seems to us, on the contrary, that however slight the shade of difference might be between a clerical and a secular absolutist monarch, in times when absolute rule was the natural thing, the conditions of a democracy and those of a Papal government are incompatible. If the Pope were to become King to-morrow of a kingdom wholly clear of past traditions, a secular and free government would be to him an impossibility.

PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.*

WE are induced, both by the information contained in this little book respecting a religious movement in Italy of some slight dimensions, but little known or thought of in England, and by the independent and honestly religious tone of thought and feeling conspicuous in its pages, and by the fact of its being written by an eye-witness, testifying the results of his own inquiries, to give it something more of a notice than its markedly erroneous opinions

* "Protestantism in Italy; its Progress and Peculiarities: with a Chapter on Romanism and Revolutions." By A. (Hamilton and Co.; J. Nisbet and Co.) *Guardian*, Dec. 8, 1858.

and strange misinterpretations of Scripture would otherwise have claimed at our hands. Two distinct *religious* movements at least, it appears, in opposition to the Roman Church, are now on foot in Italy, neither of which we can view without deep misgiving; and, least of all, that which Δ takes in hand to describe. The Vaudois Churches are taking advantage of the tolerant principles of the Sardinian Government to strive, (according to Δ) with scanty success, to push their own missions into Italian towns. On the other hand, there is a scattered, unorganized multitude of individual Italians, throughout the northern portion of the Peninsula at least, holding views analogous to those of our Plymouth Brethren (the comparison is Δ 's, not our own); whose "orthodoxy"—we cannot better describe its character, and we quote the words with no disrespectful intention—is guaranteed by the Rev. Prebendary Burgess, together with Mr. Arthur Kinnaird, Mr. Strachan (whoever he may be), and Mr. Alexander Haldane; and whose principle of Church government, so to call it, is to have no clergy at all, and no fixed or regular order, even of the most anti-hierarchical pattern. And of these Δ endeavours to give an account, as the fruits of an Italian tour in 1857-8.

We are not going to discuss the questions which the subject might suggest, but will simply extract passages sufficient to place before our readers the results, not of Δ 's speculations, but of his personal inquiries into facts.

First of all, the Vaudois and these Italian brethren, it seems, do not harmonise; and this partly on national, partly on theological grounds. "It is the complaint of the Vaudois—and," (says Δ) "I doubt not, sometimes well founded—that no sooner have they planted an evangelist in any given town or village, and obtained hearers; than there appears by their side, or within their range, one or more of the Italian converts, labourers or mechanics, who begin, without ceremony, to teach or preach their own views. 'These Vaudois,' say they, 'are not of us; their Church is a national one, it is the old Church of the Valleys; their communion, instead of being the communion of saints, is popular and open to all, like that of Rome; their ministers will not permit Christians to *break bread*, except under clerical authority—they are Protestant priests!' That last word is enough; the people are alienated at once, and the poor Vaudois teacher soon finds himself without a congregation."

And not only so, but the origin of this "Italian preaching" is

not Vaudois. It "originated with the persecuted few, seven or eight in number, who fled from Florence in the earlier part of the year 1851, bringing with them hearts full of love to their countrymen, and hands already trained to the work of evangelization. These men, of course, soon found their way to the Valleys, and were welcomed by the pastors. They, however, declined to join the Vaudois Church. Their obligation to teach the truth . . . pressed on them like a passion, and they began at once to gather disciples, with whom, when the truth had been sincerely and heartily received, they *break bread* as they had done in Florence, without recognising any existing Church, and therefore without seeking any ordination. . . . The Vaudois pastors saw, heard, and approved, and greatly wished that the strangers should join their communion, and work with them, under the general control of their *Table*." For the Vaudois, be it known, prefer to Bishops, or Synods, or the quasi-ecclesiastical "Assembly," or even to the secular notion of a board, the thoroughly modern designation of a *Table*, consisting of three pastors and two laymen. Yet even this thoroughly unhierarchical, and even not wholly clerical, Table, proves too much for these poor Italians. "Neither they nor their converts had any sympathy with Presbyterian forms of Church government. Priesthood in any shape they abhorred, and the Vaudois ministers *to them* partook of this character. So they continued to labour alone, and the Vaudois were regarded simply as Christian friends. About this time (1851) Dr. De Sanctis" (once a Roman Catholic priest) "came to Turin and joined the Vaudois. He was shortly after ordained as one of their ministers, and soon became actively engaged in conducting Italian services at Turin. Not very long after, Mazzarella arrived, and he, having become a decided Christian, also united with the Vaudois, but was never ordained. Large congregations of Italians now listened for the first time to the preaching of the Gospel" (rather a strong statement to be sure, but so says Δ), "chiefly by De Sanctis; and the Waldenses began to feel that their Church, no longer confined to the peasants of its sixteen parishes in the Valleys, was destined to carry the Gospel to twenty-three millions of Italians. On this belief they acted, and appealing to England, Scotland, Switzerland, Holland, and the United States, for pecuniary help, they proposed to erect large and commodious places of worship with schools and hospitals at Turin, Genoa, Pignerol, and Nice; and to prepare and settle evangelists

in various parts of Sardinia. During the last eight years all this has been accomplished. . . . But now came" a "secession. . . . De Sanctis retired from the Church (of the Vaudois) at Turin, taking with him a large portion of the Italian converts; Mazzarella took a similar step at Genoa, and both united themselves to the friendless wanderers from Tuscany. From that hour, amid many protestations of love on both sides, the Italians and the Vaudois have acted separately. . . . Many attempts have been made since then to induce De Sanctis and Mazzarella to return to the Vaudois Church;" but, "right or wrong, the Italians have determined to . . . continue their custom of celebrating the Lord's Supper without the intervention of a clergy," and "this alone is an insuperable bar to their union with the Vaudois, who persist in maintaining that such a custom is *anarchical*."

The extent to which the opinions, whereof De Sanctis and Mazzarella may be called the chief teachers, have already spread, cannot, of course, be either exactly known, or so far as it is known, safely published. "In Genoa, in Turin, in Alessandria, and in Florence, communities exist of" such "believers." Nor "are such persons confined to the larger towns and cities. In villages and in hamlets, in all parts of Sardinia, throughout Tuscany, in Lombardy, in the Papal States, and in Naples, a people" of this kind "are to be found"—people who have no sympathy with political objects, but have simply read the Bible, and found something else in it than the current Roman Catholic faith, and have come to believe accordingly, and to act upon their belief in separating from the Church around them. "These Christians meet for mutual prayer and for the reading of the Scriptures, when and how they can—in Sardinia openly; in other parts with more or less of secrecy. Sometimes in the woods, sometimes in solitary caves, sometimes in private houses; always in fear and trembling; everywhere worried by the police; often in prison" (and this even in Sardinia). "Further, these brethren are nearly all poor—peasants, day-labourers, mechanics, small shop-keepers, or servants. With very few exceptions indeed, the middle and upper classes, however alienated from the Church of Rome—and they are largely so—have not yet been so far awakened to the love of the truth as to be prepared for the sacrifices which their poorer fellow-countrymen have been called upon to make."

Their organization, such as it is, has been indicated in the ex-

tracts already given. A fuller account occurs in another of Δ 's letters. "In some places their churches are simply what the 'Plymouth Brethren' in England call 'gatherings,' and as such are guided and governed in general accordance with the views of that body; while in others, as at Turin, they are congregational, but corresponding rather with that form of Congregationalism which resulted from the labours of the Haldanes in Scotland, than with the existing 'Independency' of England. This is as clear from their published tracts as from their constant practice. In relation to the former, the following extract may suffice from *Sulla Fede dei Christiani Evangelici*"—a tract written by Count Guicciardini, one of the very few noble Italians who have joined the movement. "Between the Evangelical ministry," says this tract, "and official clergy, *Catholic or Protestant*, there is a gulf. *The Evangelical ministry is essentially lay, fraternal, simple.* It does not consist, in any degree whatever, in caste; it has no fixed salaries; and it ought only to be maintained by the brethren in the proportion of its evangelical instruction, without having any peculiar rights. Out of the Church, and within the State, the Evangelical minister is a citizen, like other men. He has neither power, nor honours, nor pay. *He exercises the profession*" (i.e. the lay profession) "which he has." . . . "As to *practice*"—to return to Δ himself—"I shall simply relate what I saw myself. At Genoa (April, 1856) we attended a Sunday evening meeting, held at eight o'clock. About ninety persons were present, of which at least eighty were men; for the women, partly from their more retired habits, but still more from the greater influence exercised over them by the priests, are always the last to come to such places. After singing and prayer, twenty of the men present read aloud a portion of St. Matthew's Gospel, verse by verse, and then the evangelist delivered a plain but effective expository discourse on the parable of the Good Samaritan. . . . The audience, which consisted of persons from twenty-five to fifty years of age, were remarkably attentive. Several of them were evidently persons of education and intelligence, and above the labouring class in social position, but the mass were poor, and, with the exception of a soldier and two or three seafaring men, the ordinary poor of a large city. The singing was good, rather low and sweet, singularly free alike from both drone and rant. During the prayer, which was subdued and serious, the congregation *stood*, as is the custom in the French and Swiss churches. The whole service was

remarkably well-ordered and devout. At Turin we gladly united with the Italians in what they term '*breaking of bread*,' which corresponds to what is called in the Church of England *taking the Sacrament*."—(We trust we may rightly infer from the loose inaccuracy of this phrase that Δ does not even profess to belong to the English Church; as he would be an honest Plymouth Brother, but a very dishonest Churchman.)—"The service was held in the room where they usually met. Dr. De Sanctis presided; he occupied in all respects the position of an Independent minister, first addressing the communicants, and then passing the elements to the brother nearest to him, who, after partaking, handed them to his neighbour. All partook of the bread and wine *sitting* in their accustomed places. Two of the brethren prayed, and two others gave out the hymns that were sung. Again the service was simple, quiet, and devout. To call such an assembly disorderly (except in an ecclesiastical sense), would be an unpardonable calumny."

Some remarks in the earlier part of the same letter explain this hatred of a clergy, and no doubt with truth, in some slight degree, by the direct influence of Plymouth Brethren in preaching to Italians, but mainly by the strong reaction from the Roman Catholic priesthood, under whom they have been brought up. "To the Italians of the nineteenth century"—and we fear we must join in Δ 's well-founded sorrow that the fact should be so—"the Church, whether Papal or Protestant, is simply *una bottega*—a shop; religion, in whatever form it may be presented, *negozio*—a craft or trade; ministers, of whatever denomination, *ipócriti*—hypocrites, who devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers."

We see, while writing this, that M. Merle d'Aubigné has felt himself constrained, by the prevalence of Plymouth-Brethrenism among foreign Protestants—mainly, no doubt, among these very Italians, to publish a formal defence of the clerical principle. How he will comport himself in this novel attitude we cannot say: and should be curious to know on what grounds, save those of positive Divine appointment, he holds a ministry essential that is not also a priesthood. If a layman can perform all a minister's functions as validly as the minister himself, then the ministry is an arrangement of mere order and expediency. If he cannot, then the minister has priestly power—he has gifts of grace to dispense, which belong essentially to his office as such. But, at any rate, M. d'Aubigné's testimony to the wide-spread extent of such purely fanatical opinions

is emphatic, and of the most unanswerable kind; and tells poorly for the union of foreign Protestants, or for their powers of existing apart from opposition to the Romish Church, against which they in effect lean.

Such, then, is the state of things which Δ unveils. Doubtless, it is probable that the extent of such a movement would be exaggerated. And no sober-minded thinker can avoid seeing, that the one thing which holds it together at all, is its opposition to the existing hierarchy, to the patent corruptions of that hierarchy, and that if these were overthrown it would fall to pieces at once like a rope of sand. Still more is it simply preposterous to dream of its being (as Δ does dream) the possible seed of a universal Church revolution, by which the clerical principle should be radically annihilated, and the priesthood of all believers (according to the confused and narrow idea of that priesthood entertained by men of Δ 's opinions) should supersede it as the framework of the future Church. Such a Church of the future is not a thing of this world. But that which is powerless for good is often powerful for evil; and in such a religious movement as this, deeply as all must sympathise with the poor Italian "brethren" themselves, we can see only an additional element of confusion, and an obstacle to real and solid reformation. Unhappily the Roman Church will not, perhaps from its position it cannot, distinguish such violent extremes either from more rational forms of "Protestantism," or from pure revolutionary Communism. Meanwhile we cannot but regret that the heterogeneous association of English nobility and gentry and Dissenting ministers, who have formed themselves into an "Italian Mission," should waste pure zeal in helping on so evidently futile and so fundamentally erroneous a movement—to say nothing of the mischievous effect in hardening and exasperating the temper of the Roman hierarchy itself, produced by exhibiting such a repulsive and untrue specimen of English "Protestantism." Is there really no ground for hoping that, besides this extreme movement, another and more sober change of sentiment may exist, which the wiser "Italian Mission" embraced, e.g., in Mr. Meyrick's scheme, may, by the blessing of God, help on towards a better consummation than Δ 's pages suggest?

CATHOLIC ANTIDOTES^h.

It is a fact, which those who deny or explain away Church doctrines have to account for, that wherever deep study of the history of doctrine, or of the Fathers, or of Church history, has become common, there what must be shortly designated as High Church views invariably prevail. The natural explanation of the phenomenon is scarcely convenient to those who dislike those views. It certainly seems to indicate that in them alone lies the true interpretation of the original Revelation. A particular course of doctrinal belief, patent as an historical fact, and still more a particular system of sacraments and of outward ritual, actually existing, establish on broad ground the previous existence, behind and underneath them, of certain definite doctrines. As certainly as the facts of the solar system demonstrate the laws, and the relations of position and proportion, which alone can have produced and can explain those facts, so certainly does the course which the phenomena of belief have taken, indicate the original data from which alone such a course could have been developed. The key fits the lock, and none other fits it. And if, therefore, those who have studied most profoundly the intricacies of the problem are all found to converge, as a rule, to one and the same general line of solution, the argument seems unanswerable, that in that solution lies the truth.

And the usual objections to such a line of argument seem to be singularly mystified by confusion of thought. That to rely on such a canon of interpretation is to supersede Scripture, can be maintained only by those who forget that the Scriptures themselves are both the fountain-head, and the guiding rule and safeguard, of that tradition. Such tradition is at each step the result and the evidence of Scripture itself and of a definite body of doctrine held to be in Scripture; and the very object of the inquiry is to ascertain the system of belief under which the New Testament Scriptures were written, which those Scriptures contain, and to which those same Scriptures have served as the one permanent witness ever since they were given to the Church. A tradition in its upward course which should stop short of Scripture itself, would simply establish the condemnation of the doctrine thus severed, though but by one joint, from the parent

^h "Catholic Antidotes." By the Rev. W. E. Heygate, M.A. (Masters.) *Guardian*, Aug. 25, 1858.

stem. Nor, again, is it anything more than a mistake of the question, to allege the undoubted facts, that such traditionary belief may err, or that individual Fathers are full of error, or that it is easier to interpret Scripture than to interpret St. Augustine or St. Bernard. No one dreams of submitting the judgment to individual Fathers, or to particular ages of the Church. The only question is, whether of the two inquirers is more likely to succeed in his search, the one who examines the truths of the Gospel, as contained in the Scriptures, by the light of their actual results—who interprets the law by the light of the entire historical edifice of actual belief and practice that grew out of that law—or the man who interprets the English Bible by the will-o'-the-wisp of nineteenth-century prejudices, knowing nothing more than the medley of ignorance with which his own narrow circle of thought cramps and blinds him. And the very errors of past times become in this point of view a testimony to the truth. It is not the least shrewd remark of the greatest analyst of evidence among ancient philosophers, that to see how an error arose sheds the greatest possible light upon the truth which it perverted. Nor, again, does such a course set up man's words above the Word of God, or the authority of the Church above that of Scripture. The authority of the Church is a totally distinct question. We have to deal here simply with evidence, not authority. And the real contrast is between the sense which the uncorrected and unsifted judgment of any individual inquirer of the present day may happen to put upon Scripture, and that which the Church as a whole from the beginning has put upon it. Nor can it be said that this mode of argument leads to uncertainty, which can scarcely be maintained with truth; while assuredly the accusation might be retorted. Or that it imputes imperfection to Scripture; which can be asserted only by those who first take for granted of what use Scripture was meant to be. Or that it prevents the unlearned from knowing the Gospel, an assertion which ignores the existence of the Church, with its creeds, and sacraments, and liturgies; and forgets also the analogy of all the other dealings of God with man, which surely establish no such principle as that all necessary truth must be given to all men equally, or without the necessity of pains and labour to ascertain it, or of being dependent upon other men for the knowledge of it. And, on the other hand, the value of this particular line of argument against the Rationalistic developments of the present day, whether disguised under Ultramontane Romanism

or openly paraded under their own name, is obvious and immense.

We have been led into this hasty statement of very old truth by the valuable book named at the head of our remarks. Of course it is no news that the English Church is committed, by her authorised documents, by her very rites and liturgy, by her constitution, by her position in relation to opponents on either side, by the continual practice of her divines, to antiquity as interpreting Scripture. But old rules are often in comparative desuetude, and perpetually need to be shaped into special antagonism to new errors. And Mr. Heygate has done great service by recalling to us a principle just now suffering unpopularity from transient causes, and the previous use of which by our older divines was not precisely shaped to meet existing forms of untruth. A short Preface sets forward the general principle, but without developing it with any great precision. It contains, however, a very sufficient exculpation of St. Vincent of Lerins from being a favourer of the recent Anglo-Roman doctrine of development. A series of applications of that principle to the prominent forms of existing error constitutes the bulk of the volume. The Inspiration of Scripture, Baptism as a Witness to Original Sin, Original Sin in relation to the supposed Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the Eucharistic Sacrifices as the appointed Witness of the Atonement, the Penal Due of Sin, the Testimony of the Holy Eucharist to the Incarnation, and Predestination, form the subjects of the successive chapters, and may serve to indicate its contents. It is obvious that the author has made copious and solid use of the mass of materials already provided for him mainly by the Caroline divines, and especially by Thorndike. But he is no servile compiler. He deals with his subject thoughtfully and ably. And he relieves the unavoidable dryness of some parts of the discussion by a spirited and lucid style of language, which does not cover the lack of thought, but aptly expresses the writer's usually deep and solid meaning.

The last chapter—on Predestination—strikes us as least ably done. And what is the purpose of saying that, in the 17th Article, "the predestination spoken of does not relate to any capability or incapability of salvation within the fold of the Church but *to the gift of perseverance, which, according to St. Augustine, is accorded to some by special election*, but is attainable by all through prayer and good works?" Is this intended to mean that the predestina-

tion spoken of in that Article applies only to "some" of those who shall ultimately attain salvation? Or does it mean to intimate difference between *the kind* of predestination whereby a man is elected to be one of the baptised, and that whereby, being baptised, he is elected to perseverance? Or what else does it mean? The summing up of the chapter, however, is both sound and sensible. "That which is contended for," says Mr. Heygate, "is this: that we do not know enough concerning any election to perseverance within this circle of grace to influence our practice; and that no deductions are admissible which will not agree with the doctrine of the judgment according to works, and with the certainty of sufficient grace to all the baptised. A true doctrine of predestination can never clash with the Catholic doctrine of Baptism, so plainly and certainly revealed and testified; whilst the latter truth heartily received will preclude any extravagant and dangerous deductions from the former."

ESSAYS ON THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM¹.

THIS series draws, of course, its chief interest, in comparison with the preceding volumes, from Dr. Pusey's now well-known Preface. The Eirenicon towards Roman Catholics is there supplemented by the very opposite of an Eirenicon towards Lutherans, and specially, as being those with respect to whom the question is now mooted, Swedish Lutherans. Now, it is an important truth, no doubt—and for our own position as a Church a vital truth—that whereas Lutherans have simply split off from the common body of the Church, and have wholly given up (speaking generally) the Apostolic order of government and discipline, we in England claim to have never so split away, but to be in wish and heart at one with the Church Catholic, and only out of communion with the greater part of the Western Church (by their act, not our own) because that greater part insists upon sinful terms of communion. Upon this view, no doubt, it becomes true, that organically, and in the foundation of our Church existence, and as having theoretically preserved the unity, and so far as we can the authority, of the Church, we are fundamentally at one with Roman Catholics, our differences (all-

¹ "Essays on the Reunion of Christendom." Being the Third Series. Edited by the Rev. F. G. Lee, D.C.L. (Hayes.) *Guardian*, March 18, 1868.

important as they are) relating to particular doctrines, and not to the fundamental question of Church or no Church, or, in other words, dogma or no dogma. While with ordinary Lutheranism our difference is one of fundamental principles. But then the Swedish Church claims to hold the same organic position as ourselves; and supposing this, is simply in the position of having adopted certain Lutheran symbols, much in the same way as, although far more absolutely and indiscriminately than, ourselves. We borrowed and modified; they, we believe, took the Lutheran view as a whole. At any rate, if they did not, the argument for seeking unity with them is only so much the stronger. It is therefore a most serious question, no doubt, to what extent that Church is thus committed to fundamental error, if it is indeed so committed. But just as between ourselves and Rome, between whom surely the doctrinal questions run just as deep, so on the above hypothesis between ourselves and Sweden, the question becomes one of particular doctrines. And if charity and loyalty to the Church Catholic bid us try and make out a wholesome sense for Roman formularies if we can; and where we cannot, there to inquire further whether an authoritative explanation, if such were given, could not remove discrepancy; so surely, by parity of reasoning, and of charity, are we bound to attempt a similar plan of reconciliation with the Swedish Lutheran Church. And the confusion between assurance and justification, upon which the whole stress of the question is now laid, seems precisely a question of the kind for such an attempt, as being one where a few words might bridge over a wide gulf. Certainly we cannot see why, if the Tridentine statement of the doctrine of justification could be thus made tolerable, the Lutheran statement should not be capable of a like process. And remembering the old proverb about "glass houses," while firmly maintaining that we ourselves are really on a totally different ecclesiastical footing from Lutherans, yet we cannot help admitting so much of a *prima facie* resemblance as to lead to a feeling of sympathy with them rather than the reverse. We are quite sure enough of our own real freedom from the imputation of being, so to say, parvenus in the matter of Church position, to feel no temptation to shrink from those who are, if not indisputably so, yet at least with a far worse case in the matter than our own. Our argument, then, is, that just on the same grounds on which we desire reunion with Rome, and the East, on the very same grounds we cannot but desire reunion

also with the Lutheran bodies, and specially with those of them who, so far as we can learn, really retain a Church organization. In neither case would it be possible to compromise truth. In both we do desire unity. And just as we would seek to lead Wesleyans back to the Church in this land or elsewhere,—to the Church, in its unity as well as its doctrine,—being ready to meet and supply any real defects in ourselves such as may have provoked, or may tend to keep up, the disruption, so with the Lutherans. We cannot understand why the desire of unity (rightly made subordinate in all cases to truth) should move us to hold out the right hand of friendship to one great body of Christians, and yet to refuse to do so to another; the precise terms of reunion, if indeed it were more than a dream to speak of reunion at all in either case, being of course to be determined and varied by the special defects and errors belonging to each case, as well as by our own in relation to them. The volume itself, to the Preface of which these remarks refer, contains, as might be expected, essays of considerable ability. But it does not appear to do much in advancing the cause, but leaves things nearly as they were: save, indeed, the plain proof in the documents and transactions contained and narrated in Mr. Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle's essay, that Rome, as it is now, will not accept any but the utterly inadmissible terms of entire submission. It is a fact to be noted for what it is worth, that Mr. de Lisle, who is High Sheriff for Leicestershire this year, has appointed Dr. Lee, the editor of the *Essays*, as his chaplain.

THE LAW OF CREEDS IN SCOTLAND^k.

THIS book touches only one aspect of the manifold relations of Church and State—the degree and mode in which the State law intermeddles with Creeds. And it treats of Scotch law only. But the State law respecting Creeds touches the most vital questions of the whole subject. And the Church law of Scotland is unique in kind, and supplies almost an *à fortiori* argument in respect to other countries.

The principal points of general interest which Mr. Innes brings out are, first, the plain and unqualified assertion by Scotch law as

^k "The Law of Creeds in Scotland." By A. Taylor Innes. (Blackwood.) *Guardian*, Dec. 11, 1867.

it now is, of the absolute derivation of all coercive jurisdiction in the Established Kirk from Acts of Parliament and nothing else; and next, the almost equally distinct recognition by the same law of a quasi-jurisdiction, created by what the law, by a fiction not altogether groundless or useless, regards as a voluntary contract, in the case of non-established religious bodies. The result of the assertion of both these principles appears to place established and non-established "Churches" on a footing practically, although not theoretically, the same, with the one exception that the former will probably have less difficulty in proving the precise amount and kind of jurisdiction which the law has granted to it, while the latter may be at a loss to find definite legal evidence of the nature of the assumed contract. And these principles also, with one notable exception, appear to be those which are emerging into importance in English Church law also, and to place "voluntary Churches" there too on the same footing with those that are established, as respects the degree in which the law claims to regulate or to create their powers of action. The one question is, whether anything whatever of the nature of a civil right is involved. And unless the "voluntariness" be carried to the extent of having no fixed place of worship or payment of ministers, or anything, in fact, which can be construed into a contract of any sort, the Dissenter is subject as much as the Churchman to have his creed overhauled in a court of law, and his "Church" discipline reviewed and controlled by State action. Indeed, there are plenty of cases in English law already where the specialties of Dissenting doctrine have been carefully and rigidly examined in a court of law, with no view, of course, to their truth or falsehood, but simply as supplying the conditions of a presumed contract involving civil rights. The one notable exception, of course, is, that while the Scotch civil courts will interfere to restrain within due limits, or in case of plain malice control, the action of Church courts in cases of doctrine and discipline, they nevertheless recognise as a part of that power which Acts of Parliament have recognised as legally belonging to the Scotch Kirk, the absolute jurisdiction of the Church court in respect to the merits of the case, and do not, therefore, review the case upon those merits; whereas in England, as we all too well know, the case itself is reviewed by the lay tribunal of the Privy Council. The civil court in both countries disclaims all right of determining doctrine, and interferes solely to protect the civil rights of the individual as far as

they depend upon that individual's relation to the Church's creed. But the Scotch civil court takes apparently the *dictum* of the Church court as respects the agreement or disagreement of the teaching of the individual and that of the Church. The English civil court insists upon judging that question for itself, and this for Dissenters as well as for the Church. In the case of an unestablished body, even the Scotch court seems to claim the right of so far reviewing the decisions of the "Church" tribunal as to ascertain whether or no the presumed contract has been complied with.

The chief point, however, upon which doubt and difficulty arise, and to which the course of some later Scotch law decisions appears to have been directed, relates to the standard, agreement or disagreement with which constitutes the ground of Church suits. Is it the organized governing body of the existing Church? or is it rather the written documents containing the doctrines of that Church, and adopted, it may be, centuries since, and so constituting the original "contract," which is the basis of the whole question? or, again, as in America—at least, in New York—is it a quasi-corporation, called "the religious society," interposed by the law itself between the State and the Church, and regarded by the former as the possessor of the Church property, irrespectively, it should seem, at least in theory, of creeds or formularies? The last view, however, is so peculiar in itself, and so incapable of continuing to exist if the corporation or "religious society" really in any prominent case exercised its assumed right of transferring the "Church" property to a form of creed or discipline totally different from that to which it originally belonged, that it need hardly occupy the attention of lawyers on this side the Atlantic; especially as it appears to be neither universal nor likely to last, even in America. In England, however, as in Scotland, the other distinction is likely to grow into very considerable importance. It makes all the difference whether Church property is taken to be held in trust for certain principles of doctrine and discipline;—in which case the courts of law must necessarily investigate for themselves whether in any given instance these principles have been adhered to or not—i.e., must inquire whether an accused minister's teaching is or is not in accordance with Church formularies; or whether the trust is for the existing governing body of the Church;—which would, of course, supersede such investigation by transferring it to the existing Church itself through its own appointed channels. The further question,—

whether the trust be for the particular congregation or for the whole body,—would be of importance in England only for Dissenters. But that between principles and governing body involves in truth the very question of a Church's living power. Is the Church bound by law to all its past documents or acts, or to which of them? And can it not make any change, or any change which any one member may deem fundamental, without violating the terms of its "contract" with the State, and so voiding it, at least as regards that member? Mr. Innes throws considerable light, in his very careful book, upon the legal aspect of such questions in Scotland. Of course Scotch law is not English. But the mere statement of the case, in view of present complications and probable developments, stirs questions of no small import and of the widest range of consequences in our own part of the island as well as across the Tweed. Mr. Innes has collected many important documents in his Appendices, and has striven to be impartial and dryly legal in his own statements of law; although he has not altogether succeeded in attaining the latter quality. His book would bear condensing but it is intelligibly written, and on a subject of far wider than merely legal interest.



VL
GENERAL HISTORY.

GENERAL HISTORY.

A COLLECTION of Mr. Haddan's remains would not be complete if we omitted to reprint some of his articles on General History, wherein the results of his early intellectual training are very distinctly exhibited. Doubtless, the great prominence given in the Class Schools to historical studies, especially that of Herodotus and Thucydides, at the time when Mr. Haddan was an Undergraduate, conduced to direct his taste towards that in which he was afterwards so great a master, while the new revelations of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, bearing as they do so marvellously on the truth of the Scriptures, would perpetuate his interest in the pursuit of the study of secular history, when his mind and attention were directed to more deeply religious pursuits. But he was most at home in the history of the Middle Ages, and in the application of his mind and direction of his studies to the preparation of the great work on which, along with Professor Stubbs, he was engaged till the hour of his death, "The Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents of Great Britain."

THE HISTORY OF HERODOTUS*.

AN author for whom the literary world has waited with eager curiosity for seven years cannot complain, and one whose book will take its place as a standard authority in ancient history cannot be

* "The History of Herodotus." A New English Version, edited with Copious Notes and Appendices, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus from the most recent Sources of Information; and embodying the Chief Results, Historical and Ethnographical, which have been obtained in the Progress of Cuneiform and Hieroglyphical Discovery. By George Rawlinson, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford; assisted by Colonel Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, F.R.S. Four Volumes. Vol. I. With Maps and Illustrations. (Murray.) *Guardian*, April 21, 1858.

injured, although a slight delay should occur in reviewing his labours, even had it been on the part of critics whose words are more weighty than ours. Nor need we apologise for taking a little time to digest an octavo volume of nearly 700 pages, every sentence of which does business in a straightforward, inornate, and substantial style, in the discussion of theories themselves so substantial, as history, with its attendant subjects of geography, chronology, and antiquities.

It is a misnomer to call the work the "*History of Herodotus.*" Or, at any rate, Mr. Rawlinson's conception of an editor's work is on the Oxford and not the Cambridge type, and that after the largest measure. He edits the subject, not the author. The volume, with its Appendices, is neither more nor less than a history, including the results of the most recent literary discoveries, of all the nations upon whose history Herodotus touches in his first book. In its 700 pages or thereabouts, lies embedded a translation of just that one book of the writer edited, occupying with the foot-notes 200 pages, while the remainder of the volume is not Herodotus, but Mr. Rawlinson or his brother, Sir Henry, together with a few notes and a short article or two contributed by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson.

A Life of Herodotus leads the way, of which the principal specialties arise from a careful rejection of improbable or unattested statements. The extent of the historian's travels, for instance, is more than ever circumscribed, even Ecbatana being excluded from them. His supposed residence at Samos, again, is denied; the truer and more scholarlike, and now received, reason being assigned for the historian's adoption of the Ionic dialect, viz., that it was the language of all prose-writers up to that time. And, lastly, what is of more consequence, or has at least been more hotly debated, the of late received postponement of the historian's death until at least B.C. 407, is rejected, and the passages hitherto alleged, as by Dahlmann, in proof of the later date, are otherwise explained. One of these passages, the subject of much controversy, has received an amusingly complete explanation from Sir H. Rawlinson's late discoveries. The Babylonian revolt against Darius (Book I., c. 130), who, by the way, was perceived by Müller, and not first by Mr. Grote, to have been necessarily Darius Hystaspes, is now *proved* to have happened under the reign of that king by one of those marvellous inscriptions of Sir Henry's deciphering; and the question as regards this one passage is settled for ever. We see that Mr. Rawlinson is going, when he reaches Book III., to adopt Mr. Grote's ex-

planation respecting the Amyrtæus of that book, an explanation that does not satisfy ourselves. The chapters on the literary and historical merits of Herodotus are peculiarly masterly. It was a hard task to write a valuable and yet an original critique upon the subject, after Mr. Grote's and Colonel Mure's exhaustive and able criticism. Yet we think that any one, perusing Mr. Rawlinson's estimate of his author, will find in it not only an independent but also a fairer and more thoroughly digested account of his merits and demerits than is to be found elsewhere. Mr. Rawlinson assuredly "knows his Herodotus," with a far more intimate knowledge than his predecessors, and the results are visible in every line he writes about him. We note as a new and hitherto unknown fact, bearing very strongly on the veracity of Herodotus, the entire reversal of the opinion respecting the credit of Ctesias as an historian, which is effected by Sir H. Rawlinson's discoveries; and as exhibiting the extent of the literary merits of Herodotus with a vividness which we, at least, never before so forcibly realised, the citation at the end of the Life, by way of sharp contrast, of specimens of prose logographers preceding him, from the *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, although mostly as translated by Colonel Mure. We cannot quite agree in the broad line drawn in pp. 97—99, between the "Nemesis" theory of Herodotus and that of all his compatriots. On the one hand, in Herodotus' view, practically taken, some deflection in the victim from the settled staidness of perfect virtue always takes off the edge of absolutely unmitigated injustice from the vengeance that falls upon unwonted prosperity. His occasional remarks may omit such a condition, but his examples always include it. There is always a pride, at least, and often much more than pride, to justify the fall. On the other, the general Greek feeling surely turns upon the very point the excess of which is here alleged to be characteristically Herodotean—that the suffering is utterly disproportionate to the moral desert of the sufferer: and the whole tragic force of the idea itself arises from the extreme of such disproportionateness. At the same time, we notice in Herodotus, as bearing upon the more than ordinary faintness, in his conception on the subject, of the idea of *moral* government of the universe, what we do not recollect to have seen noticed elsewhere, viz., the utter absence from his thoughts of all reference to the *inner* Nemesis, of the Furies, or of conscience, or of anything more than a mere *ἀτη* or external curse clinging to the individual or the race. The very

names of Erinnyes or of Mœræ occur, we believe, once each in his whole work, and that in merely mentioning the locality of some of their temples. And this is the more marked, when we consider the prominence and strength of the feeling in the Greek mind up to that time. It serves pointedly to mark the position of Herodotus upon the frontiers of two distinct stages of national life, and just at that point when the ancient is melting into the modern, the unconscious and imaginative into the conscious and the logical, the poetical into the historical, and (honesty requires us to add) the religious into the sceptical.

The translation of the text, which follows the Life, reads well and is scholarlike. That it should preserve the exquisite simplicity of the original is, perhaps, impossible, be the translator who he may; and Mr. Rawlinson's merits lie in the region of substantial fact more than in that of the delicate niceties of words. Herodotus, as he Englishes him, smacks somewhat of the plain and stout strength of intellect that distinguishes his translator, more than of the delicate beauty and naïve simplicity of the Greek himself. Some of the aroma, although none of the substance, has escaped in the transfer from one language to another. The notes are good, although, perhaps, too carefully kept down in quantity. We must demur to the explanation of *τρηκάδες* and *συσσίτια* in c. 65 (by the way the word is misprinted *syssytia* in the text). That they are spoken of as *military* institutions is no proof surely, when Sparta is in question, that they do *not* belong to the city life of the Spartans. And knowing how universally the military, the civil, and the social institutions were blended together in ancient Greece (and Rome also), and how emphatically this was the case in Sparta, we cannot but think that there is every ground, external as well as internal, for taking the *συσσίτια* to be not any far-fetched unheard-of thing, but what the word ordinarily means, viz., the common meals in Sparta itself, and the unknown *τρηκάδες* to refer (as Müller, we believe, refers them) to some division connected with the tribes. Assuredly Mr. Rawlinson cannot be right, for he makes *συσσίτια* identical with *τρηκάδες*. The point of similarity between Lydian and Italic nations, noted in chap. 22, is new to us, and valuable. Why did not Mr. Rawlinson note also the similar remark (of Mr. Dennis, if we remember right) respecting the Lycian mode of genealogising, in chap. 173? But we must pass on to the abundant matter of singular interest which is contained in the Appendices, adding only that the supposed allu-

sion in Aristophanes (*Acharnians*, 488—494) to the opening of the history of Herodotus seems to us to rest upon weak foundations, and that we wish Mr. Rawlinson would not adopt Miss Sewell's idiom of "troubling" to do a thing.

It is no lack of compliment to Mr. Rawlinson to say that the great and singular interest of his book at this moment lies in the fact of its containing the cream of his brother's and Mr. Layard's Assyrian discoveries. His own (which is by far the larger) portion of it is so ably done that he can well afford to wait for a time, until the novelty shall have worn off, and allowed the histories, thus risen as it were from the grave, to sink to their natural level. They will always possess a strong interest, from their close connection with Scripture. At present they occupy the position which hieroglyphical discoveries occupied a score or more years since: or rather, indeed, possess still more than those discoveries did of the attractiveness of surprise and novelty, for the hieroglyphics were always known to be what they are, before their mysterious secret was penetrated, while the very existence of the cuneiform writings has in large part been unknown, partly from their locality, but chiefly because they were buried in sand and ruin. The very dust of the earth as it were has risen up and spoken, and revealed the history of the men who trod its surface, as far back as 4,000 years ago. And the liveliness of the interest is made more startlingly vivid by the nature of the particular things discovered. The actual seal, for instance, of one of the Egyptian Sabacos, attached by him to a treaty (probably) with his Ninevite contemporary, turns up among the dust of the Assyrian palace. And still more marvellous, the signet-rings of two Babylonian kings are found in Babylonia, of whom probably one reigned a little less than 1,600 years before Christ, and the other actually B.C. 2,200.

The permanent value of this newly-revealed history, beyond the mere fact of its being so much additional knowledge, is partly ethnological, and partly arises from its parallelism with the Scripture history. It has also a peculiar bearing upon Herodotus, in that, while it condemns Ctesias absolutely as a sheer mendacious inventor, and establishes the credit of Berosus, it confirms also the truthfulness of Herodotus, pointing out, however, errors into which obviously defective information has led him. This is the case in Assyrian history to a very marked extent. It is so, likewise, with collateral history. Mr. Rawlinson has proved in detail that the cor-

rectness of the reports of Herodotus is in direct proportion to the amount of reliable information accessible to him in each case. In the history of Media, for instance, anterior to Cyaxares, the monuments shew that Herodotus relied upon native informants who disguised real facts. Phraortes, e.g., appears as Frawartish, but his history in Herodotus is perverted by national vanity. The true Frawartish belongs to a later period altogether. With Cyaxares, contact with Assyria began to check Median invention, and the story of Herodotus (as in the parallel case of Psammetichus in Egypt) acquires at once greater trustworthiness, not because Herodotus reports more truthfully, but because his information was more reliable. In such cases as that of Deioeces, however, his truthfulness must be defended on a different ground, of which perhaps Mr. Rawlinson has said too little; the inability, namely, which it is the last and crowning effort of thoroughly cultivated and self-conscious intellect to throw off, to get rid of the subjective *idola* of the thinker himself, and to judge of other nations by their own native standard and not by that of the writer's own country. In Herodotus this Græcising habit reaches a point to modern minds occasionally savouring of the ludicrous, although his amusing story of the questions of Darius respecting the Greek and Indian modes of disposing of their dead, and the remark on νόμος which accompanies it, shew him to have realised the possibility of self-deception through such a cause. We must not quit the subject of Media without noticing the remarkably ingenious conjecture by which Mr. Rawlinson has solved the chronological difficulties attendant upon Herodotus' account of the Median kingdom. His method of dealing with this and similar subjects is more than usually happy. Another instance of it may be seen in his note upon Solon's wonderful computation of days and years in c. 32.

But to return to the cuneiform inscriptions. Ethnologically, the great discovery they contain is that of the existence of a Turanian, Tatar, or Scythian empire, succeeded by two others, Hamite, or Ethiopian, or Chaldean, and then at length (after the interposition of a short Arabian dynasty) by the Semitic, and at last by the Indo-European, or Medo-Persian, in the great plain of the Tigris, and Euphrates, and especially in Babylonia and the extensive plains round the mouth of the Euphrates; and the continued co-existence of Scythian, Semitic, and Indo-European populations, throughout the same countries, at all times; inso-

much that all public documents required to be set forth in three languages, one of each great family of tongues. The explanation of the term Chaldæans, as once a national name with its appropriate language, and then gradually becoming the name of a priest-caste with that old language now a sacred one, is another of the discoveries; and settles at once the old difficulty about the Chaldæans, priestly in one place, national in another, of Herodotus and of Scripture, and supplants for ever Gesenius' and Heeren's crotchet of a Chaldæan descent from Armenia in the time of Nebuchadnezzar and his father. But the singularly numerous points of contact with Scripture history, from the 10th chapter of Genesis down to Cyrus, supply what will be the most popularly attractive portion of the discovered history. From Chedorlaomer, to "Yahua, son of Chumri," i.e., Jehu, son of Omri, and so on to the expeditions of Sennacherib, to the labours of Manasseh, King of Judah, upon the palace of Esar-haddon (recorded by name with Greeks and Phœnicians by that king), and to the full particulars of the history of Belshazzar, we have now a series of independent testimonies, lifted up from a grave where they have been buried for centuries beyond all possibility of foul play: testimonies, also, presenting sufficient of difficulty, in the way of effecting a precise harmony, to put out of sight all suspicion that the decipherer's memory may have been unwittingly guiding his conjectures. One great *cruz*, indeed, remains still uninterpreted by all this wealth of knowledge. Darius the Mede still survives, a puzzle to the prosaic inquirer, and a source of shallow triumph to the foolishness of the sceptic, and a most convincing proof to all sensible historical students (we say nothing of theologians) that the book which fearlessly creates the difficulty must have been written when and by whom it professes to have been written, seeing that a forger would not have dared to run so counter to the apparent order of facts in received history.

The ethnological chapter, which concludes the book, possesses the deepest interest. A greater amount of extensive and accurate knowledge, more ably digested into orderly and consistent connection, we have seldom seen in the same space. It is, indeed, wholly historical. Linguistic grounds are stated only in their broad outlines, and not minutely discussed, and much risk of hollow and rash speculation is thus avoided. But the whole tone of this essay is sober, patient, and well weighed. Any one who desires to feel the extent to which it is so may easily put himself into the position required

by reading first Dr. Donaldson's *Varronianus*, or even by comparing the shrewd feelers put forth by Dr. Latham's sagacious knowledge with the more historical tone of the present essay. It is but petty criticism to add that we think Mr. Rawlinson should not lay heavy stress on Herodotus's *own observations* respecting national affinity. What he was told upon such subjects comes from authority of others, good or bad as the case may be. His own observations in such matters seem very superficial. The writer who calls by the names of Ethiopians both the inhabitants of Beloochistan and those of Ethiopia above Egypt, and also the (seemingly) negro tribes, hunted for slaves by the Garamantes in the heart of Africa, was clearly not careful in his application of national designations. And if this particular statement of his be taken as evidence of a tradition of the wide dispersion in primitive times, along the south, both of Asia and of Africa, of Hamite tribes, it is only an additional proof of his looseness in searching into the applicability of names before using them. We cannot lay, therefore, much stress upon his testimony to the resemblance between Colchians and Egyptians, as proving a close national affinity between the two.

Two geographical essays contain between them a complete account of the physical geography of Asia, Upper and Lower. Both of them share in the characteristics of the historical essays. They give the results of competent information in plain and vigorous language. Both, however, confine themselves to a description of the outlines of the physical and political geography of their respective countries, omitting those details which our present knowledge of those countries is scarcely competent to supply, and which are irrelevant to the broad outline, whether of ethnology or of history, with which we are here concerned. A comparison with Cramer's dry lists and painful descriptions of one of the countries described, Asia Minor, will best bring out into relief the merits of Mr. Rawlinson. We see in one passage that he remarks upon Herodotus's strange ignorance or inattention with respect to the singular district so close to his own birthplace, the *Κατακεκαυμένη*. He might have added, as bearing upon the same point, the unaccountable confusion respecting the position of Mount Ida in the description given in Book VII. of the march of Xerxes' army from Sardis to the Dardanelles.

In conclusion, it is with no small pleasure that we congratulate the University of Oxford upon a volume so peculiarly combining all characteristically English literary merits. The discoveries of adven-

turous travel, the faculty of practical geographical description, the breadth of view which combines accurate study of particulars into a powerfully written story, the solidly practical and yet shrewdly critical analysis of literary merits, all the qualities which have raised the English school of history to its present eminence, are to be found in their measure in this volume. It contains, indeed, too huge an extent and variety of subject to allow of Mr. Rawlinson's share of the book exhibiting the full extent of such merits. His work is broken up into notes and essays, varying in length, except some half-dozen, from three or four lines to as many pages, and the longest of the half-dozen only reaches to some fifty pages. An editor he still is, rather more than an author. And as an editor, his work is necessarily to illustrate, and to explain and to correct, rather than to create, to fill up gaps in another's plan rather than to frame one himself, and to put in deficient touches into another's picture rather than to conceive and execute an original of his own. And of course there must be made a large deduction in favour of his two great coadjutors. Yet Oxford may well be proud of the book; and we can but regret that the Clarendon Press did not extend to one of the most distinguished residents of the University the favour which has just been most properly extended to the University member, and that this book does not bear Oxford on its title-page.

VOL. II. ^b

SIR GARDNER WILKINSON is responsible for the learned appendices, and for most of the notes, to the second and Egyptian Book, and has executed his task with the profusion of special and overflowing and precise knowledge which on that subject he alone, perhaps, possesses. The eighth and historical appendix to this Book, without any direct reference to Scripture chronology, brings out the valuable fact that the existing evidence respecting the Egyptian dynasties limits them to a duration perfectly consistent with the substance of Scripture statements. The remark which we have to make upon this part of the volume is one which extends to the whole work in varying degrees, viz., that the plan of its execution aims, not at editing or illustrating Herodotus, but at a complete statement of the full extent of modern knowledge respecting the subjects which Herodotus treats. The book indeed is not an edi-

^b *Guardian*, June 9, 1858.

tion of *Herodotus*, but something historically speaking more valuable than an edition of *Herodotus* would have been, although in a literary point of view defective; the translation is as unlike that historian's style as possible. The difficulties of his language are passed over in general. And we rather learn what he ought to have said on each subject, and what the facts actually are respecting the subjects he treats, than find elucidations of either the language or the spirit with which he treats them.

In an appendix to the third book we have a very valuable account of the Persian Empire, and of the principles on which it was constructed: an account singularly in advance of Heeren's learned and ingenious but often unsound speculations on the subject. And the printing at length, at the end of the volume, of the great inscription of Darius at Behistun is a very good idea, so singular is the confirmation which it substantially gives to Herodotus, and the way in which it fills up and corrects his narrative.

Our principal complaint of the present volume refers to the map of Herodotean geography at its close. It seems to us to contain material errors, if considered as a representation of the ideas of Herodotus on the subject. The Arabian Gulf in Mr. Rawlinson's map is twice as large as it should be, according to the mind of Herodotus, and presents no parallelism to the Nile Valley either in size or in direction. Arabia ought not to be a promontory. There ought to be no Persian Gulf at all. The Indus ought to flow eastwards, at least not due north and south. The Black Sea is too short east and west; and Asia Minor is considerably too broad where it joins Upper Asia. The west coast of the Palus Mæotis should run north and south; and the Tanais should be, in the direction of its course, a simple prolongation of that coast, entering the sea at its north-west corner. The Danube on Mr. Rawlinson's map runs its real course, instead of presenting a parallelism to the supposed course of the Nile; and no one could possibly trace on this map that upon which Herodotus's world-geography rests as its fulcrum—viz., the parallelogram of Persians, Medes, Saspeires, and Colchians, running northwards in that order from the Erythrean Sea to the Caspian; or the two *ἄκται* projecting westwards from the north and south of this central parallelogram, of which one turns out, to the amazement of unsophisticated readers, to be Asia Minor, and the other, still more marvellously, Arabia and Libya. In a word, we cannot help think-

ing that Mr. Rawlinson has fallen between two stools. He appears to have tried to reconcile the ideas of Herodotus with the actual and now known geography, without daring to carry out either principle consistently—and, in consequence, has failed of representing either. His map is neither correct according to modern geography, nor is it, we think, an exact reproduction of the errors of his author.

VOL. III.^c

MR. RAWLINSON'S third volume brings us to a portion of the work which is more especially his own. We pass from Assyria, Persia, and Egypt, to Scythia, Cyrene, and Greece—from the specialties of Sir H. Rawlinson and Sir J. G. Wilkinson to the general field of classical history. And the whole of this volume, accordingly—and it is one, of a lower kind no doubt, yet worthy to take rank in its own kind with the works of Thirlwall and Grote and Mure and Gladstone—is to be set to the account of Mr. Rawlinson, and of Oxford; if we except a note or two here and there, and an interesting table of the meanings and derivations of Persian and Median proper names at its close.

We must renew our expression of regret that an English translation has been substituted for the Greek text. The number of people who read Herodotus, yet cannot read him in the original, must be small; and the result as regards scholars will be, that they must still buy *two* expensive books instead of one. Its effect, again, upon the work of Mr. Rawlinson itself, is to strike off one large and important department of Herodotean study, viz., that which concerns the historian's style and language—in this case by no means the least instructive or amusing of his many claims to attention. And Mr. Rawlinson's scholarship, in consequence, lies hid to the ordinary reader; before whose mind the vigorously drawn picture is presented without any consciousness of the difficulties of translation overcome, or of the happy selection which has been made, of graphic and exact words. "Dumbfounded," for *κατέχων*, in the story of Hippocides, may serve as an instance of the latter. On the other hand, the book itself is actually diminished in value; for both difficulties and interesting readings are slurred over, and scholarship notes generally omitted, or if they occur at all, are borrowed (as we cannot help thinking, without sufficient acknowledgment—

^c *Guardian*, Dec. 15, 1858.

but this is probably done upon the ground that their matter has become public property by constant use) from Bähr, and (we believe) others also. The reading, e.g., of *λευστήρα* for *ληστήρα* in the saying of the oracle to Adrastus, with the ingenious yet far-fetched comment upon it of Müller, is ignored by Mr. Rawlinson, who simply translates "robber." Nor, again, should we have any suspicion, if we looked only to Mr. Rawlinson, of there being any difficulty about the probably corrupt word *διεπρήστευσε*, in Bk. IV., in the story of the Scythian king among the Borysthenitæ. And many other instances might be cited: while occasionally we have what seems to us a defect in the translation itself. The word *ξεῖνος*, e.g., can hardly stand for the affectionate appellation of "dear," by which Mr. Rawlinson is fond of translating it, whenever he has the slightest pretence for so doing. In one place, indeed, he inserts the epithet without any authority at all, in an address of Darius to Histæus. Or does Mr. Rawlinson mean us to attenuate the word "dear" in these cases to its full vacuity of meaning as prefixed to a modern letter? Even so, it would be rather more familiar than becomes the Great King addressing his dependants. And although, no doubt, the word does connote in Greek usage a certain amount of kindly feeling, yet "Friend," or "Sir," by which Liddell and Scott render it, more exactly represents the amount of courtesy conveyed by its use.

But we pass from language to matter. And here, if we rather criticise than praise, let it be remembered that such subjects as this volume treats, are emphatically of that kind which successive inquirers must combine to complete by perpetual correction and addition; and that the more thorough the treatment, the more matter is presented for discussion. And let it be said, once for all, that the book is a great book, *the* book in its own department: it will plainly henceforth rank among standard authorities in all matters of ancient ethnology and in all historical and geographical subjects which come within the wide range of the greatest and most inquisitive of all ancient travellers; and therefore it is doubly important to note at once whatever in it may seem to be not thoroughly sifted. We observe, with great satisfaction, that Mr. Rawlinson has dealt with Mr. Grote in a similar spirit of independent criticism to that which we in our humble way would deal with himself. He has noted in numberless instances three out of the four great blots in the great man's great history—the multiplicity of petty mistakes

of fact, the multiplicity of mistranslations of Greek, and the blind prejudice which exalts all democrats—he does not note also his resolute determination to take a *new* view of all things, right or wrong—while he does ample justice to the philosophical spirit, and thorough sifting of his subject, which, in spite of these great faults, raise Mr. Grote's work, as a history, above all other histories of Greece, or indeed of any country, ever yet produced.

We quarrelled with Mr. Rawlinson's conception of Herodotean geography before. We are going to do so again. We cannot imagine how any one can read Niebuhr's theory about the Herodotean geography of Scythia, after puzzling over Herodotus's own text, and not see at once that (except in the one point of making the Danube the entire western boundary of Scythia) he has at last got the key that fits the lock. And, first, to answer Mr. Rawlinson's objections to it. The Danube, he says, "runs from the west right through Europe" (rather, cutting Europe in half) "and falls into the Black Sea, with its mouth facing the east." Very well—with *its mouth* facing the east—therefore the general course just before its mouth need not be, and probably is *not*, towards the east, otherwise why specify the mouth with such precision? And this agrees with the rest of the account in Bk. II. 34, that the Ister enters the Euxine *opposite Sinope*—i.e., about the middle of the north coast of the Euxine, and that its course is like that of the Nile, and that it cuts Europe in half; all which conditions require that the Ister should flow eastward, from the Celts, in a latitude somewhat north of the north coast of the Euxine, should turn south when it reached a point north of the Euxine, and should then enter the north coast of that sea (a good deal east of the real position of its mouth, so as to be opposite Sinope), although turned with its immediate mouth to the east. No doubt Herodotus knew this latter fact by personal observation, and added it on to his general theory, which otherwise is obviously of the *à priori* character of the most ancient of ancient geography. In one point only we should correct the delineation of Niebuhr—viz., that Herodotus does not appear to conceive of the Ister as running southwards along the whole twenty days' journey of the west border of the great square of Scythia, so as to form throughout the one boundary between Scythia and Thrace. The *mouth* of the Ister is with him the coast point, marking where Thrace ended and Scythia began; but to what extent inland the border coincided with the Ister he does not say. The story in

Bk. IV. 80, shews that the river *was* the boundary for some distance or other. The phrase in Bk. IV. 49—*ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει*—together with the whole description contained in that chapter, shews that it was so only towards its mouth, and that its course brought it (as Mr. Rawlinson rightly says) “obliquely” to the boundary line. And this correction of Niebuhr’s view obviates also at once Mr. Rawlinson’s further difficulty in the course of the five rivers flowing from Scythia in a southerly direction into the Danube, and which look absurd enough as depicted in his sketch of the Niebuhrian idea. By Niebuhr himself, if we are right, they are omitted altogether. As to the position of the mart of the Borysthenites—“in the middle point of the sea-coast of *all* Scythia,” which is the next of Mr. Rawlinson’s difficulties—first of all be it noticed that the words are inaccurate, if taken with his rigour of interpretation, even on his own plan. For the mouth of the Borysthenes is *not* (by the measurement of Herodotus) in the exact middle of the southern (and in Mr. Rawlinson’s idea only) sea-board of Scythia; the distance from the Ister to the Borysthenes being ten days’ journey, and that from the Borysthenes to the city Karkinitis, in the bend of the Tauric Chersonese, less than ten days’ journey by the whole width (in Herodotus’s conception a considerable width) of that Chersonese. And, next, it is quite an adequate satisfaction of the phrase to say that the mart in question was in the exact middle point of the southern boundary-line of Scythia, that boundary-line being, as Herodotus thought, a sea-board along its whole extent, except where the broad Tauric Chersonese projected from it; even although by going round the Chersonese we should come again upon another and eastern sea-coast of Scythia. Of the last objection—from Darius’s march—we are at a loss to perceive the applicability to the geography of *Scythia*. It relates rather to the position of the Budini and Geloni, with which we are not now concerned. Certainly, on Niebuhr’s plan, Darius’s march through Scythia to the Tanais might fairly be described as an “easterly” march, although, strictly speaking, it would have been *north-easterly*; and it would be just as much north on Mr. Rawlinson’s own plan as on Niebuhr’s.

And now, having done with the objections, let us turn to Bk. IV. 99—101, and the whole case appears to us manifest. “Two sides of Scythia extend to the sea—the south and the east.” Can anything be plainer? How can Mr. Rawlinson possibly say after this,

that "Herodotus regarded Scythia as having only *one* of its sides washed by the sea?" And then Herodotus proceeds to describe the Tauric Chersonese as a promonory thrust out from the eastern portion of the southern boundary of Scythia, insomuch that this southern boundary ran eastward along the sea-board from the Ister to the Borysthenes, and from this latter river to the city Karkinitis, and thence across the land (having the Tauric Chersonese to its right and south) until it struck the sea again at the Palus Mæotis. And then, continues Herodotus, "north of Taurica, the Scythians occupy the country above the Tauri and along *the sea to the east*"—viz., "on *the west* of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis up to the Tanais, which enters the very head of this Palus Mæotis." And again—"Scythia, which is square in shape, and has two of its sides reaching down to the sea, extends inland to the same distance that it stretches along the coast, and is equal every way." Can anything be plainer, we again ask? And as to the argument about the sides running inland and the sides at right angles to them, the *northern* and *western* sides do run, upon this supposition of Niebuhr's, straight inland (*strait* means *narrow*, by the way, and *ῥηθια* means *straight*), and assuredly the eastern and southern sides of a square *are* at right angles to the northern and western sides respectively. Why the two that run inland must be *parallel* to one another we defy any geometry to prove.

And, next, to turn from geography to a matter of antiquarian history, what is the meaning of the strange note in p. 276 about the Cleisthenic arrangement of the Sicyonian tribes? Assuredly Cleisthenes did not call *Dorians* Archelai, and his own Achæans by the opprobrious epithets of pig-folk and the like, as Mr. Rawlinson's note makes him do. Herodotus asserts plainly that he "called his own tribe Archelai or Rulers, and named the others" (i.e., the Hyllæi, Pamphyli, and Dymanatæ) "Pig-folk, Ass-folk, and Swine-folk," as Mr. Rawlinson's text, contradicting his note, rightly says. Why the Dorians *accepted* these names for sixty years, as Herodotus says they did, is another matter. If they correctly expressed the occupations to which Dorians were reduced during that period, they might have come into use as appellations merely stating a fact, and then gradually grown into nicknames. But all we are here concerned with is what Herodotus says, which seems plain enough.

In the next page but one, we perceive that Mr. Rawlinson ignores, and rightly, Niebuhr's guess that the extra demes above the hun-

dred were formed out of the Eupatrids, who had been shut out of the original Cleisthenic tribes, and left with the *débris* of their four-tribe organization side by side with the local tribes. Such an untenable conjecture sprang from that Delilah of Niebuhr's imagination, an analogy between Rome and Athens pressed to an absurd and impossible extent. We wish Mr. Rawlinson had stated his adherence to Schömanns' view, which is surely the right one, a little less conjecturally. As to Mr. Grote, he is, we agree with Mr. Rawlinson, palpably and utterly wrong.

In the very excellent account of the early history of Sparta, where the statement of the exact nature and extent of Lycurgus's reforms is the most sensible we ever remember to have seen, the view of the condition of the Helots appears to us incorrect. If they had really been so well off as Mr. Rawlinson represents, the fear of a Helot mutiny could not have caused such a ceaseless haunting dread, the ferocious cowardice of a real panic, acting upon cruel-minded heathens, as it always did cause in Sparta. No doubt the Helots residing in their masters' families, to whose case he barely alludes, suffered most, and were most dreaded. But the mere fear of a possible *κρίπτεια* could not produce such a continual volcano as really existed. *That* fear would affect only one or two leading spirits here and there, and now and then—not the mass, and always. No doubt the best condition of ancient slavery was bad enough; and the important difference between the Helots and the slaves of other countries—e.g., Attica, was that the latter, coming from all sorts of different countries, and shifting about in habitation and employment, had no bond of union, while the Helots, being permanent residents, of mostly similar blood and language, had such a bond. In short, *all* slave bodies would have revolted if they could, and circumstances always rendered it feasible for the Helots to do so.

In p. 283, note 2, we notice an inaccuracy. Thucydides does not say that *all* Greece had been concerned on one side or the other in the war of Eretria and Chalcis; but that the rest of the Grecian name had been so concerned in that case more than in any other up to that time.

The ethnological appendices on the Cimmerians and on the Scythians, and the very sensible one on that terrible subject, the Pelasgians, are exceedingly interesting. The Scythians, we rejoice to see, come out Indo-European under Mr. Rawlinson's hands. In one or

two other cases the evidence relied upon seems to us insufficient—e.g., the Pæonians' mode of living on their lakes, with the striking parallel to it which he has routed up from the ancientest phase of the ancient history of Switzerland, is surely feeble ground for inferring an identity of (Turanian) origin between the two. People in exactly the same circumstances would live in the same way, whatever their descent.

With Drs. Liddell and Scott, Sir A. Grant, Mr. Mansel, and Mr. Rawlinson, Oxford may boldly claim her true place in the front ranks of intellectual progress. In physical science she can, indeed, scarcely be said to do more than hold a fair place; but in her own especial subjects—in scholarship, in mental science, especially in logic and in history—the names above mentioned stand foremost, and vindicate to the old University the leading position which she claims in intellectual advancement.

VOL. IV.

THE last three books of Herodotus' history complete Mr. Rawlinson's valuable work. In themselves they are more deeply interesting, but from their very completeness of detail, and from the nature of their contents, need less commentary than those which preceded them. Mr. Grote also has supplied in his great History so complete a sifting and adjusting of the details of the mighty events which they relate, that Mr. Rawlinson's task (his restriction to a translation excluding all annotations upon his author's language) has been materially lessened. It is, indeed, very often reduced to a simple criticism and correction of Mr. Grote's *rationale* of Herodotus' text.

The cuneiform inscriptions, however, still supply illustration for some portions of the history—e.g., the genealogy of Darius, Bk. VII. 11 (where no doubt Mr. Rawlinson's account of the *facts* is correct, although he has no business to insert in his text a translation based upon a conjectural emendation of Bellanger's, of which he gives no notice), and again the locality and ethnic history of the Scripture Ararat. But the newest and most striking illustration and confirmation of the accuracy of Herodotus is drawn from the inscription recently found upon the tripod—the actual and identical tripod

itself, now at Constantinople—which the Greeks dedicated at Delphi out of the Persian spoils. The coincidence between the monument and the statement of Herodotus is of that complicated and indirect, and yet unmistakeable kind, which affords the best proof of veracity: but its details are too long to be here stated. An account of the obscurer tribes in Xerxes' empire, worked out with Mr. Rawlinson's usual compression of a multiplicity of details into a compendious and clear view—and a very interesting statement of the evidence relating to the earlier migrations of the Phœnicians—constitute the bulk of the translator's own editorial labours contained in the volume. The last book appears to have escaped the final labour of searching for errata. And some careless misprints accordingly occur in it, uncorrected—e.g., Xerxes in Bk. IX. 38, for Mardonius.

We cannot feel quite satisfied with the note respecting Ceos and Cynosura in connection with the battle of Salamis. The question is, whether we are entitled to invent new geographical applications of names whenever a serious difficulty occurs in assuming the ordinary meaning of such names. A well-known Ceos and Cynosura exist, which it is *possible* that Herodotus may intend. A part of the Persian fleet *may* have remained there, and *may* have been signalled to come up, as Mr. Blakesley says. And what right, therefore, have we to imagine a geography for ourselves? If, however, we are, after all, to find new localities for the names, undoubtedly we agree with Mr. Rawlinson against Mr. Grote in looking for them in Salamis. But even so, Mr. Rawlinson still leaves us in the dark with respect to Ceos, which one of his authorities places in the north and west, and another in the south and east of the island.

The reader who has an ear will note the stately rhythm and unforced prosody which marks Mr. Rawlinson's English hexameter renderings of the Greek oracles. The language, also, of these verse translations wears its metrical bonds with singular freedom from stiffness.

THE FIVE GREAT MONARCHIES ^d.

WE congratulate Professor Rawlinson on the successful accomplishment of the driest portion of his task. He has brought us now, by a triple line of history, through Nineveh, Media, and Babylon, to the one empire which swallowed up all its predecessors, and which, by its further and vain collision with Greece, not only effected the first pronouncement of the great and profound antagonism, never thenceforward to cease, between European and Asiatic, but by the same act came within reach of contemporary Greek observers, although still without historians or literature of its own. The Professor, therefore, will reach, in his fourth volume, a period that may be fairly called historical. In the present one he is still limited to the skeleton of information conveyed by chronological tables, and brief monumental records, and stray remarks, occasionally of a contemporary, but commonly of some long posterior collector of half-sifted traditions. He has but little, therefore, of consecutive narrative to give. And he reasonably calls in geography and antiquities, not so much to illustrate characters and events already known, as (in default of knowing what actually was) to suggest to us what must have been. Modern research, and the now orthodox combination of woodcut and letterpress, supply us accordingly in his pages with a fair conception of what manner of people dwelt in those just now disinterred lands, albeit we know little more of what happened to them there than the names of their kings and the extent of their conquests. The Professor's *forte* is, in truth, geography. He realises to our eyes the land and its natural features and productions. And albeit sometimes, as in the case of the double Ecbatana, he sticks to his brother's conjectures, even where they are but doubtful,—honestly, however, giving us warning, that doctors differ,—he for the most part gives us the carefully sifted results of the latest and best researches, fruitful and abundant as they have been of late. The character of these empires, indeed, is in itself not attractive. Varying only in degrees of savagery and cruelty, they present the crudest and lowest type of empire, its

^d "The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World; or, the History, Geography, and Antiquities of Chaldæa, Assyria, Babylon, Media, and Persia." By G. Rawlinson, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, &c. Four Vols. Vol. III. (Murray.) *Guardian*, Feb. 14, 1866.

General History.

motive the mere lust of power or wealth, its cohesion the transitory effect of brute force, its result the mere breaking-up of the ground for future and nobler efforts. They were destructive far more than creative, and promoted the welfare of mankind in no way, save as indirectly wealth and luxury must needs develope commerce and art. And, with one great exception, their interest is accordingly derived from causes external to themselves: either from the accidental marvellousness of their sudden resurrection, as it were out of the very grave, by the researches which have recreated palaces and cities out of shapeless heaps of seeming rubbish; or from the light which they have thus been suddenly raised up to throw upon sacred history. Even the peculiar Assyrian character of art and civilisation (for the Medes in this point of view must be left out of sight altogether) attracts rather by its contrast with the later advances of mankind in other regions than by the qualified merits which it does undoubtedly possess of its own. Neither can we say, excepting perhaps of the astronomy of Babylon, that they contributed any new idea or any real advancement to the general stock of human knowledge.

The one great exception to this general character is to be found in the Zoroastrian religion. The Median faith, apart from the Magian corruption of it, was, indeed, not quite (we must say) the sublime and true faith into which Professor Rawlinson (notwithstanding his qualifications) too much exalts it, at least in one of its phases; but undoubtedly it was one of the nearest approaches to such a faith that uninspired reason has ever made. The Zend-Avesta, with its superficial parallelism to the Bible, supplies, by the huge gulf that lies between them, the strongest proof of the inspiration of the Scriptures. The baldness and inanity of its style and sentiments, together with the real and veritable Colensoism of its structure, patched together as it was in a very late era of the faith to which it belongs, and out of fragments and traditions of the most mixed and unsifted kind, recoil with force upon the unlucky rationalists, who hailed it with exultation when first inaccurately made known, and who have been driven out of one stronghold after another as its contents became more and more exactly understood through a deeper and sounder scholarship. But, with all this, it is more and more certainly made out, by such recent investigations, for instance, as Dr. Haug's, that as on the one hand an impassable gulf lies between the conceptions advanced by it of God and of the supernatural world, and those of Scripture, so does it nevertheless

approach more nearly than any other faith of human devising, both to true ideas of God and to a high and pure moral tone. Professor Rawlinson is limited in the present volume to its Median phase. He has, consequently, omitted its later developments. Its culminating period, that of the Sassanidæ, was centuries later. The pantheistic theories of Zervanism, so to call it, belong to other later dates. Even its fusion, and its contests, with Magianism, belong more fully to the early Persian empire of his next volume. And his sketch therefore is of necessity only a partial one. He has given its history, following Dr. Haug, from its Vedic beginnings down only to its combination with Magism, which it found as it came from Upper India westwards to the Zagros mountains. Limited, however, even to this period, the Professor's sketch seems open to criticism. He does qualify his statements by saving clauses. Yet the general impression left by them appears to be one liable to the double charge of elevating Zoroastrianism too high at its first proper commencement, and of depressing it perhaps a little too low at that point which in its present sketch is its close. It began with being a revolt from nature worship. Under the Magians it became, in part at least, a part of nature-worship again. But how far is the Professor borne out in his statements, that during its first Iranian period it was—1, monotheistic, 2, free from dualism? That it was personal in its conceptions of God seems plain; although fire and the sun must have always held a prominent place in its worship. But it seems a perilous adventure of precarious criticism, which extracts a theory of successive developments out of documents, to the relative dates of which documents that theory is the sole evidence. That the system of Amshaspands became in lapse of time more detailed and elaborate, and that dualism likewise grew more sharply definite, is no doubt extremely probable in itself. Yet such internal probability seems hardly enough ground to support an interpretation of all phrases, in the Gathas for instance, implying independent divinity in the subordinate spirits, or in the spirit of evil, as mere metaphors. On the other hand, indications are not wanting, although Mr. Rawlinson may excuse his omission of them by the lateness of their date, of an inherent inferiority imputed to the spirit of evil, which, as there had been a time when he was not, so should bring about a time when he would be no longer. Moreover in dwelling upon the creative power of the Good Spirit, the Professor omits to state the "twofold limitation" (to use Döllinger's words), which still

limited that otherwise wonderfully true conception of the creative act—viz., 1, the pre-existence of matter; and 2, the share in the creation taken by the evil spirit. Of course in these, as in other like points, such exceptions as we take are taken against the Professor's work simply as a history. The inquiries arising from a comparison of Zoroastrianism with the faith of the Old Testament, or, again, from its contact with and production of early antichristian heresies, are indeed the chief source of our interest in it. But these are either for theologians, or for historians of other periods than those with which the Professor is here dealing. His proper business is simply to state the actual belief of the people whose history he writes. And although we have felt at liberty to hesitate over some of his conclusions, yet it is with a full sense of the careful labour which, here as elsewhere, has given his readers an able *résumé* of the most recent results of modern learning. His work is, indeed, enhanced in value by this very feature in it, that while writing in a Christian tone he is still the historian and not the theologian, and gives us a history the more convincing and instructive, that it is not written to conform to a theory, or mixed up with theological polemics, but simply states the facts as made evident, to his judgment, by the actual evidence of the latest and best researches.

VOL. IV.*

PROFESSOR Rawlinson's *magnum opus* is at length completed. And we have a history of the Five Empires, not indeed expressly framed with a view to elucidate Scripture history, yet, by the very reason of the independent sources whence it is drawn, the more confirming that history. In this his last volume, Mr. Rawlinson, if he has the advantage of treading on firmer ground than that which his former volumes covered, labours still under peculiar disadvantages as respects the interest of his story. Undoubtedly his authorities are of a safer character, now that he has advanced onwards into the light of Greek literature. If it is true that any cipher, given the knowledge of the language in which it is written, may be unlocked by diligent study, proceeding to ascertain from the short words first one letter or symbol and then another, and so on until the process is complete; it is none the less true, that the problem is removed from the region of difficulty to that of guess,

* *Guardian*, May 4, 1868.

where the language is not known. And the intermediate position—where a translation exists in another and known language—inclines perhaps rather to the latter than to the former of the two cases. Uncertainty therefore to some extent must needs hang over the decipherment of Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions: uncertainty not diminished by the instances—one more added to its predecessors at the end of this very volume—in which their first interpretation has been set aside by the interpreters themselves in favour of a second. At the same time, it is absurd to say that there is no firm ground at all, drawn from beneath the mounds of Assyrian ruins, and made sure by these investigations. And the attack upon Professor Rawlinson's earlier volumes, so far as it rests upon any such sweeping assumption, is certainly unfair and exaggerated. In his present volume, his difficulties are mainly of another kind altogether. The history of the Persian Empire, as he has to write it, is very much like a plum-pudding with the plums pulled out. Or, to take a more dignified illustration, it is like writing the play of "Hamlet," on condition of leaving all Hamlet's own speeches blank, and making everything turn upon Laertes. With few exceptions, every attractive event, and every event known in fulness of detail, in the history, is Greek and not Persian, in its prominent features, in its really instructive results, in all wherein it deeply interests us. And the Persian historian accordingly brings us to the real hinges, one by one, of his tale, and to its episodes of stirring interest; to Marathon, for instance, or to Plataea, simply to baulk his reader in each several case by an unavoidable but very dry reference to Grote and Thirlwall, and then to leap onwards in order to pile up once more materials for a building built already, and which, therefore, it is not for him to build again. Under these fetters, however, Mr. Rawlinson, helped as he is to a large additional stock of knowledge by the Behistun inscription, does his best. He has brought out fully, and with power, the statesmanlike organisation whereby the first Darius distinguished the Persian from all previous, and indeed most later, Oriental empires, and made it something like a consolidated and enduring polity, instead of a merely passing occupation by a conquering horde. He has dwelt upon the faint glimpse of a possible Hellenising of Persia by Persian hands, in the case of the younger Cyrus; which after all was only skin-deep, even had Cunaxa ended otherwise than it did; and which in the event only opened the door and smoothed the path for Alexander

himself. And if he is compelled to drop the curtain upon something of suddenness on the very eve of the marvellous action, of which Alexander was the instrument, he has at a skilfully drawn out the *rationale* of the earlier campaigns in the final war, until Darius's death warned him that his task was done. He is, indeed,—to turn from the facts to his mode of dealing with them,—too much in the habit perhaps of giving us the results of the facts in his text, while leaving the facts or anecdotes to be supplied by references in footnotes; and so of telling us, not what e.g. Herodotus or Xenophon relates, but what he himself, in drawing out the character of (say) Cambyses or the younger Cyrus, infers from the narrative: as though his readers were as well up in the Greek historians as he is himself. And the necessity of compression has produced also in some degree another almost unavoidable result in his style of narrative—that, namely, while a like process is given to produce when applied to soft or moist substances of a physical nature. But with these points allowed for, we have in Professor Rawlinson's volumes a thorough and laboriously compiled digest of a large amount of history, interesting internally as an account of the first essential forming states and empires which the world saw, and externally as that of the special part and age of the world in the midst of which the Jewish Church lived and acted its part; a digest of facts which it requires a special kind of information to understand, and a diligent study to gather together; and which further embrace questions of both philological and religious history of the deepest interest, especially when that history reaches the Aryan speech and the Zoroastrian faith, and the connection, as of the former with Europe, and the latter with the Jews of the Captivity: a history, also, which Professor Rawlinson has wisely founded upon a preliminary geographical basis, by putting us in possession, first of all, of the physical and material conditions of the countries wherein it developed itself, a knowledge somewhat new to most of us as respects very much of the countries in question; and which he has also systematically illustrated by full accounts of the social, the artistic, the scientific aspects of each nation as it occurs: a history, lastly, not to be forgotten together, and in its fulness, anywhere else, and which the Professor has told us, with a completeness and a critical judgment, an amount of good sense and a careful estimate of evidence, which certainly fulfil all the essential requisites to a competent history.

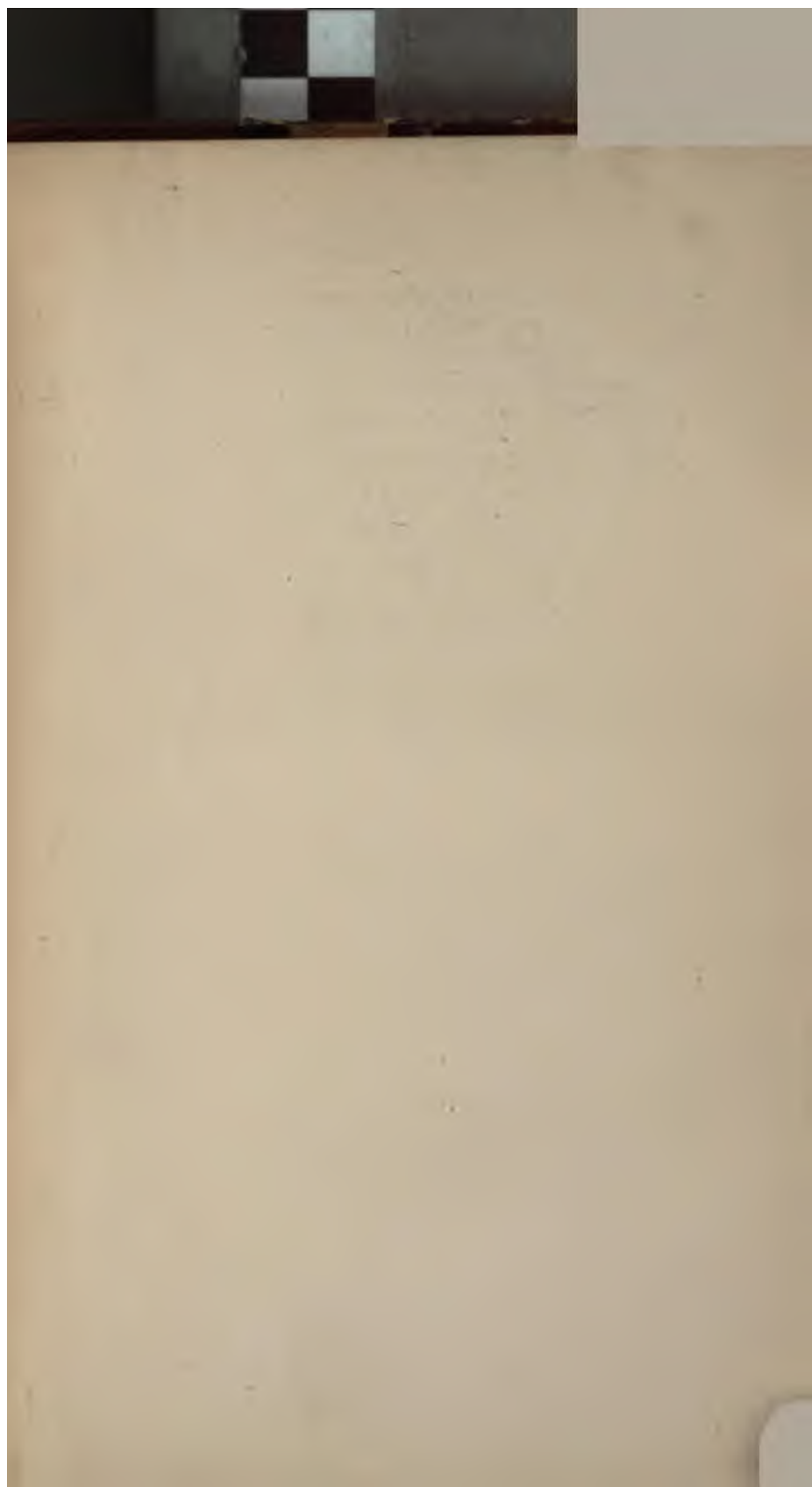
ISAAC WILLIAMS*.

THE series concludes with a beautiful *In Memoriam* of the man to whom Mr. Haddan owed so much, the ornament of his college, the early guide of his religious studies, the lamented Isaac Williams.

ONE more specially revered and loved name has passed from among us, but it is that of one whose life has been for long so retired, that he has been to most of us almost a writer of the past, even while he was yet alive. He will speak still by his writings (as for years past) *φωνᾶντα συννετοῖσιν* (to use his own favourite quotation), thoughtful and significant words to a small but loving circle of devout souls; but the shock will be the less to them, of thinking of him as withdrawn now not by bodily infirmity, as one shut up in Israel, but as having passed silently and gently beyond the veil. To most of those who hear with sadness that on the last day of last week the earthly remains of Isaac Williams were committed to their last earthly rest in the peaceful and lovely churchyard of Stinchcombe, the change will be almost little more than that they will think of him henceforth, not as speaking to them by his pen from his sick room, but as one who being dead yet speaketh, and who has only dropped as it were silently out of his quiet retreat to go to his reward. He is in the safe keeping of God now, and no longer here. Yet in him one has passed away, who, though his name was once mixed up with what others made a party strife, himself lived in an atmosphere far above the passions or pettinesses of partisanship. Whether as poet or divine, the prevailing spirit of his every word was that of devout and reverent contemplation of the things of God, lifted up above all the transitory present. And his departure from among us is a loss the greater at this present time, because his whole tone presented such an antithesis to the bustling overwrought tension of the temper of men now. His existence among us was like the witness of a church spire, pointing to God in silence above the tumult and vanity of a noisy and busy city. To visit him was

* *Guardian*, May 20, 1865.

like passing out of a crowded street, where men jostled you intent upon worldly business, into the quiet unearthly aisles of his own "Cathedral." And his departure is a loss, not to any theological party, nor to those who are looking for powerful aid in polemical strife, but to the good and earnest of all classes of Christians. As a poet, he cannot claim, perhaps, more than to have been the foremost among those who caught the infection of sacred poetry from the "Christian Year," yet he struck out a line for himself, imbued with the like chastened and sober reverence, but none the less original. Without intruding criticism now, at any rate it may be said, that Mr. Williams's works do not only rank as devotional poetry with those of the Herberts and Donnes and Crashaws and Withers's of a past age, or of the followers of Mr. Keble in the present, but strike out a line of their own. And as a theologian, although no doubt the very prosaic unbelief of the world has served to intensify the grasp upon spiritual and mystical interpretation wherever it has been still held fast, yet Mr. Williams stands conspicuous, among divines of that school, as combining with a teeming fancy, that revels in such interpretations, a never-failing vein of good sense and an unerring tact of reverent decorum. His "Commentary upon the Gospels" is an abiding treasure for those who desire to study their New Testament at once intelligently and practically, and who wish also to walk in the old paths and to kindle in their own souls the living spirit of the early Church. It is a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ*, not for this or that party, but for all Christian Churchmen. Oxford may well be proud of one who drew his inspiration emphatically from her teaching, as it used to be, and as in spite of changed men and changed times we trust it still in substance is; and who both as poet and divine represents distinctively the best practical side of the Oxford school of thirty years ago. And the Church of this land will ever reckon as among the soundest, the most loving, and the most thoughtful of her devotional writers, the name of Isaac Williams.







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